

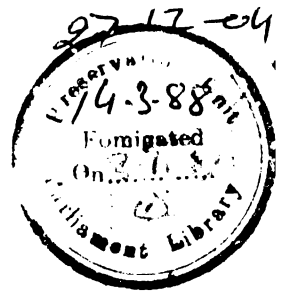
Wednesday, 20th September, 1939

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME II, 1939

(11th September to 27th September, 1939)

SIXTH SESSION
OF THE
FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1939



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Wednesday, 20th September, 1939.

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

MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Colonel Neville Godfrey Hind (Nominated Official).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

INAUGURATION OF FEDERATION.

33. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: (a) At what earliest date, do Government contemplate inauguration of the Federation of India ?

(b) Will the Federation be a federation of the provinces of India alone ?

(c) Do Government contemplate ascertaining through some constitutional channel whether the people of the States favour federating with the provinces of India ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) to (c). Government have nothing to add to the statement of the position made by His Excellency the Governor General in his address to the Legislature on September 11th.

TOLL LEVIED ON THE RAMGANGA AND KOSI BRIDGES BETWEEN MORADABAD AND RAMPUR.

34. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Will the Honourable Member in charge of Communications state :

(a) Whether in the past toll used to be collected by Railway authorities on the Ramganga and Kosi Rivers between Moradabad and Rampur from private and public conveyances ?

(b) Whether the toll on the Ramganga bridge has been stopped but on the Kosi bridge continues still ?

(c) For how long toll was realized on the Ramganga bridge and for what period it is being levied on the Kosi bridge ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: (a) and (b). A toll was levied by the late O. & R. R. authorities on the Ramganga and Kosi bridges between Moradabad and Rampur on public and private conveyances up to July, 1907 when the toll on the Ramganga bridge was discontinued. The toll on the Kosi bridge continues.

(c) The exact dates from which the toll began to be levied on these bridges are unknown but presumably the system was introduced with the opening of the bridges about 1894.

RESOLUTION RE MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES IN INDIA.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Honourable Mr. Kalikar, I confess I have some difficulty in permitting you to move this Resolution but I have given my careful thought to this matter and, though your Resolution is technically barred under Standing Order 69 (1) on account of the debate which took place on Sir Guthrie Russell's Motion the other day on the Report of the Pacific Locomotive Committee. As you are aware, this question was discussed by several Members and vigorous comments were made, still, as a full discussion did not take place and the attention of the Council was not specifically concentrated on this Motion, I permit you to move it.

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

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps for manufacturing railway locomotives in India.”

Sir, I was encouraged to table this Resolution in the last session of the Council on account of some statements made by my Honourable friend Sir Guthrie Russell in his last Budget speech. My Honourable friend then gave the House the information that at Ajmer the B. B. & C. I. R. in their workshops were manufacturing certain locomotives for some of their metre gauge railways. And after listening to that remark, I thought I should table this Motion in this House and I expected that, as the Ajmer Workshops could build metre gauge locomotives, other workshops in India could also build conveniently broad gauge locomotives for Railways in India.

Sir, this matter has been debated in the other House several times. Once there was a discussion when the Swaraj Party was in power and then after that in 1935 there was a discussion on this very subject in the other House and that House gave a decision in favour of this Resolution. After that, Sir, in 1937, 1938 and 1939, several Honourable Members in the other House moved cuts and those cuts on this point were accepted by the House. I propose to give a short history of the policy that has hitherto been followed by Government in this connection.

Sir, this matter first came before the Government in the year 1918. After that, in the year 1921 Government issued a communique on this question. I shall just read a sentence or two from the communique issued in the year 1914 by the Government. They say :

“ In pursuance of their expressed policy of making India as far as possible independent of outside sources in the supply of material, the Government of India have had under consideration the question of the construction of locomotive engines and they are now in a position to give a general undertaking that tenders will be invited only in India for all the railway locomotives and locomotive boilers required by Government during twelve years commencing with the year 1923 ”.

Sir, after that a company was started, namely, the Peninsular Locomotive Co., but unfortunately, for reasons best known to Government, I believe sufficient orders were not placed with the Company or the Company could not manufacture locomotives at competitive prices and they had to give up the manufacture of locomotives and had to take up the work of building wagons. That work also was stopped further and the Government acquired that Company. Sir, since then Government have not made any serious attempts in this matter, though public opinion was quite clear on the point and the other House so many times decided that the Government must make serious efforts in this matter and must set up factories well equipped or must improve their workshops with the addition of certain plant for manufacturing locomotives for broad gauge railways.

Sir, I submit I make this remark that Government were not serious because I find in answer to a question in the other House given by the then Financial Commissioner, Mr. P. R. Rau (now Sir Raghavendra Rau), to this effect that the matter was not under investigation. The actual question asked by Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar was :

" Will not the manufacture of broad gauge locomotives be as profitable if manufactured in India " ?

The answer given was :

" The whole point is that we are not conducting an investigation ".

The position comes to this that although there were insistent demands from the public as well as from the Central Legislature asking the Government to take serious steps in this matter, Government failed in their duty of taking active steps and making India self-sufficient so far as the construction of locomotives was concerned, and that, in spite of the promises held out by them in the communique which I have just read out and the promises given in the other House that they were making serious efforts. There was a debate in the other House in 1935 on this very question and the two points brought forward on behalf of the Government by the then Railway Member, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, were that it will not be a commercial proposition for Railways to construct locomotives in India and that unless Railways were able to guarantee the purchase of about 200 locomotives from any company, no company would set up a factory for building locomotives here. So far as its not being a commercial proposition is concerned, I submit that Railways spend much on certain things from which they derive no return. Railways spend about Rs. 2 crores over strategic lines and we, in this House, have so many times insisted upon the Railways that this loss of Rs. 2 crores should be saddled on the Defence budget. But they have not followed that suggestion. I do not understand why, if they can suffer a loss of Rs. 2 crores over these strategic lines, they should not make an attempt to set up a well equipped factory which will enable them to manufacture locomotives in India which will ultimately help the Indian industry and the Indian labour ? Sir, I understand that in England, every railway, big and small, has got its own factory for constructing locomotives. The mileage of English railways is much less than that of ours. If English railways can afford to produce locomotives, I really fail to understand why we should not be able to manufacture locomotives in India for our Railways. I understand that in Russia, Japan and Germany, they manufacture locomotives for

[Mr. V. V. Kalkar.]

their railways. In Japan they manufacture locomotives not only for their own railways but also for sending abroad to other railways. India has got plenty of raw material. In this connection, I wish to bring to the notice of the House the remarks of the Tariff Board which examined this question about 16 years ago. The Tariff Board then remarked that it is a national industry and that it ought to be encouraged by the Government. They examined this question minutely and stated that 50 per cent. of the raw material required for manufacturing locomotives in India is available in India itself. They further stated that labour is available in India at a reasonable cost. Therefore, they stated that if the Railways could give a promise of purchasing a certain number of locomotives, this industry could be helped, and India would gain ultimately.

I now come to the second point made by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan in the debate in the other House in 1935. He said that because Railways cannot give a guarantee of purchasing a certain number of locomotives, it would not be in the interests of the Railways from a commercial point of view to set up a factory. I understand from the Report of 1936-37 that about 8,863 broad gauge, metre gauge and other gauge engines are running on our lines in India. According to the Railway Board, the life of an engine is about 35 years. So, if we indulge in a little bit of mathematical calculation, we find that we require about 253 locomotives per year. The then Railway Member, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, said in that debate that to start with, we want a guarantee of purchase of about 50 to 60 locomotives per year and that to set up a well equipped factory we require a guarantee of purchase of about 200 locomotives. From the figures of 1936-37 I find that we require 253 locomotives per year. From 1925—1931 the Indian Railways purchased very large numbers of locomotives during the boom period, and when the depression came, they found that many of their locomotives were lying idle, and when they could not find sufficient money to purchase fresh locomotives, they began to repair the old engines and they carried out the work without purchasing the normal requirements which were needed for the Railways in India. In normal conditions, according to the figures given by the Railway Board's Report, we require about 253 locomotives per year. So, if we examine this question from that point of view, I see no ground whatsoever in the case made out by the then Railway Member. Apart from this question, Sir, let us assume for argument's sake that the industry may not really be a commercial proposition in the beginning. But this is an industry which according to me is a key industry for India and deserves to be nursed in the beginning for some years. When this question was discussed in the other House all the Members of that House, Anglo-Indian, Indian and European, were unanimous that this industry must be set up in India to manufacture locomotives for the Railways. As I said before, the Tariff Board came also to the conclusion 15 years ago that 50 per cent. of the raw materials were available in India and you can get labour at a reasonable cost, and therefore this industry requires to be supported.

Then, Sir, if you start this industry in India you will be able not only to give employment to people at present unemployed but you will be helping and giving a fillip to other secondary industries and in times of crisis like this you will not require to indent for locomotives from other countries and you will

be self-sufficient in this regard. Those remarks were made by the Tariff Board 16 years ago. I think since then the conditions in India in regard to production of indigenous materials which may be required for this industry has changed for the better, and that material will be procured at a cheaper price than when the Tariff Board made those remarks. So, considering it from all points of view, I think it is the bounden duty of the Government to move seriously in the matter and take early steps to manufacture locomotives in India.

Sir, I cannot complete my case without reading one paragraph from the Report of the Pacific Inquiry Committee. This was a committee of experts and they say :

"In this connection, moreover, it is well to bear in mind that, for a long time now, the shops at Ajmer on the B. B. & C. I. have been building a few metre gauge engines annually. The work consists of a substantial volume of manufacture in the shops, and the assembly of some parts which are purchased from abroad. We can well envisage the extension of this practice to a certain number of broad gauge engines at one of the major works, such as Jamshedpur on the E.I.R., which, with the necessary additional equipment, should be able to handle such an undertaking "

Those remarks are in my favour. That expert committee says that it is possible for India to be self-sufficient in this matter. I think that steps are being taken by the Government also to investigate this matter. I find from the Proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways of 18th July, 1939 a remark to this effect :

"The Board have now reasons to believe that the construction of broad gauge locomotives on a limited scale in one of the existing railway workshops in India (suitably extended and modified and equipped with necessary additional machinery, plant, equipment, supervision and labour) may prove to be not unremunerative "

This statement completely solves the difficulty and establishes my case that India has a very good case for establishing locomotive factories in India. I therefore appeal to my Honourable friend not to waste time any more as they have done for the last 20 years but to take up the matter seriously and see that we do manufacture locomotives as soon as possible.

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

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, not many words are needed to commend this Resolution to the acceptance of the House. The Honourable Mr. Kalikar has dealt with the question of the construction of locomotives in India in an exhaustive and detailed manner and I do not propose to go over the ground which he has so thoroughly covered. I find that there was a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee on the 15th April, 1939 for the purpose of discussing the purchase of 20 additional XE locomotives for the E.I.R. At that meeting our very esteemed friend the Chief Commissioner for Railways expressed full sympathy with the desire that there should be a locomotive building industry in India and he hoped that they would deal with this question of installing a railway locomotive building industry in India at an early date. The Committee wanted a note to be furnished to them by July, 1939 giving them all the facts and figures up to date and showing how far financially the proposition that locomotives should be manufactured in India would be a success. I find that the

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

Railway Board intend to appoint one or possibly two suitable officers on special duty to examine the scheme for manufacturing locomotives in full and to prepare estimates of the expenditure involved in necessary extensions and additional machinery in one or more of the State-owned railways' mechanical workshops and also estimates of cost of construction of locomotives in those shops as compared with market prices. The construction of locomotives in India has been recommended by the Pacific Locomotive Committee's Report also. Therefore, so far as this Resolution is concerned, there should be no difference between us and the Chief Commissioner for Railways. I hope, Sir, that in view of all these facts the Chief Commissioner for Railways will be able to accept the Resolution of the Honourable Mr. Kalikar. He should have no difficulty in accepting it as he is already committed to the investigation of the possibility of having a locomotive industry started on a sound basis in India.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. Some time back when Sir Clement Hindley was the Chief Commissioner for Railways, the Railway Board did decide to patronize the locomotive industry in case it was started in India. As a result of that a limited company with a very big capital, called the Peninsular Locomotive Works, was started near the Tata Steel Works. In those days the policy of the Railway Board was undergoing violent changes, and when the Peninsular Locomotive Works started, to the surprise of that company Sir Clement Hindley backed out from his written promise, and the result was that those Works which were started at a very heavy cost had to be abandoned. If I am wrong in this statement, I hope the Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell will put me right. It was claimed by the then Railway Board at that time that in the near future there will not be much demand for new locomotives. But unfortunately or fortunately in the time of Sir Clement Hindley this proved to be wrong and as a result of that hundreds of locomotives were ordered by him including the Pacific locomotives regarding which we had a long discussion day before yesterday. Sir, my information is that even the locomotive works in Britain do not manufacture all the engine parts. It was proved to us that all the heavy axles and the heavy cranks were mostly imported from Czechoslovakia and the locomotives which we got from British firms were not altogether British but had some parts of Continental make. I am glad that the Railway Board under the able guidance of our friend Sir Guthrie Russell have revived this undertaking. I welcome this desirable resolve on the part of the Railway Board and I hope that they now will either revive the defunct Peninsular Works or start locomotive manufacture in their own workshops. In Ajmer locomotives for metre gauge railways are made and they have been found satisfactory. India ought to be self-contained in every respect and it is the primary duty of the Government to help India in making it self-sufficient as perhaps in the present war, we may be faced with a situation in which we will not be able to get spare parts from the Continent or Britain. So, in the interests of the country this industry is a necessity and no efforts should be spared to make it a complete success. I know that the Chief Commissioner will say that it is impossible to make all the parts of locomotives in India. In case that be not possible at present, they can do the same thing as the British firms do,

namely, to import certain parts which are at present being manufactured in England or the Continent. The objective should be that our country should be self-contained and we should be able in the near future to manufacture complete locomotives.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I do not think that this Government ought to oppose the Resolution, because they have not only made statements before, but they are supported by the expert Committee Report which we discussed the other day on the Motion moved by the Honourable the Chief Commissioner for Railways. The expert Committee definitely were of opinion that manufacture of locomotives in India should be encouraged and they referred to the practice that is existing in some of the Railways by which they could be encouraged to go in for more. Government cannot, in the face of the statements made repeatedly, oppose this proposition. We see that the principle of economic self-sufficiency is the governing principle of all countries today. On the basis of that this proposition has a strong support; but in applying it in practice we shall have to see whether the economic self-sufficiency is really economic in this country. The other day we have been told by the Honourable Secretary for the Defence Department that this country cannot carry on in the matter of manufacture of aeroplanes. He is supported in that by the attempt made in Bombay and elsewhere to start the manufacture of motor cars in India. It was advertized three years ago that they would manufacture the parts here and be able to produce cheaper motor cars. That attempt still remains to be proved. The Resolution before us says "take early steps for manufacturing railway locomotives in India". That would depend upon the results of the experiments made in some of the Railways whether it has really been economic. It is very well to say that labour is cheap here in India and some of the raw material is available near at hand. It is true, but the question is whether we have got the expert skilled labour necessary for the purpose of these locomotives? On this depends the economic value of the manufacture of locomotives in India. I am not satisfied that such skilled labour is easily available at a cheaper rate. That is the proposition. If we get over that difficulty, it seems to me that there is absolutely no reason why locomotives should not be manufactured in our own country because every country now is attempting to be economically self-sufficient. But, at the same time, from the people's point of view we must see that it is really economic in the interests of the people. Therefore, we have to ascertain first whether the manufacture of locomotives in our country will be equally as good as that prevailing in other countries, that is to say, whether the products that we will turn out here, locomotives will be economically equal to the products from other countries. The Honourable the Leader of the Opposition has stated that certain parts are imported from other countries. That is true. If those parts could not be made here, then such parts could be imported from other countries. If therefore an experiment has to be made in this direction it should be made by the Government in order to demonstrate that it is really economic to manufacture locomotives here. The previous statements made by members of the Government and the Railway Board also support this, namely, they do intend that locomotives should be manufactured in India.

[Sir A. P. Patro.]

But the whole question is whether they could be made in India more economically than by importing from elsewhere. Therefore, from the point of view I submit to the House, the question of the main principle of manufacture, there is absolutely no objection and no objection should be raised by the Government. But it all depends upon whether we could have them manufactured much cheaper than imported machines. The real thing is when we have made attempts here in other directions we have not been able to succeed. Therefore, utilize the railway workshop, expand them, equip them more and more, invest more capital in them, import skilled labour from other countries, so that the raw material available here may be utilized by the skilled labour that we may import and if any parts are not available it is a wise economy to import those parts here and manufacture locomotives in our own country. Therefore, an attempt should be made by the Government in order to make an experiment and see how far they could be successful here in replacing the imported locomotives.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I am entirely of the same opinion as my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar in regard to the desirability of manufacturing locomotives in this country. Many discussions have taken place in the Central Legislature in connection with this matter during the last ten or twelve years. I feel, frankly speaking, that the reason, the main reason, why Government did not encourage the building of locomotives in this country was not because the proposition was not economical but because they thought that it would be contrary to the policies which commended themselves to the authorities at the time. However, we know that at the present time the matter is under consideration. This has been stated by the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution and also by Mr. Sapru and Sir A. P. Patro. I think, therefore, that it will be difficult, in view of the investigations that are going on, to arrive at a final opinion just now. Even holding as I do that the standardization which has been pursued during the last 15 years should be of considerable help to us in making the construction of locomotives in this country economical, I think that, as a committee of investigation has been appointed, we shall have no option but to wait till its report is published.

There is just one other matter, Sir, to which I should like to refer before I sit down. One or two Members referred to the Report of the Pacific Locomotive Committee and stated that the Committee had recommended the manufacture of locomotives in this country. I saw my Honourable friend the Chief Commissioner for Railways shake his head when they made this statement. Well, technically speaking, Sir, he is quite correct. The Pacific Locomotive Committee has actually made no such recommendation. All that it has said is that it has considered the practicability of manufacturing locomotives in this country. It devotes only one paragraph to this subject in the whole of its bulky Report. But considering the subdued language employed by the Committee throughout its Report, it would appear to any impartial person on reading the paragraph in which it refers to the construction of locomotives that in its opinion the adoption of such a course would be both feasible and

desirable. Though technically speaking, therefore, the Members who stated that the Pacific Locomotive Committee had recommended the manufacture of locomotives in this country were not correct, I think they interpreted its views quite correctly. They read between the lines of the Committee's Report and arrived very justly at the conclusion that the Committee was in favour of manufacturing locomotives in this country. I suppose it did not make a definite recommendation on the subject because it considered itself precluded from doing so. It was appointed to consider a specific subject and not to make recommendations about railway policy in general.

I hope, Sir, that my Honourable friend the Chief Commissioner for Railways will be able to give a reassuring reply to the House and to tell us that, whatever the attitude of Government might have been in the past, they are anxious now, and especially in the crisis that has overtaken us, to do all they can to make India self-supporting in the matter of the manufacture of railway engines.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH (Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, I wish to give my whole-hearted support to my Honourable colleague Mr. Kalikar. I must say Government in delaying the manufacture of locomotives in India has been delaying really the safety of India. Now that flames of war are threatening the world the short-sighted policy which has prevented development of this industry is apparent. No country is safe which depends for its essential needs on other countries. If India is to be made safe it must immediately develop heavy industry. Government can show the way by starting the manufacture of locomotives. I know our railway workshops are fully equipped. There are engineers capable of building locomotives suited to our special conditions.

The arguments which were often trotted out are without any weight. It is said it is cheap to buy from outside, that the demand is small, and the cost would be high. It is however forgotten that money spent in India would be earned by Indian labour, the material used also will be Indian and its cost represent payment again, to Indian labour. Government could thus increase the source from which its revenue is drawn. By depending on imports, it perpetuates unemployment and starvation of Indian labour.

I believe Government is already engaged in working out a scheme for the manufacture of locomotives. What my Honourable friend perhaps desires is an assurance that within a fixed time manufacturing of locomotives would be started.

Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL (Chief Commissioner for Railways) : Sir, with your permission, I would like to move an amendment to this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I understand your amendment is of a qualifying nature practically accepting this Resolution? In that case I allow it.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: The amendment runs as follows :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Railway Board should take early steps to carry out a thorough investigation into the possibilities of building locomotives in India and to submit a report."

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Is a period prescribed for the submission of the report ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: I will tell you when we expect the report later on.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: In the Resolution itself there is no mention of the time. The words used are "take early steps".

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: I would like to explain the reasons why I am not able to accept the original Motion. In the present state of the world, even if the Resolution were accepted by Government in all other respects, I am afraid there might be considerable delay. Honourable Members are aware that the British Government is preparing for a three-year war. So, I think we would have to miss out the word "early". Further, it is hardly possible for Government to commit itself to quite such categorical terms as are contained in the Resolution without investigating the financial possibilities—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Can't you substitute "as soon as the war is over" instead of "early"?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: I should like to assure Honourable Members that not accepting this Resolution is not on account of lack of sympathy on the part of Government. I can assure them that there is no difference of opinion whatsoever between them and Government as to the desirability of building locomotives in India.

The Honourable Mover and certain other Honourable Members have gone into past history. I do not think it is necessary for me to go further into this. So, I propose to confine my very short remarks to the present and the future. At the moment, in fulfilment of a promise given to the Standing Finance Committee, we have a committee investigating the possibilities of building locomotives in India. As my Honourable friend the Mover has stated, there have been various other investigations, but I think possibly the Railway Board have been guilty of thinking in too grandiose a way. In other words, the idea was to have a new locomotive building shop. Now, the idea is to start at any rate with an extension of one of our existing shops, start off with, say, 50 locomotives a year and 100 boilers, and designing the shop so that it can be extended as our requirements increase. That is the basis on which this investigation is being carried out. There is no question, from a practical point of view, that locomotives can be built in India but finance has got to be considered. If we started building locomotives today, we would have to import acid steel boiler plates, wheels and axles, copper tube plates and boiler tubes. 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. As regards copper tube plates, there is no reason whatsoever that copper of sufficient purity should not be manufactured in India. But that, I think, is a matter for the future. Now, my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru asked when this report will be submitted. I think I can promise the House that the report will be in our hands by, say, January. If my forecast is correct, what I propose to do is to place the report on the table of the House and to ask that Government should give the House an opportunity of discussing it. I have every hope that the discussion will be a very short one and that the report will be a recommendation to start building locomotives in India, in which case there will be no dissentient whatsoever. That is, of course, only my prophecy, but I can assure Honourable Members that the report will be sympathetically considered. As you know, at present Government give preference to stores of Indian origin. I have little doubt that Government will also be prepared to stretch a point to start the building of locomotives in India. In other words, they will be prepared to give a reasonable price preference. If the House accepts my amendment, I shall have the report placed on the table of the House and I shall ask for time for the House to discuss it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Amendment moved :

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Railway Board should take early steps to carry out a thorough investigation into the possibilities of building locomotives and to submit a report.”

Honourable Mr. Kalikar, do you accept this amendment ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : Yes, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Then no further discussion is necessary.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : I should like to make a few remarks, Sir. I gladly accept the amendment proposed by my Honourable friend Sir Guthrie Russell, and I hope now that the indifference that has been shown for the last 15 years by the Railway Board will be given up, and that serious attempts will be made to bring the report before the House as early as possible and effect will be given to the remarks which my Honourable friend has just made, and that it will be possible to manufacture locomotives in India within a few years' time.

Sir, my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro raised a point which I want to clear up. He said—if I followed him correctly—that it has to be investigated whether we can manufacture locomotives in India as cheaply as we can get them from abroad. I can assure him that from the Government reports I find that so far as the manufacture of metre gauge locomotives are concerned, the reply of the then Financial Commissioner for Railways, Mr. P. R. Rau, was that they have been able to manufacture locomotives as cheap as, if not cheaper than, the locomotives from abroad. That clears any suspicion that may be in my Honourable friend's mind that we shall not be able to manufacture locomotives as cheaply as we can get them from abroad.

My last request is this. The Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell has stated that a Committee has been appointed. I am rather afraid owing to past practice. I hope that they will consider this question very seriously and

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

sympathetically in the interests of India and make recommendation that locomotives should be manufactured in India.

With these words, Sir, I accept the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Railway Board should take early steps to carry out a thorough investigation into the possibilities of building locomotives in India and to submit a report."

Question put and Motion adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* INDIANIZATION OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to Indianize the Indian Medical Service".

Sir, this matter has been the subject of repeated enquiries by Government and numerous discussions in this House, but, unfortunately, Government have not yet arrived at a conclusion satisfactory to the people of this country. Before, however, I deal with the questions involved in the consideration of my Resolution, I should like to point out briefly what the system of recruitment to the I. M. S. was before the Great War and to what extent Indians succeeded in the examination that took place at the time. Till the war broke out, officers were recruited for the I. M. S. by a competitive examination held twice a year. During the war, however, this system was changed, the last competitive examination having been held in 1915. Sir, the Indian students laboured under great difficulties at

the time because it was necessary for them to proceed to England
12 Noon. in order to take part in the examination of which I have spoken.

Apart from that, I believe they had to stay there for some time and to receive a certain amount of training before they could appear for the examination. Yet their number went on slowly increasing. According to the Islington Public Services Commission, the percentage of successful Indians was 17 in 1912, 33 in 1913 and 40 in 1914. I should like the percentages in the year 1913 and 1914 to be borne in mind by Honourable Members in considering the ratio fixed for Indian recruitment to the I. M. S. at the present time. During the war, as I have said, the system of holding competitive examinations was done away with and after the war such officers as were required were secured by means of nomination. So far as Indians were concerned they got annual commissions. They had no prospects before them and they were in a markedly inferior position to that accorded to European officers recruited to the I. M. S. This state of things continued till 1928. It was then decided to fix a ratio for British and Indian recruitment. The Secretary of State's decision was that the proportion between British and Indian officers should be as 2 to 1. It was also decided at the time that certain districts should be reserved for Europeans. Now under the orders of the Secretary of State only one-third of the annual recruitment can be Indian. But I have already pointed out that while the competitive examination was going on the proportion of successful Indians, notwithstanding the serious difficulties under

which Indian competitors laboured, was steadily increasing and that in the year 1914 it amounted to 40 per cent. In restricting the Indian proportion therefore to 33½ per cent. the Secretary of State instead of advancing our position really pushed us back.

I know that when the number of successful Indians began to increase the European members of the I. M. S. in the various provinces raised an outcry against the method of recruitment existing at the time, but we hoped, particularly after the war, that His Majesty's Government, who were fully cognizant of the part taken by India in it, would do nothing which would conflict with the natural demands of its people and which would in any way retard the progress which they had achieved before the war broke out. But our hopes turned out to be ill-founded and as I have already said, not merely were the Indians given a lower proportion than they had been able to obtain through the competitive examination in 1914 but certain districts were reserved for Europeans.

The principle of reservation, of discrimination between Indian and European members of the Service was for the first time introduced in 1928, and the districts that were reserved for Europeans were the best districts from the point of view of private practice. Indians therefore had a double grievance in the matter, but so far nothing, or practically nothing, has been done to redress these grievances.

At the present time European members of the I. M. S. are selected in England and Indian members in India. New entrants from among Indians receive short service commissions for five years, but it was said either in the Resolution issued by the Government of India in 1937 or the press communique published in connection with it that it was intended that about 70 per cent. of the holders of short service commissions should be given permanent commissions. The remainder would be retired with a gratuity of Rs. 4,500 and might be required, if considered suitable, to join the Army in India Reserve of Officers for a period of 15 years. Now the terms for British officers so far as short service commissions go are a minimum service of six years and a gratuity of £1,000 or a service of 12 years and a gratuity of £2,500. Every effort is made to retain the British officers permanently, but they have the option of retiring before completing their service and the gratuities that I have mentioned would apply in case a British officer decided to retire either after serving for between six and 12 years or after completing 12 years' service. When this scheme was instituted there was great difficulty in obtaining the number of European officers desired, but although considerable difficulty was experienced in getting British officers, liberal terms were offered in order to secure them, instead of welcoming the competent Indian doctors who were willing to offer themselves for service in the I. M. S. Government were prepared to go to any length in order to secure European officers rather than increase the proportion of Indian officers in the I. M. S. At the present time I understand that British officers in the I. M. S. as a rule elect to remain in it permanently. The old trouble therefore no longer exists. But it has been done away with only at our expense.

Sir, this state of things continued till 1937. As I had occasion to point out in connection with my Adjournment Motion regarding the reorganization scheme of 1937, Indians had two grievances in connection with the

[Pāndit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Indian Medical Service. One was that its cadre was unnecessarily large and the other that the share accorded to Indians in it was extremely small. Now, so far as the reorganization of 1937 is concerned, it reduced the strength of the I. M. S., but it did nothing to give us satisfaction on the second point mentioned by me, and this is a matter of great importance. Suppose Government had gone further than they did in 1937 and reduced the number both of British and Indian officers but kept the proportion fixed in 1928 still intact, we would have been justified in protesting against the discrimination observed between European and Indian officers. It is not merely the question of posts that concerns us. We are concerned also that there should be no discrimination in any branch of the public service against citizens of this country and that they should be given the fullest opportunities of entering every Service up to the extent of their qualifications. I will give an illustration in order to enable Honourable Members to understand fully what I have in mind. So far as the number of posts goes, everyone knows that the number of Assistant Surgeons is greater than that of the Indian Medical Service Officer. Yet we have been asking for more than 50 years for full and unrestricted opportunities, for admission to the Indian Medical Service. Take another illustration. The number of I.C.S. officers is very limited compared to that of deputy collectors and tahsildars; yet we have asked, and rightly asked, during the last half a century and more that the Indian Civil Service should be completely Indianized. The strength of a service has therefore absolutely no connection with our claim for the entry of Indians into the higher services to the fullest possible extent. Now, in this respect the reorganization scheme of 1937 did not remedy our grievance in the least, nor did it do anything to remove our complaints with regard to the reservation of districts for Europeans. The reservation was reduced, but so far as my province, the United Provinces, is concerned, the most important districts still continue to be reserved for Europeans.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: And the most inefficient men also.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Well, I never go to either Assistant Surgeons or I. M. S. officers; I can say nothing therefore from personal knowledge about their medical efficiency.

There are two facts that I should like to impress upon the attention of the House in this connection. I have already stated that the subject has been repeatedly discussed in this House during the last 10 or 12 years. Perhaps I should be more correct in saying that the desire that Indians should enjoy unfettered opportunities of entering the I. M. S. has found expression in different forms in this House since 1925. In 1930 when a Resolution in this connection was moved in the Legislative Assembly, the Assembly resolved with the support of the European members that simultaneous examinations should be held in England and in India for recruitment to the I. M. S. This point, Sir, has an important bearing on what I shall say hereafter. Another point which I should like to lay stress on in this connection is the Report of the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. There were differences of opinion on certain points between the members of the Committee;

there were certain points on which European and Indian members differed, but there was complete agreement on one point and that was the undesirability of reserving districts for members of the I. M. S. according to the race to which they belonged. Government have not given effect, however, either to the Resolution passed unanimously by the House in 1930 or to the unanimous recommendation of the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference in regard to the undesirability of reserving districts for either British or Indian officers in the I. M. S. I should like to say just one thing more before I proceed to deal with other points. I have already stated that the provinces are required to employ a certain number of European members of the I. M. S. In order to complete the picture I should say that they are required to employ 38 Indian members of the I. M. S. also but not as Civil Surgeons. But this does not in any way obviate the complaint that I have made with regard to the reservation of certain important civil surgeoncies for European members of the I. M. S.

Now, Sir, we naturally ask ourselves what are the reasons which led to the adoption of the policy against which we have been protesting since 1928. Is it that Indians in the requisite numbers or possessing the requisite qualifications are not forthcoming? Or are they unwilling to take upon themselves the liability of serving in the Army in India Reserve of Officers for 15 years? Is war service distasteful to them? The answer to these questions is emphatically in the negative. So far as the willingness of Indians to render war service is concerned, it was demonstrated by them during the Great War. Government required a much larger number of medical officers than could be provided by the I. M. S., taking it both on its civil and military side, and I believe they had to employ more than a thousand Indian doctors to satisfy their needs. This being the case it cannot be maintained even for a second that Indian officers are averse to rendering service during the war. Nor are they unwilling to join the Army in India Reserve of Officers. No one who has any experience of the subject will for a moment doubt not merely the willingness but the enthusiastic desire of Indians to join the medical category of the Army in India Reserve of Officers.

Now, what about the qualifications of the Indian officers whom Government have so far been able to secure? Sir, I should like to refer here to a remark made by Major-General Sprawson, the Director General of the Indian Medical Service, in this House in 1934. He said :

"The Director of Medical Services is satisfied that they make good officers and I, as Director General of the Indian Medical Service, am satisfied that they are excellent doctors. They are as good as we can possibly hope to get. These young Indian officers that the I. M. S. is now getting, the I. M. S. are not only glad to receive them, but they are human material of which the country may well be proud".

Nothing, Sir, could be more conclusive on this point than the glowing testimony paid by the Director General of the Indian Medical Service to the qualifications of the Indian doctors. Apart from this, Sir, if we turn to the list of medical officers we find that in a good many cases, of course in recent times, the qualifications of the Indian officers are somewhat superior, speaking cautiously, to those of their British colleagues. Last night I took up the *Indian Army List* and looked up the qualifications of the Indian holders of short service commissions and I found that a number

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of these officers—no less than eight—were F. R. C. Ss. of England. (*An Honourable Member*: “Out of how many?”) I am afraid I cannot tell you the total number of these officers holding short service commissions, but it is not large. But the fact that I have pointed out shows how good the qualifications of the Indian officers are. And indeed, Sir, you do not need to look at the *Army List* or any other List to know how high the qualifications of the Indian members are. Anyone who goes about the country and meets Indian doctors can see for himself what keenness there is among Indian medical practitioners for receiving the highest education that they can get in the Empire. There are a number of private practitioners in many places, for instance, in Bombay, who possess qualifications of which any Medical Service might be proud. It is, therefore obvious, Sir, that it is, not the dearth of material that has caused Government to adopt the racial policy against which I am protesting now and against which the Indian Legislature has repeatedly protested during the last 14 years.

What are the real reasons then for the adoption and obstinate maintenance of this policy? The reasons are two. First, the requirements of the members of the Superior Services and their families, and second, the requirements of British officers and troops. Now, I shall take, Sir, the second point first, that is, the requirements of British officers and men. The first point that I should like to mention in this connection is that the Army Secretary, in answering a question in the Legislative Assembly on the 7th September, 1928, explained in reply to a supplementary question put by me why a War Reserve of British officers was needed in the I. M. S.? He said this was necessary (and these are his own words)—

“because in time of war there is no reserve for the R. A. M. C.—the I. M. S. provides a reserve for the R. A. M. C.”

Now, I should like to know, Sir, to what extent this statement is correct, for I. M. S. officers assure me that in the last war they were never called upon to look after British troops. Well, if this statement is correct, the first statement cannot be correct. The two statements are conflicting and both of them cannot be correct at the same time. I should, therefore, like to ask my Honourable friend opposite to clear up the point when he gets up to speak. I should in this connection also like to draw his attention to a remark made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Philip Chetwode, in this House in 1935. Referring to the remarks made by Major-General Sprawson he stated with approval that—

“as long as we have Europeans in the Superior Services in this country and British troops in this country, they demand a certain proportion of medical officers of their own race to look after them and especially after their wives and children. I personally think that they overdo that a bit and I think before very long they will find that the Indian medical officer is as good as their own. But it is an inescapable fact that we have to supply, the Secretary of State has to supply, a certain number of British medical officers with a view to looking after the Superior Services and the Army”.

It appears from this statement also that officers of the I. M. S. are required to look after British troops. Well, this is rather puzzling. The British troops have got their own medical organization. The War Reserve required for the R. A. M. C. is obtained from the civil medical practitioners in England. When

war breaks out, I take it that the British troops that form part of the Indian establishment, if sent out for war service, would receive a reserve of R.A.M.C. officers from the pool maintained in England. Why is then, Sir, a war reserve for the R.A.M.C. maintained in the I.M.S. ? It may be that some time will elapse between the outbreak of war and the receipt of the necessary number of R.A.M.C. officers, but is that a sufficient reason for basing permanent recruitment to the I.M.S. on racial considerations ? You not only require a large reserve for the R.A.M.C. in the I.M.S. but you also shut out Indians from some of the best posts in the I.M.S. for this reason. Can injustice go further ? Such a policy and such a system of administration are perfectly intolerable. If a reserve is needed for the British Army, then, during a war at any rate, when we are called upon to render full and unconditional support, the British themselves should change their angle of vision and not insist on racial considerations to which they cling obstinately, but the slightest manifestation of which they deprecate strongly in others. At present we are involved in a serious crisis. I hope, therefore, that Government will reconsider their policy and appeal to their officers and men, if they really have the prejudices attributed to them to give them up and to act in such a way as to bring about that comradeship which will be in the best interests both India and of England.

Just one word more, Sir, and I have done. Taking the Service in its two aspects, military and civil, I find that on the military side there are 220 British and 144 Indian officers. That is, the proportion of British to Indian officers is as 3 to 2, or 40 per cent. of the officers on the military side are Indians and 60 per cent. Britishers. On the civil side, however, there are 166 British and 54 Indian Officers, *i.e.*, three European officers to one Indian officer. Of these, 77 British and 50 Indian officers will be liable to be recalled in time of war. What is the justification for the maintenance of such a system ? I cannot understand why the proportion of Indians in the Service as a whole should be restricted to 33½ per cent. when, on the military side, they may have to attend to British military officers 40 per cent. of the officers are Indians.

I shall not say much with regard to the civil side of the Service——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Will you please conclude your remarks now ? I have already allowed you 10 minutes extra time on consideration of the importance of the subject.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I am not dealing at length, Sir, with the civil side. I will only say that Britishers are consulting Indian doctors all over India. The European members of the Superior Services may take up any attitude they like, but if you go to any important city, *e.g.*, Allahabad, Lucknow, Bombay, Madras, Karachi or Calcutta, you will find plenty of Europeans going to Indian doctors. If this is the state of things in the country at large, what excuse can there be for maintaining a certain number of European doctors in the I.M.S. in order to attend to the medical needs of the British officers and their families ?

Sir, I think I have shown successfully the need for an immediate change in the policy that has so far been followed by Government. Sir Philip Chetwode

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recognized in 1935 that the British officers were "over-doing it". The Secretary of State has issued new rules with regard to the I.M.S. Under these, there will be no formal reservation of posts for Europeans or Indians, but the Education Secretary said the other day in the Legislative Assembly, in reply to a question that the old system will nevertheless be maintained. Sir, I have brought these questions repeatedly to the notice of Government, but so far they have brought forth no result. I trust that, if for nothing else, at any rate in order to show on their part that loyalty to and concern for the interests of India which they want us to have for the interests of Great Britain, they would speedily change their policy and realize that the best security of the Empire lies in co-operation on an equal footing between the members of the different races inhabiting the Empire.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution the subject-matter of which has been so ably dealt with by the Honourable Pandit Kunzru. There was a time when Indians in the medical line were not comparable to British I.M.S. doctors. Then perhaps it was justified that in the I.M.S. abler doctors should be imported. Now conditions have entirely changed and we have as efficient Indian doctors as good as British doctors. There is a very large number of Indians as Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons and Members of the Royal College of Physicians. In the good old days this was a rare qualification for Indian doctors to possess. Notwithstanding this change, I deplore that recently the Secretary of State for India had to change the policy and to lower proportions of the Indian I.M.S. as compared to the European I.M.S. Instead of increasing Indianization, he thought it wise to de-Indianize for reasons which are not sound. In any important district where the European population was numerous, the European officers did not put confidence in the Indian I.M.S. Civil Surgeon there, and the result was that in such places a British medical officer was engaged to treat Europeans. Confidence begets confidence. I can say in this connection that this was done in Lahore although the British officer was much junior in service and in qualification to the Indian I.M.S. Lieut.-Colonel who was the seniormost in the I.M.S. cadre in the Punjab. Sir, I do not welcome that mentality at all. We must encourage comradeship amongst each other and see that no racial discrimination is allowed. It is a pity that the Government of India itself started such discrimination themselves. As my friend Pandit Kunzru has said, in many places Indian doctors enjoy a much better practice than their I.M.S. brethren do there. I have experienced that personally. When I took my brother to Calcutta for treatment by experts I went to the leading I.M.S. officer there who began to treat him and one day he said that he would like to consult a certain Ayurvedic physician. When I asked him why he wished to consult the Ayurvedic physician he said he was equally good, if not better, and wanted to have his views on this case. And I was astonished to find that the fee of the Ayurvedic doctor was Rs. 64 for a consultation as compared with Rs. 32 charged by the I.M.S. Colonel. When this is the case there is no necessity whatsoever of confining the treatment by the British I.M.S. for British officers. There are British regiments in India and there are R.A.M.C. doctors meant for their treatment, and in the case of any British officer who desires to be treated by a British doctor, he can always get an

R.A.M.C. man. But, Sir, we cannot tolerate the policy of racial-discrimination by the Secretary of State. Instead of the proportion of Indian I.M.S. officers being increased it has been decreased, and that has been the cause of great resentment amongst Indians. Then there is differential treatment in the matter of salaries, allowances, period of short service, and so on. These discriminations ought to be removed and the proportion ought to be revised forthwith, if full Indianization is to take a little time longer. Now that there is a big supply of highly qualified Indian I.M.S. doctors available I should suggest that a competitive examination with reserved posts for various communities should be the source of supply in future. The best talent available should be secured and there should be no favouritism at all in the matter of selection of medical officers. I have already related here how all I.M.S. officers are not of equal qualifications. It is not always the man who tops the list in an examination is the best doctor but from our experience, generally speaking, sometimes juniors who compete in such examinations do better than the seniors. Therefore I would recommend that the competitive examination should be reintroduced. Even in the I.C.S. certain people whose names I need not mention were rejected by both the executive and judicial sides were those who had not got in by competition but by selection or nomination. But because these people are under covenant their services cannot be dispensed with, although the public have a great grouse in this matter. In the Punjab we have a few such nominated officers, the general view is that the system of nomination without competition should be discouraged and vacancies be filled up to make up communal proportion from the candidates who pass in the competitive examination.

Sir, before I sit down I should like to mention, that so far as the Defence Department Reserve is concerned, the expenses on that Reserve ought to be borne by the Defence Department and not by the Civil.

With these words, Sir, I fully support the Resolution moved by Pandit Kunzru.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Honourable Mr. Kunzru has dealt with the subject-matter of the Resolution with the thoroughness which is so characteristic of him. I do not propose to go into all the arguments which he has advanced. I shall content myself with making certain assertions which I know to be true. It cannot be said for a moment that qualified Indians are not forthcoming for the I.M.S. The standard of efficiency so far as the Indian doctor is concerned is very high and if you were to stop recruitment for the I.M.S. in England the efficiency of that Service would not suffer at all. As a matter of fact, and I say this from personal experience, I claim to have knowledge as a lay doctor : I have been interested in medicine as a hobby, having been a patient for a number of years—I say that as a matter of fact the Indian doctor is infinitely superior to the British doctor today in this country. In the United Provinces you cannot mention a single I.M.S. officer today who can compare with the Indian physicians and the Indian surgeons in the King George Medical College. If I wanted to have an operation I would not think of going to Colonel so and so or Major or Captain so and so. I would go to Dr. Nigam or Dr. Bhattiya or to Dr. Mathur of the Lucknow Medical College. I know no one in the I.M.S.

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in my province who can compare with them, and I should be sorry for my European friends who selected some European I.M.S. officers in preference to these eminent Indian doctors. If I wanted to consult some physician I would not go to any Major or Colonel so and so ; I would go to Dr. Sahai of the Lucknow Medical College or I would go to Dr. Vyas, who is the personal physician of the Leader of the House and to whose ability and eminence as a physician the Leader of the House can himself testify. There was a time when we had in the I.M.S. European doctors of great eminence. We had men in the I.M.S. in our province of the eminence of Colonel Sprawson, Colonel Burke, Major-General Megaw, Colonel Close in Allahabad, we had Major Alexander who has retired from the I.M.S. ; we had these men at one time in our province, but that time has gone and when I look up the *Combined Civil List* of my province I find that we have got 19 I.M.S. officers on the civil side. Of those 19 medical officers, four are Indians ; you have got 15 European officers. Now of those 15 European officers I think one only has a superior medical qualification. The others have the qualifications L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S. and M.B., B.S. I do not think that they have any very high diploma qualifications either. That, Sir, is the pass to which the I.M.S. has come to. Why has there been this deterioration in the quality of the I.M.S. ? The deterioration in the quality of the I.M.S. is due to the fact that you have substituted nomination for competition. You have substituted nomination for competition because you want to preserve certain proportions, because you think that the Indian who goes to England and takes the M.R.C.P. or F.R.C.S. may beat the European in open competition. You want to have a certain proportion of Europeans in the I.M.S. Therefore you say, " Well, we must have nomination " and if that is the basis upon which you base your service, then inefficiency is certain to occur. I am rather sorry that I should have to make this criticism of a Service which has in the past a distinguished record of service in this country and which has given us some very eminent men like Sir Lionel Rogers, a world figure. It is no pleasure for me to talk in this strain of this great Service, but it is a fact. If I want to consult somebody, I have got to go to private practitioners. I would not think of going to an I.M.S. officer. The fact of the matter is that you only think of the few hundred Europeans or the few thousand Europeans who are serving in this country and you do not bother about the needs of the civil population at all. The Indian civil population consists of about 350 million people. Their needs do not concern the Government of India or His Majesty's Government. What interests them is—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : They do not go to doctors ; they resort to quacks.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I am always opposed to quacks, but my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru will not agree with me. If I had my way I would not let a single hakim, vaid or homoeopath to practise in this country, because I only believe in scientific medicine. I would rather die at the hands of a scientific physician than live at the hands of a quack.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : The two things required are the maximum amount of medicine and death in the end.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Therefore I suggest in all earnestness that the question ought to be revised. Our European friends do not hesitate to consult Indian doctors when they want to have efficiency. I know of European friends who have had themselves operated by Indian surgeons and they have had themselves operated upon by Indian surgeons in preference to British surgeons. They did not want to die; they wanted to live. In a service of this character, which is essentially a humanitarian service, which is essentially a professional service, there ought to be no racial discrimination. Today unfortunately in the I.M.S. you have racial discrimination in its worst form. It cannot be said that the Indians in the I.M.S. are not as efficient as the Europeans in the I.M.S., and yet in my own province I find that the best districts are reserved for the Europeans in the Medical Service. Now, I do not envy my European friends who prefer less qualified European doctors to more qualified Indian doctors. If I were a patient and I wanted to get well, I would go to anyone. I would not bother as to what his race was or his religion was. I would not bother as to what his country was. I hate Germany and Italy more than I hate any country, but if I could go to Germany for a cure I would go because my first concern would be to get well and I must get the best medical aid I can. That ought to be the mentality of any decent patient and I say that ought to be the mentality of our European friends also. They should realize that Indian medical men have now reached a high standard of efficiency and therefore it is not necessary for them to insist upon a certain proportion of European medical men. It is said that the Indian does not understand the habits and customs of the Englishman. Does the Englishman understand the habits and customs of the Indian? The Indian knows more about the diet of the European than the European knows about the diet of the Indian, and so far as the pathological and bacteriological examinations are concerned Indians can do those examinations, as also X-Ray examinations just as well as the European doctor. Therefore, Sir, I have not been able to understand what justification there is for maintaining the I.M.S. in its present form. But you say that this is essentially a war service and you want these men as a reserve for war purposes. Now, Sir, reference was made by the Honourable Mr. Kunzru to our experience of the last war. There were certain very distinguished I.M.S. men who gave a very good account of themselves in the last war. I believe one of them was specially mentioned in the Mesopotamian Despatch, Colonel Bhola Nath; and the last war also showed that the Indian had capacity for service at the front. Therefore, it cannot be said that you want these men because you want a war reserve. The obvious explanation is that you want—to put it in the bluntest manner possible; I hope I will not be offending the susceptibilities of my English friends—the fact of the matter is, you want these men because you want to find some jobs for your own people at home. I think the interest of the Commonwealth, both Britain and India, require that this question should be approached from a broader point of view. It should be approached from the point of view of what is good for this country, it should be approached from the point of view not only of the few European officials that we have in this country but also of the vast masses of the people of the country.

With these words, Sir, I give my support to this Resolution.

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

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muham-madan) : Mr. President, the Resolution which Mr. Kunzru has just moved is timely. The need for Indianization of this Service has been urged many a time. There is no need to recapitulate all the reasons which have been advanced in this connection formerly. But I should like just to mention a few of the reasons which prompted the bringing forward of this Resolution again after the lapse of about two years. Sir, it is an admitted fact that in the I.C.S. and other Central Services the number of Indians being employed is on the increase. The reason for reserving a certain amount of the personnel of the I.M.S. for Britishers was because Britishers in Superior Services wanted to have men of their own race to look after them. The formula is not acceptable to us. And even Europeans of the eminence of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode have admitted that the thing is being overdone. But whatever may be the reasons, on account of the fact that you have more men in the Civil Services who are Indians, you should employ a lesser number of Europeans in the I.M.S.

Then you have to admit, Sir, that in the officer ranks of the Army you are taking every day Indians from the Indian Military Academy. You have thrown open the doors of ancillary services to Indians which were formerly closed. All these things should be taken into account. Added to that, Sir, the recent announcement of His Majesty's Government revising the personnel of the British Army in India is an additional reason for you to revise the number of Britishers that you require as a war reserve. Your argument when this matter was discussed last was that the number of British I.M.S. officers really act as a war reserve to look after the officers in the Army in India. You do not require these European I.M.S. officers as a war reserve for the British troops alone because they are expected to have a war reserve outside too. But even in the Indian Army you are going to reduce the number of Indian forces as well. Taking all this in view, there is bound to be a great decrease in the number of European officers in the employ of the Government of India both in the Army and on the Civil side.

Then, Sir, you should also consider the possibility of keeping a war reserve in England just as His Majesty's Government is doing in the case of the R.A.M.C. Private practitioners, if they get a retainer during peace time with a liability to serve whenever their services are required, could be maintained at a much cheaper rate than keeping a fixed personnel for all the time and all the year round. Short service has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. You get a greater reserve by having short service but you lose on the other side, that you do not have the same amount of experienced hands as you would have if you had a longer term of service. Whilst most of the European officers are put on a continuous service or on a service which would extend to a greater period, the Indians are all of them practically on a short service basis. The present formula which has been evolved for the I.M.S. officers errs in keeping a very high percentage of European officers to Indians. The proportion, Sir, is 386 British officers to 198 Indian officers. That proportion Sir, of two to one,

was never correct but at the present moment it appears glaringly incorrect when we regard that in the Army the proportion of British troops to Indian troops in future is going to be about one to three. Furthermore, Sir, it should be considered whether in fairness it is just and equitable that people should be trained at the cost of the Indian exchequer and when they have become more competent on account of short services they should not be available to the people of India and those who pay for them. This is one of the disadvantages of having a short period of service.

I should like, Sir, to urge on the Government to reconsider the matter. The fact that it has been considered so recently as the 25th of March, 1937 should not stand in the way of the Government revising its policy if there are adequate reasons for it. The world is moving at too fast a pace. Years have lost their significance if you look at the changes which take place in the world. Within the space of barely two years the face of Europe has been changed enormously, changes which would not have taken place in the old days and which were not contemplated, have taken place rapidly. Therefore, I appeal to Government not to stick to the fact that this matter has been once looked into and it is only two years and there is nothing to bother about. That sort of feeling will not help you to solve this problem. The problems, whenever they arise, no matter how soon they arise, must be looked squarely in the face. It is the duty of the Government to do all in its power not only to convince itself but to convince those whom it has to govern, that whatever it is doing is in the best interests of the country. Your satisfaction, Sir, may at the present moment under the law be quite enough. But if you wish to have co-operation and goodwill, it is necessary that in addition to that, you should carry conviction to those who are representatives of the people and the people themselves. I appeal to the Government to look at the matter in that light.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL N. G. HIND (Nominated Official): In the unfortunate absence of His Excellency the Defence Member for reasons which I hope all Honourable Members of this House will appreciate, it falls to me to reply to the Honourable Pandit's Resolution. I feel rather in a difficult position, as I am, from personal experience, aware of the skill, devotion to duty, and gallantry of certain Indian officers of the I.M.S. I should like, therefore, to dispel any idea of racial discrimination.

The demand for the complete Indianization of the I.M.S. is an old one and has been frequently debated in this House and in the Assembly. The policy underlying the present organization has been fully explained and I hope Honourable Members will forgive me if I re-state the position and perhaps add a little information as to the present position.

The Defence Department is responsible for the co-ordination of action relating to the I.M.S. as it is primarily a military service but other departments are far more closely concerned in some of its aspects.

The Department of Education, Health and Lands is concerned with the civil side of the I.M.S. generally, as also are the Provincial Governments in their respective spheres.

[Colonel N. G. Hind.]

The Home Department is concerned with medical attendance upon the Superior Civil Services and the Political Department and External Affairs Department are also interested.

I propose to touch very briefly indeed upon those aspects of the Service which are only indirectly the concern of the Defence Department and to concentrate upon the military aspects of this complicated question. I do not wish to do more than briefly indicate what the progress of Indianization has been. It is sufficient to say that it has been fairly rapid.

The fact that as recently as 1923, 89 per cent. of the whole Service, civil and military, consisted of British officers of whom no less than 352 were in civil employ, is sufficient to show that we have been sincere in our desire to Indianize this Service as quickly and completely as possible, and merely to satisfy our minimum requirements of British officers. Under the present organization, the maximum number of British officers in civil employ is 166 out of whom 97 form a war reserve. On the military side there are about 223 British officers and 143 Indian officers, *i.e.*, just on 40 per cent. of the regular cadre of officers in military employ are Indians.

I would ask Honourable Members to realize that the peace medical military establishments are much smaller than the war establishments, and, in addition, casualties in the military medical services are apt to be very heavy in war time.

The small war reserve of 97 British officers will be used in bringing the peace establishments of British troops up to war strength and is sufficient only to meet the essential needs of the Army during the early stages of a war. It is now under the supreme test. In time, it may be possible, we hope, to obtain British officer reinforcements from England, but they certainly are not available immediately.

As regards the Indian Army, we rely upon Indians almost entirely both for filling up the war establishment and for the replacement of casualties. We have a small war reserve of 50 I.M.S. officers in civil employ. The reason that this is so small is that we are able to draw on the A.I.R.O. (Medical Wing) which consists entirely of Indian medical officers and whose present strength is 265. Forty-seven of these have already been called up, and the remainder may be expected to be called up shortly. As the war progresses, therefore, the proportion of Indian officers to British will be very greatly increased.

I will now say something about the war reserve as this is where the interests of the Defence Department and those of the Department of Education, Health and Lands and the provinces most closely inter-act.

It has been decided and, I think, is generally admitted that there must be a certain number of British medical officers available for the treatment of members of the Superior Civil Services and their families. It is from among these officers that the war reserve is drawn and we are therefore able to maintain it as economically as possible. Quite apart, therefore, from the military aspect of the case and the absolute necessity of maintaining a war reserve to

tide us over the first few months of a war, no further Indianization of the civil side of the I.M.S. is possible until a further measure of Indianization of the Superior Civil Services is carried out.

An Honourable Member has urged that the recent reductions in the number of British troops would justify a proportionate reduction in the number of British medical officers retained in the war reserve. At some future time, when peace has returned, it might be possible to reduce the war reserve still further, but no one would wish to dispense with the services of trained medical officers now; and in any case, the number is so small that it is difficult to see how we can do with less, even with the reduced establishment.

A further point made by my Honourable friend was the short service system. The short service system is in force as regards R.A.M.C. doctors in the United Kingdom. It is not in force in this country. Its great merit is that it allows a selection of those officers who have shown themselves best adapted to a career in the Military Medical Service, or who, after five years' experience wish to make it their life work; and at the same time it allows for the building up of a competent reserve thoroughly trained in military medical duties. It could not well be applied to British medical officers in the I.M.S. as, apart from the great difficulties of recruiting British officers for short service in India, an officer is not of much practical use in this country until he has had two years' experience or thereabouts, and the application of this system to British officers in the I.M.S.—I am pretty sure he will agree—would not be a good bargain. Recruiting difficulties would be serious and well qualified men would certainly not come out to India for five years military service unless they were paid much more than the present rates. All those who are drawn for a brief spell of soldiering would probably prefer to soldier in the R.A.M.C. in Great Britain. I am to say, however, that a proposal is under consideration at present for the suspension of recruitment of British officers to permanent commissions in the I.M.S. during the present emergency at least.

To sum up briefly, at the time of the Islington Commission to which my Honourable friend referred, and which reported in 1917 there were 775 officers in the I.M.S. of whom 54 were Indians. There are now 631 of whom 242 are Indians. As I have already indicated, the proportion of Indians in military employ will necessarily rise rapidly during the war and has begun to rise already. The number of British officers is the minimum and it would be most imprudent, as perhaps you will realize, to agree to a further reduction especially now of all times. Though the Defence Department thoroughly sympathise with the desire of Indians to obtain a fuller share of representation in the I.M.S. and has done everything in its power to make that possible, I am afraid I have no option but to oppose this Motion.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, it is my very pleasant task, and I think that there I am probably conveying the opinion of the whole House, to congratulate my Honourable and Gallant friend on the very lucid way in which he has replied to the debate in a maiden speech. (Applause.)

Sir, while my Honourable friend opposite was moving his Resolution there was a certain displacement of a piece of furniture owing to a screw being loose

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

somewhere. (Laughter.) I do not imply that Members on the opposite side or amongst the distinguished occupants of the Benches on my right were responsible. But my Honourable friend thought that his Resolution seemed to have created a great deal of commotion. Well, Sir, whenever my Honourable friend has a Resolution it does create a certain amount of commotion, or, if not commotion, a certain amount of increased application to despatches and notes and so on. I can say for myself that I have been for the last two days involved in reading up a good many reports and a good many resolutions, and I suppose my Honourable and Gallant friend probably had to go through the same process. But I am glad that on this particular occasion in concluding his speech my Honourable friend said that most of his attack was on the military side and that he was not going to touch the civil side.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: You are totally mistaken.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: Those were the words. Whether it was from want of time or inclination I do not know. I supposed it was inclination, because he thought there was nothing to attack on the civil side. So, I have nothing much to say except on the few points that have been raised in the course of the debate. I hope to take them up shortly. Sir, I do not wish in discussing this Resolution to compare the merits or demerits of particular doctors. I have not the long experience of my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru, who says that he has had the misfortune or the good fortune to be constantly seeking the companionship of doctors of all kinds, nor have I the scientific disinterestedness which would enable me to agree to be killed by a scientific doctor rather than be saved by a quack!

Now, Sir, I come to the main part of the Resolution. As my Honourable friend behind me has said, the whole object of having European I.M.S. doctors is to provide a reserve of officers to complete the numbers required by the Army on mobilization, and on the civil side to provide the requirements of the European officers in the Superior Services. My Honourable friend behind me has explained that the number which is required as a reserve for the whole of India, namely, ninety-seven, is the minimum which the Army consider is required for mobilization. (*An Honourable Member:* "But why British?") When my Honourable friend was speaking on his Resolution, he referred I thought with some approbation to the recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference and if he will kindly refresh his memory he will find that even that Committee said that the provinces in recruiting European officers will pay regard to the needs of the Army and also to the Superior Civil Services. I think even the Services Sub-Committee recognized that a certain number of European officers were required for the Army, and as my Honourable friend behind me said, that on mobilization it is extremely important to secure a sufficient number of men immediately. It takes a long time and it may not be possible to get the necessary numbers from abroad, all the European officers required, and that is the reason why there is a need for a European reserve in India.

The second need is that it is much more economical if you are going to have Europeans to treat the Superior Services if those officers are available in

peace time for this purpose and in war time as a reserve. Otherwise we may be driven to the position of having a large number of European doctors doing nothing at all and adding to the financial burden of the country. As regards the civil side, the total number of I.M.S. officers which are employed in the civil side is 220, of whom 166 are British and not less than 54 Indian. Of these 166 British officers, 122 are employed in the provinces; and of these 122, 77 form the war reserve. Now, if we exclude the total war reserve of 97 officers, 77 from the provinces and 20 employed in the Centre or in the Department of External Affairs or under the Crown Representative, the balance left is only 69 British officers for the whole of India. That will be the total number available as the war proceeds—69 officers not only in the provinces, but also in the Centre. As an Honourable Member said, a good deal of what is said today may be entirely out of date as the war proceeds. For instance, the question of competition has been raised, and so on. Well, at the present moment, if there were to be competition—as we know from past experience when there were competitive examinations in England during the last war—there would be no candidates available for competitive examinations; they would be all fighting as soldiers. The question of competition cannot arise at this moment. About the controversial question whether the best men are available by competition or through selection, my Honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition was in two minds. He thought at first that competition was not entirely satisfactory, but as he saw that he was getting into deep waters, he changed his mind and said that by selection worse results were obtained. However, that is a very controversial question and at this moment rather academic. As regards the question of the war reserve, whether the present war reserve will remain at the present figure when the war is over, it is impossible to say. I cannot say what will be the proportion of Indian and British troops, to what extent Indianization of the officer ranks would have taken place both on the military and civil sides, at the end of the war. Naturally after the war I feel that the whole question will again come up for consideration, and I should just like to say one word before I sit down. I think there is no one on this side who fails to appreciate the excellent work that has been done in the past and is being done by Indian doctors. We all recognize that the standard of education and capacity amongst Indians is rising rapidly. Colonel Hind bore personal testimony to the gallantry and efficiency of Indian officers. In dealing with this Resolution we on this side—whether I or any of my colleagues—have no hesitation in saying that Indian doctors have been efficient. But I should like also to say that it is hardly fair for my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru to draw general conclusions from perhaps a limited experience of doctors in a particular province about the efficiency of the European members of the I.M.S.; his experience must have been limited to a very few doctors, as he himself admitted. We owe a great deal of debt for what European members of the I.M.S. have done for the advancement of medical science in this country. He himself mentioned some eminent names. There was difficulty at one time, as was pointed out by Sir Richard Tottenham last year, in getting the right men, but conditions have improved now and there has been an improvement and the people who are coming forward now come with good qualifications. My Honourable friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru said that the best districts are reserved for European members of the I.M.S. With the

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

rapid development of the Indian medical profession, I am not quite sure that the proposition now holds good. I know from personal experience that many of the districts in my own province which were regarded as very attractive from the point of view of private practice are now no longer so. What I wish to press on the attention of the House is this. With the war on, the duty of British and Indian doctors is to alleviate human suffering irrespective of race, or creed or even whether the man is an enemy or a friend. It is hardly the time now when we are in these critical times to go into this question of the re-organization of the I.M.S. We must wait because the circumstances and conditions would have so altered after the war that any decision now may not be appropriate to the changed circumstances. We must wait till the war is over before we re-examine this question, and I feel pretty certain that a re-examination will then be due for the reasons which I have already stated. I would therefore suggest to my Honourable friend—we all recognize that there is a great deal of feeling in the matter—that in view of what I have said and in view of the grave circumstances in which we are now working, that he will withdraw the Resolution and not press it to a division, after he has exercised his right of reply.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Mr. President, I listened with the greatest interest to my Honourable friends Colonel Hind and Sir Jagdish Prasad. I was both surprised and pained to find that in spite of the facts that I ventured to place before them they had not been able to appreciate the situation from the point of view of Indians. Colonel Hind spoke of a large reduction in the cadre of the Indian Medical Service since the Islington Commission reported and also of a large increase in the number of Indian officers in the Indian Medical Service. It is of course true that the cadre of the I.M.S. has been cut down and that a certain ratio for the recruitment of Indian officers has been fixed. But he seems to have forgotten what I pointed out to him in my opening speech, namely, that if the competitive examination had not been discontinued and the recruitment of officers been based on the sole ground of merit, the percentage of successful Indians would have been more than 33½. I pointed out that 33 per cent. of the successful candidates in 1913 were Indians and that in 1914 this percentage had risen to 40. I ask him and the Leader of the House how they can expect us to be satisfied with a rule which actually reduces the opportunities which we had before the war of entering the I.M.S. When they talk about the needs of the Superior Civil Service officers or the war reserve, do they realise that 25 years ago when the authorities were quite as alive as they are now to the need for maintaining a large British element the percentage of successful Indians was rising and had reached the figure of 40 in the year in which the war commenced? My Honourable friends will say that an agitation against the entry of Indians in large numbers into the I.M.S. had begun because of that. The evidence that the representatives of the British officers in the I.M.S. tendered before the Public Service Commission shows that abundantly but does the acceptance of their point of view do any credit to the spokesman of Government in this House?

My Honourable friend Sir Jagdish Prasad congratulated himself on the fact that my remarks had been directed against the military portion of the I.M.S. only. Well, he might have tried to delude himself on that point but I am certain he could not have failed to grasp the significance of the figures that I quoted in my opening speech. But since he has stated that he did not think that I was concerned with the civil side of the case, let me point out the fact to him, which I have no doubt he already knows but which he has totally ignored in his speech, that owing to the requirements of the Britishers in the higher services and the need for a war reserve of which so much has been said both by him and by Colonel Hind, there are no civil surgeoncies open as a matter of course to the Indian members of the I.M.S., I know that it will be open to the Provincial Governments to ask for any number of Indian officers of the I.M.S. There is no restriction placed on their power of employing either I.M.S. officers or of Indian officers of the I.M.S. But the fact remains that owing to the above-mentioned requirements certain civil surgeoncies which are set apart for the I.M.S. are reserved as a matter of right for British officers exclusively. There are no civil surgeoncies among them which can be occupied by Indians. I do not mean to say that the powers of the Provincial Governments should not have been enlarged in respect of appointments to civil medical posts but I submit that even if you are going to reserve half a dozen civil surgeoncies for the I.M.S., Indians should be given an adequate proportion of them.

Sir, both Sir Jagdish Prasad and Colonel Hind have referred repeatedly and pointedly to the demand of the British officers and the Superior Services for being treated by doctors of their own race. Our experience in the country at large is that Britishers not less anxious about their health and of a social position not inferior to that occupied by members of the I.C.S., or the Indian Police or the Indian Engineering Services, are freely taking advantage of the services of competent Indian doctors. Does not this show that you are either inciting the members of the Superior Services to put forward objections to the increased employment of Indian officers or that you are doing nothing to put down this unworthy prejudice ? But even, Sir, if we must continue to bow to this prejudice, I should like to point out that in most of the important places, at any rate in my province, where civil surgeoncies have been reserved for European officers there are R.A.M.C. officers. In most of these places there are both British and Indian hospitals—I mean hospitals maintained for the treatment of British and Indian troops. The R.A.M.C. officers get all their training and education in England. Their opportunities of engaging in research work are not less than those of members of the I.M.S. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that their qualifications are not inferior to those of members of the I.M.S. If you must pander to a prejudice which you have done nothing to put down, why cannot you ask the people who demand treatment by members of their own race to apply to the R.A.M.C. doctors ?

What I have said about my own province, I suppose is equally true of the other provinces. You have here, therefore, a means both of respecting the prejudices of the European members of the Superior Civil Services and of giving effect to the legitimate desire of Indians not to be discriminated against

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

in their own country. Sir, a few weeks ago I went to Agra, which is my native place, and I found there a very competent and popular I.M.S. officer who is an Indian. His competence will be apparent from the fact that he is a F.R.C.S. of England. But he had to leave Agra because that station owing to the prejudice against Indians is reserved for Britishers. I want to know, Sir, whether such a system can be defended on any grounds whatsoever? If a British officer had had to leave any particular station because Indian Ministers were anxious to patronize Indian medical officers, I am sure they would have been accused loudly and hotly of being inspired by unworthy racial considerations. But here you follow the same practice and you take shelter behind other people instead of manfully accepting the responsibility for your actions.

Sir, there is just one more point that I should like to deal with before I sit down. My Honourable friend Sir Jagdish Prasad referring to the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, asked me to take note of the fact that it advised the appointment of British officers to the Indian Medical Service to meet the needs of Britishers in the higher Civil Services. But that Committee did not advise the reservation of any districts for British Civil Surgeons. Reservation has undoubtedly been done away with in theory under the rules published in May last but it still exists in practice. If Government had accepted that part of the recommendation of the Services Sub-Committee which related to the undesirability of reserving civil surgeoncies for members of any race it could with some justification have pointed to the other recommendation of that Committee as providing a valid ground for the action that they had taken. But they ignored the views of the Committee on the question of reservation and quietly accepted its recommendation for the appointment of British officers in the I.M.S. to satisfy the needs of British officers belonging to the Superior Services.

Again, Sir, I should be quite prepared for the time being to accept the force of all that has fallen both from the Honourable Sir Jagdish Prasad and the Honourable Colonel Hind, if they will tell me why there should be a large British element in that part of the Indian Medical Service which performs purely military duties. Are we to have 60 per cent. of British officers even in that part of the Service simply because officers of the Indian units are almost British? Is that the argument that is going to be put forward? If you are going to do so, you have no right morally to call upon us to help you at this juncture. If you want our help you must also change your angle of vision. There must be loyalty on both sides. You must satisfy our sense of self-respect. You must not treat us like *pariahs* in our own country, if you want our free and full co-operation. But, so long as the present state of things continues and your unworthy prejudices must be pampered even in a crisis like this, what hope can there be of bringing about the co-operation that we all would fain have?

Sir, I did not know till Colonel Hind informed us that the recruitment of British officers on a permanent basis to the I.M.S. had been suspended. But that fact by itself does not amount to anything at all. The grant of permanent Commissions to them was suspended during the last war too. But what the final

outcome has been, in spite of this temporary suspension, I have very clearly stated before the House. When this war is over,—let us hope that it will be over sooner than has been forecast,—I have no reason to believe that a more liberal policy will be pursued. Of course, in the meanwhile, the forces of nationalism will grow in this country and much stronger pressure will be brought to bear on Government than is the case at present. Government will undoubtedly have to yield, but in such a case, compliance with our wishes will lose all its efficacy and grace. It is precisely because the war is going on, because you will require the help of a large number of Indian doctors, that you ought to make a complete break with the past. You know that England is going to put huge armies in the field. It will not be easy for her to satisfy our needs has no meaning. Why need she be burdened there with the requirements of India ? From your own point of view I say it is not prudent of you to continue the present system at such a time. As for our point of view, if you have to depend very largely—in fact, overwhelmingly—on the services of Indian doctors now, there is absolutely no reason why the old system should be continued and advantage should not be taken of the present situation when old feelings would not be so active as they have hitherto been, to put an end to a system which is based on racial feelings and almost Imperialistic prejudices.

Sir, I regret I cannot accede to the wishes of my Honourable friend the Leader of the House, that I should withdraw the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : Sir, I want to clear up certain points. I did not realize when I spoke that my Honourable friend had reserved all his fire for his reply. When he introduced the Resolution, there was no fire behind it, and I thought that he had exhausted all his missiles. I was mistaken. My Honourable friend has shown considerable resentment when dealing with the question as to why the competitive examination for the I.M.S. was abolished. He said it was playing false with the people if after you have instituted a competitive examination and you find that the proportion of successful Indians is getting larger and larger, you suddenly abolish the system. Is not that, he asked, doing a thing which no responsible Government, or even if it is irresponsible, no decent Government should do. May I ask my Honourable friend as to what happened about the I.C.S. ? Once it is accepted that you want a certain proportion of a certain community to be enrolled, and if one method fails, is it such an undesirable thing that other methods should be adopted ? If it is accepted—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : My Honourable friend has mis-stated what I said. May I correct him ? Whatever my feelings may be, I did not say expressly in this House that the competitive examination was stopped only to keep down the number of Indians. What I said was that in 1914, when the competitive examination was still going on, 40 per cent. of the successful candidates were Indians. But, after the war, as a matter of generosity, His Majesty's Government ask us to be content with only 33½ per cent. of the annual recruitment.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : If you accept that you want a certain number of people of a particular community, and if you cannot get it by the method of competition, then it is open to you to have

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

recourse to nomination. That is followed at the present moment with regard to recruitment of minority communities in the I.C.S. and in the I.P.S. It was followed during the war in regard to the I. C. S. It is even now followed. The number of Indians having been fixed, according to the Lee Commission, as half and half, the competitive examination in England, as my Honourable friend knows, is now a limited competition. The number of vacancies which are available to Indians is limited. I think my Honourable friend knows that. Therefore, if Government found that they could not get European recruits of the requisite qualifications by a competitive examination, I think they were entitled to choose some other method. I do not think that my Honourable friend's contention is correct that the only method which could decently be adopted is competition, and if during the course of the competition, all the candidates were of a particular country or of a particular nationality, then you should not recruit candidates of the other nationality, that you want by another method. I say, once you accept the principle that you want a certain number of recruits of a particular nationality, then you cannot say that the only method of recruitment that you should adopt should be a method by which you may get no recruits at all. I think that would reduce the whole thing to an absolute farce. That is one of the reasons why this method of competition was discarded. I can quite understand my Honourable friend saying that in the recruitment of Indians you should not adopt the method of selection. I think there can be two opinions on that. You can say, "All right, if you want your Englishmen you can choose this method, though personally we ourselves feel that competition even there would be the best". But to say that you must adopt a method which in its results shows that you cannot get the candidates you want and to insist that that should be the only method that should be adopted really means that you do not want that those candidates should be selected at all. That would be the practical result.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Where have I asked for the restoration of the competitive examination ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: But my Honourable friend said that when the competitive examination was abolished 40 per cent. of the successful candidates were Indians.

Now, I come to the second question as regards the reservation of certain civil surgeoncies for European I.M.S. officers. I know that there is a great deal of feeling on that point. Nobody can fail to recognize that there is much feeling. People are saying that if such a prejudice exists Government should not take notice of it. But as my Honourable friend knows, the Secretary of State has said repeatedly that he is bound to respect the wishes—you may call them unreasonable prejudices—but there it is, the desire of the European services to be treated by doctors of their own nationality, and he has said definitely that he is bound to respect those wishes and that therefore he must make provision that Europeans and their families in the Superior Services should have the opportunity of being treated by doctors of their own race. As I said when the Resolution was being discussed two years ago, I am only stating the facts. I myself am expressing no personal opinion on that. But Government have got to take note of that feeling. There the fact exists and

the Secretary of State has said that he will respect those wishes of the Europeans in the Superior Services.

Then my Honourable friend said, "Now here is this war; are you going to allow this percentage of 60 European I.M.S. officers and 40 Indians to continue?" But the men are already there. What does my Honourable friend want at this time, that these 60 per cent. of European doctors, every one of whom is required, should be told that they should clear out? They are being mobilized. What does my Honourable friend want, that these men who have been serving so long under Government should be told that their percentage is too high and they should clear out?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I want a change for the future.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : I say with regard to the future the whole position will be altered. I emphasise that if the war goes on the proportion will no longer be 60 per cent. of Europeans; because of the large number of Indians who will be recruited the proportion of Europeans will fall.

Then he came to this question of the R.A.M.C. He said why could not the Europeans rely on the R.A.M.C.? What would have been the position, if we had no I.M.S. officers who could be kept back for the treatment of Europeans in the Superior Services. They would have been without any European doctors because R.A.M.C. officers are not now available. That is one of the reasons why a certain number of European I.M.S. officers are being kept in the country and are not being mobilized.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : But not all the I.M.S. officers will be available either.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : Quite. But the reason for I.M.S. European officers in the reserve for civilians is today apparent. The reason is that if you do not have them, there would be no European I.M.S. officers available at all. Undoubtedly the facilities will be decreased because 77 I.M.S. officers who are now working in the provinces will be recalled to the Army. To that extent the opportunities for treatment of Europeans by European doctors will be lessened. But if there were no residuaries there would be no European I.M.S. doctors left. That is the reason why, if the principle is accepted that the Europeans in the Superior Services should have an opportunity of being treated by officers of their own race then sole reliance cannot be placed on the R.A.M.C. officers, because during a war there will be no R.A.M.C. officers available.

I am sorry that my Honourable friend thinks that in spite of all that we have said he must still insist on pressing his Resolution to a division. I do not think that the points of view between him and ourselves are so irreconcilable or so contrary to each other that he must insist on a division being called. I again hope that now that he has had his shot and had his say and has disillusioned me about what he said about the civil side, he will not press his Resolution to a division.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Resolution moved :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to Indianize the Indian Medical Service."

Question put and the Council divided :

AYES—6.

Buta Singh, Hon. Sardar.

Kaliker, Hon. Mr. V. V.

Kunzru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.

Ram Saran Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala.

Sapru, Hon. Mr. P. N.

Sinha, Hon. Kumar Nripendra Narayan.

NOES—24.

Abdul Sattar, Hon. Mr. Abdul Razak Hajee.

Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.

Conran-Smith, Hon. Mr. E.

Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.

Devadoss, Hon. Sir David.

Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.

Haidar, Hon. Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din.

Hind, Hon. Colonel N. G.

Hissamuddin Bahadur, Hon. Lt.-Col. Sir.

Ismail Ali Khan, Hon. Kunwar Haji.

Jagdish Prasad, Hon. Kunwar Sir.

Jones, Hon. Mr. C. E.

Lal, Hon. Mr. Shavax A.

Lloyd, Hon. Sir Alan.

Menon, Hon. Sir Ramunni.

Muhammad Yakub, Hon. Sir.

Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.

Nihal Singh, Hon. Sirdar.

Parker, Hon. Mr. R. H.

Patro, Hon. Sir A. P.

Richardson, Hon. Mr. J. H. S.

Russell, Hon. Sir Guthrie.

Sobha Singh, Hon. Sardar Bahadur.

Tyson, Hon. Mr. J. D.

The Motion was negatived.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House) : Sir, the Defence of India Bill is expected to be disposed of by the other House today and I suggest we meet tomorrow afternoon at 4-30 P.M. to lay it on the table.

Friday, the 22nd, has been fixed for non-official business but as there is only one Resolution on the agenda for that day I propose that with your permission the four official Bills which were laid on the table day before yesterday may be taken up after the non-official Resolution has been disposed of.

On Saturday, the 23rd, I suggest that the House should meet to take into consideration the Defence of India Bill which, as I have already said is expected to be laid on the table tomorrow. That day will be devoted entirely to discussion on the Consideration Motion and detailed discussion on the clauses of the Bill will take place on Monday, the 25th, so that Honourable Members may have time to give notice of any amendment that they may like to move.

Tuesday, the 26th, has been allotted for non-official business but as only three non-official Resolutions are coming up on that day, I suggest that with your permission the rest of the day may be devoted to official business.

I hope that the whole business for this session will be over on Tuesday, the 26th, but if that expectation is not realized we might, I am afraid, have to meet on Wednesday, the 27th.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Defence of India Bill is a very important Bill and I am not prepared to waive the usual notice unless Honourable Members on the opposite side are agreeable. (To Honourable Members.) Do you agree ?

HONOURABLE MEMBERS : No, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SHAVAX A. LAL : We propose to meet tomorrow for laying the Bill on the table and then to have the discussion on the 23rd.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : That is for the consideration stage. When we have to move amendments, will Government give us enough time ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I will give time till Monday morning if you agree.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I personally agree.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Do you agree to have the consideration of the Bill on Saturday ? You will be permitted to put in amendments till Monday morning ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I agreed to it earlier in the morning thinking that we would be asked to meet at 11 A.M. tomorrow. Now, however, the Leader of the House suggests that we should meet at 4-30 P.M.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : If my Honourable friend wants to meet at 11 A.M., we have no objection. As a matter of fact the intention was to circulate copies of the Bill to Honourable Members before then and only to go through this formal procedure of laying it on the table tomorrow evening as a certain number of Honourable Members considered it would cut up the whole day if we met at 11 A.M. If Honourable Members insist, we can meet at 11 A.M. They can be sure that they will get the Bill much before 11 A.M.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Are you quite sure that the Bill will be passed in another place this evening ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : That is what I gather.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : If it is not passed ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : If it is not passed, it will be laid on the table on Friday.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS : I suggest that we meet once for all on Friday because in any case we have got business on that day. Whether the Bill is placed on the table tomorrow evening or at 11 A.M. on Friday would not matter much. The general discussion may go on on Saturday and the clauses be taken up on Monday.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : If Honourable Members do not want to finish on the 26th, so far as we are concerned, we are quite prepared to continue to the 27th. It was only to meet the convenience of Honourable Members that the suggestion was made. If they would like the discussion to continue after the 26th, I have no objection.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Sir David Devadoss's suggestion is to meet on Friday when we can transact the allotted business as well as this formality. On Saturday we will have the general discussion and on Monday the consideration of the clauses.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : We should have the Bill by tomorrow morning.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : Certainly.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : If it is not passed by the Assembly today, if it is passed only tomorrow, you could not fairly ask us to consider it on Saturday.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : If it is not passed today and the House does not want to consider it on Saturday, then we will have it on Monday. If the Bill is passed today, we might lay the Bill on the table on Friday forenoon, but advance copies will be circulated to Members tomorrow. If that meets the wishes of the House, we will not meet tomorrow. Copies of the Bill will be circulated tomorrow morning to Honourable Members, the Bill will be laid on the table on Friday and considered on Saturday.

(Honourable Members agreed.)

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 22nd September, 1939.
