

Wednesday, 18th March, 1942

# COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

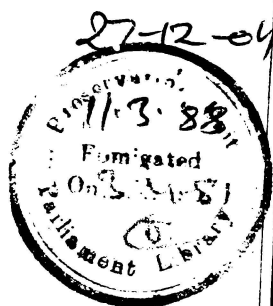
VOLUME I, 1942

*(18th February to 2nd April, 1942)*

## ELEVENTH SESSION

OF THE

# FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1942



PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI  
PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI  
1943

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# COUNCIL OF STATE

Wednesday, 18th March, 1942.

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

## MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. Geoffrey Stephen Bozman (Secretary for Indians Overseas).

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

MR. WILLIAM BULLITT.

138. THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL : Are Government aware of the press report dated 10th January about the impending arrival in India of the United States special envoy Mr. Bullitt ?

- (a) Is the further supply of war requirements from this country to the allied countries the chief objective of his visit ?
- (b) If not, what is the object of his visit ?
- (c) What safeguards are provided by the Government of India against the risk of the interests of India being subordinated to conflicting interests in the allied group of countries ?
- (d) What assurance has this country received that when there are alternative sources of supply within the allied countries, India would get a fair share ?
- (e) What aid has America given to India by way of supply of munitions, shipping or in other similar form so far in the present war ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : Government are aware of reports to the effect that Mr. Bullitt was about to visit India. To the best of their belief, he has no intention of visiting India at present.

Parts (a) and (b) of the question therefore do not arise.

Parts (c) and (d). No safeguards are required, as India already receives more orders than she can comfortably execute.

Part (e). India is eligible for aid from America under Lease-Lend arrangements in the same way as the United Kingdom and the Dominions, but it would not be in the public interest to disclose details.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL : Regarding (e), Sir, the Finance Member has said in his Budget Speech that goods worth about Rs. 11 crores would be arriving or are expected to arrive by 1941-42. Has anything arrived so far ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : Materials are arriving. I cannot say whether materials amounting to that sum in its entirety have arrived already.

**MATERIAL RECEIVED UNDER LEASE-LEND ARRANGEMENTS.**

139. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Is India receiving any material from the U.S.A. under the Lend and Lease deal ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : Yes—a large quantity of material of all sorts essential for the war effort is being received.

**RECRUITMENT TO THE R.A.M.C.**

140. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Have Government thrown open the Royal Army Medical Corps in India to medical practitioners of non-enemy European descent, whether British subjects or not ? If so, why ? Is there any dearth of suitable candidates who are British subjects ? How many of such have been appointed so far ; and what qualifications and terms have been fixed for such non-British subjects ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The policy governing recruitment to the Royal Army Medical Corps is laid down by His Majesty's Government and they have decided that in exceptional circumstances in order to maintain establishments of the Corps, persons of non-enemy origin who are not British subjects, may be allowed to obtain commissions in the Royal Army Medical Corps. Government are not aware how many such persons may have been commissioned in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, but none has so far been commissioned in India.

The qualifications laid down are equivalent to those registrable in the United Kingdom and the terms and conditions are the same as for British subjects.

**ELIGIBILITY OF INDIAN STATES SUBJECTS FOR RECRUITMENT IN THE INDIAN ARMY.**

141. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state whether subjects of Indian States are eligible for recruitment in the Indian Army ? If so, how many of them have been recruited up to date ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the latter part, figures are not readily available.

**NUMBER OF PRISONERS OF WAR IN INDIA.**

142. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Will Government state the number of (a) Italian and (b) German prisoners of war in India ? What is the average cost of a prisoner per day ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) :

Italians . . . . .	66,667
Germans . . . . .	145

As regards cost I regret the information is not readily available but I may add that the cost in question is debited wholly to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

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Questions against the Hon. Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh were put by Mr. V. V. Kalikar.

**PROPORTION OF INDIAN OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN ARTILLERY, ETC.**

**143. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** What is the proportion of Indian commissioned officers in the (a) Indian Artillery, (b) Indian Corps of Engineers, and (c) Mechanized Cavalry ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS** (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The present proportion of Indian commissioned officers is as follows :—

- (a) Indian Artillery, 1 to 7, exclusive of Royal Artillery officers attached to Indian Artillery units.
- (b) Indian Corps of Engineers, 2 to 7, exclusive of Royal Engineers employed with the Indian Corps of Engineers.
- (c) Mechanised Cavalry, 1 to 4.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** What is this proportion ? Is it due to the policy of the Government to recruit Indians in small numbers for these technical services ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** I think probably it would be more convenient if I answered this in reply to the Honourable Member's Resolution which I take it he will move later in the day.

**PROPORTION OF INDIAN OFFICERS UNDER TRAINING AT THE FIGHTING VEHICLES SCHOOL, AHMEDNAGAR.**

**144. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** What is the proportion of Indian officers under training at the Fighting Vehicles School, Ahmednagar ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS** (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The number of commissioned officers undergoing training in the Fighting Vehicles School, Ahmednagar, at any one time is 120 and Viceroy's commissioned officers 80. No quota or proportion is fixed for Indian officers as against others. Officers are selected and trained in this School with a view to their eventual usefulness to their units as instructors and no differentiation is made as regards Indian officers and others. In the circumstances the proportion of Indian officers to others varies from time to time.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** What is it at the present time ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** I have indicated that it was not considered worth while finding out, as by the time the information is received it is out of date. It varies from time to time.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** Is it a fact that Government have supplied similar information with regard to the Indian Artillery School Cadet Wing ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** I cannot say about that, Sir, but it does not affect the fact that by the time the information is received it is out of date.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** Does the Honourable Member remember that he himself replied to the question regarding the proportion of Indian and British candidates at the Indian Artillery School Cadet Wing ?

(No answer.)

#### FORMATION OF AN INDIAN VOLUNTEER UNIT IN SINGAPORE.

145. **THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH :** Is it a fact that the very morning after the first air raid on Singapore, early in December last, a deputation of Indians waited on the Governor, and requested him to allow the Indian community to form a volunteer unit ; but the request was refused by the Governor as, in his opinion, Singapore was very heavily garrisoned, and there was no need for any volunteer unit ? Have Government made any inquiry into the matter and what are the facts ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN :** Government have seen a press report on the subject but have no authentic information.

#### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EVACUATION ARRANGEMENTS FROM PENANG.

146. **THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH :** Is it a fact that when evacuation took place in Penang, with the exception of three Englishmen—one doctor and two members of the Salvation Army—the whole white administration of Penang evacuated, while not a single Indian or Asiatic was allowed to leave by these boats except one Asiatic official, not even women and children ? Have Government made any inquiry with regard to the evacuation of Indians from Penang ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN :** The Honourable Member will appreciate that it has been impossible to obtain any official information. Government have however seen press reports to this effect and a statement reported to have been made by the Governor of the Straits Settlements on the 20th of December indicates that there was some breakdown in the civil administration.

I have not myself seen any specific reference to a refusal to allow Asiatic women to leave Penang, but there is reason to believe that very few if any Asiatic civilians were able to get away. Reports received from evacuees from Malaya are noticeably consistent on this point and the Government of India have called the attention of the authorities concerned to the necessity for a full inquiry when circumstances permit.

#### RAILWAY PASSES.

147. **THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH :** (a) With regard to the "Travel Less" campaign initiated by the railway authorities, is it a fact that even railway officers drawing a salary of over one thousand rupees per month are allowed twelve free passes every year for themselves and their families to any part of the country and back ?

(b) Is it a fact that even many of those railway officials whose services have been lent to the Supply or other Departments are continuing to enjoy these pass concessions ?

(c) Do Government propose to make an inquiry into the above, and place the facts before the House ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY :** (a) and (b). The reply to both parts of the question is in the affirmative.

(c) Though the number of passes to which railway officials are entitled under the pass rules has not been curtailed, instructions have issued to the effect that they are expected to travel less in the same way as the public.

**NUMBER OF INDIANS AND EUROPEANS UNDERGOING TRAINING AS PARACHUTISTS.**

148. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state how many Indians and Europeans are under training in the Air Landing School for the training of parachute troops ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The numbers of Indian and British troops undergoing this training are approximately the same.

**NUMBER OF INDIANS AND EUROPEANS UNDERGOING TRAINING AT ANTI-AIRCRAFT TRAINING CENTRES, ETC.**

149. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state how many Indians and Europeans are receiving instruction in anti-aircraft and coast defence artillery special centres ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : I regret that it would not be in the public interest to give actual figures, but I would give the percentages which are as follows :—

Anti-Aircraft Training Centres .	100 % Indian.
Anti-Aircraft School	20 % European and 80 % Indian
Coast Artillery Training Centre	100 % Indian.
Coast Artillery School	25 % European and 75 % Indian.

**NUMBER OF INDIANS AND EUROPEANS IN THE HIGHER WAR SCHOOL.**

150. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state how many Indians and Europeans are receiving instruction in the Higher War School for the instruction of senior officers ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : Twelve Europeans and no Indians. I may add for the information of the Honourable Member that the Higher War School is intended for the training of senior officers and no combatant Indian officer has, as yet, reached the requisite seniority.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : What does the Honourable Member mean by saying that the School is limited to the instruction of senior officers ? What is the seniority that is required ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : On an average their rank is that of full Colonel.

**SUPPLY OF HEAVY EQUIPMENT FROM HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.**

151. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Have Government made representations to His Majesty's Government for adequate and immediate supply of such heavy equipments for land forces in India as are not manufactured in this country ? If so, with what result ?



**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS** (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the last part, the requirements of India are correlated with those of all others and India receives her share in accordance with the general policy of distribution.

**BANNING OF ANTI-FASCIST MEETINGS AND MEETINGS ORGANISED BY LOCAL SOVIET AID COMMITTEES.**

**152. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH** : Is it a fact that meetings organised by local Soviet Aid Committees and anti-Fascist meetings have been banned in India ? If so, why ; and are Government in a position to make a statement on the subject ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH** : No anti-Fascist meetings and meetings organised by local Soviet Aid Committees have been banned except where disturbed local conditions have necessitated a temporary ban on *all* meetings. There may have been a few cases in which meetings organised ostensibly on an anti-Fascist basis, have had to be stopped because their real object was something quite different.

**RIFLES FOR THE BHONSLA MILITARY SCHOOL, NASIK.**

**153. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH** : Is it a fact that while the military authorities have refused to sanction the use of non-serviceable rifles at the Nasik Military School, several European and Anglo-Indian schools in India are being given ample facilities, including the use of even serviceable rifles, for their training ? If so, why this differential treatment ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS** (on behalf of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : The facts are not as stated by the Honourable Member. Government did not refuse the issue of non-serviceable rifles to the Bhonsla Military School, Nasik. What was refused was the request for the issue of serviceable rifles.

No schools, whether European or Anglo-Indian, are, as such, issued with serviceable rifles. If they have a cadet unit affiliated to the Auxiliary Force (India), such units like University Training Corps may be issued with rifles and ammunition because they can then be kept under proper military supervision.

**SULPHUR DEPOSITS IN BALUCHISTAN.**

**154. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH** : Is it a fact that the monopoly for the exploitation of sulphur deposits, which have recently been discovered in Baluchistan, has been given to a European firm, Messrs. Gillanders Arbuthnot and Co. ? If so, why ? Were Indian firms sounded to take up this work ? If not, why not ?

**THE HONOURABLE MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON** : No. The Baluchistan sulphur mines are being exploited departmentally.

**MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT *RE* EVACUEES FROM BURMA.**

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** : In view of my observations made at the last sitting I am glad that the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Husain has modified his Motion of Adjournment and he has sent me a revised Motion which I will presently read to the House :—

“ That this House do adjourn to discuss a matter of public interest and urgency, namely, the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma ”.

This Motion is entirely in order and unless Honourable Members have any objection I will allow it.

(No Honourable Member raised any objection.)

The Motion is therefore admitted and if we finish today's business before lunch then this Motion would be debated at 4 P.M. but if we meet again after lunch it will be taken up immediately after the completion of today's business.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Am I to understand, Sir, that even if we finish all the work today before lunch then the Motion will be taken up at 4 P.M.? Why should we not take it up if we finish our business before lunch and finish with it?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Honourable Member must know that the usual time fixed by the Standing Orders is 4 P.M. and it can only be taken up earlier with the consent of the Government Member under the Standing Orders. I have ascertained the views of Government and have come to that decision.

#### RESOLUTION RE SUBSIDIES TO FLYING CLUBS.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution which stands in my name :—

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council not to discontinue the subsidies to the civil flying clubs in the country except in provinces where a proclamation of emergency is in force.”

Sir, in the year 1928 the first flying club was founded in Delhi and it started functioning in January, 1929. Since then a number of clubs were established in India without any Government financial aid and history proves that they did solid work and that at the outbreak of the war they were able to provide a great number of pilots. The object of establishing these flying clubs was to make the Indians air-minded and on that ground Government accepted that policy and introduced subsidies. Now, Sir, what have the events proved? We find that Air Force is the chief arm of defence and that there is a great paucity of air pilots. Here, Sir, in this House and in the other place, Members had been always advocating that in the Indian defence forces there ought to be a sufficient number of commissioned Indian officers and that Indianization should go on at its promised pace. We find that there is a great dearth of air pilots. Government have to go to places like Australia, Canada and South Africa to find air pilots for their Air Force. We find that in America, the A. V. G. (*i.e.*, the American Volunteer Guards) are similar to what we have in India in the flying clubs. Initial training is given to those candidates who are selected for the Air Force and the training, if I rightly understand, extends to at least 75 flying hours. In India, Sir, some training institutions have been founded by the Defence Department, and the initial training for these is given in flying clubs, where flying solo limit now been reduced to a maximum of 25 hours, which means that our product from these initial schools and subsequently from the training centres is not up to the mark and is much below the general standard prescribed in other countries. Therefore, Sir, it is essential that in case Government seriously wants to train Indians in the Air Force and to make India air-minded, these clubs must continue to receive subsidies. Events in Burma have proved that the pilots who had at least 75 flying hours' initial training have proved much more efficient than those who had practically less than half such training. From the papers we find that the American pilots brought down 150 Japanese planes out of 180 while the British units could not reach that efficiency standard. Stoppage of the subsidies

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

at this time when you want more pilots and when there is a big increase to be made in the air defence Government's such attempt to save a few thousand rupees seems rather unfortunate. I might say that since the war started, various flying clubs were found to be of immense use and the very first batch of those Indian air officers whom they selected mainly came from the Indian flying clubs, and now to stop the subsidies when the war expenditure in India ranges over Rs. 40 lakhs a day and save a few thousands of rupees cannot be real economy. I am glad that on the representation of the flying clubs, Government have been good enough to renew the subsidy for another three months from 1st April to a few clubs. I believe that Government will see its way and will be prudent enough to continue this subsidy for the rest of the year too. It is no use saying that Government cannot afford it. I do not like the British Government going to other countries and asking for help. That is below the dignity of the Government. One day it goes to China and asks for help; another day it goes to America and asks for help. Why should not India be self-contained and why should not the defence flying arm be made ready and prepared for any period of emergency? I can say that in India the flying clubs have also produced "B" air pilots for the commercial air line. As many as 23 were produced by the Delhi Flying Club and they have done well. Now, owing to the war, there is a great dearth of aeroplanes and therefore the prospects of "B" pilots trained in the flying clubs are not very bright. Therefore, I would suggest that the initial training of the Defence Department should continue to be made in these clubs, and that a bigger number of candidates should be sent for air training and that the subsidies should continue. Otherwise, Indians will come to the conclusion, as many people are even now thinking, that Government does not like India to be air-minded and so does not allow even small subsidies to the flying clubs to continue. I hope, Sir, that the Government will be prudent enough having realised the necessity of these flying clubs. In these new training centres which have been established by the Defence Department there is no provision for training amateurs. Only those candidates who are trained who are selected for the Air Force. That is not right, Sir. I can say that now, in the Indian Air Force, there are officers who, when they started training, never intended to join service. They joined the service as a matter of patriotic duty because more air pilots were required. I may, by the way, mention, Sir, that there is great disappointment among the Indian pilots because the percentage of qualified pilots who were selected by the Royal Air Force were much too less. I understand—if I am wrong the Honourable the Government Member will put me right—that the half-trained pilots who have been imported from abroad into India have been instrumental in damaging many a plane for want of proper experience. It is, therefore, essential that India should be made self-contained and there should be enough pilots in India to cope with any emergency that might develop. Many sea routes are now being closed and Government will find it difficult later on, and people will blame Government for its anti-Indianization policy in case the subsidies are stopped.

With these words, Sir, I commend this Resolution for the kind consideration of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY (Communications Secretary): Sir, I am glad that the Honourable Member has brought forward this Resolution because it gives me an opportunity of removing some of the misapprehensions under which the Honourable mover as well as, I imagine, certain sections of the public must be suffering as regards our intentions with regard to the flying clubs. Let me first of all try and remove some of the misconceptions which appeared in the speech of the Honourable mover. No action on our part has been influenced merely by considerations of economy. If some of the clubs have had to be closed down it is not because Government wanted to economise a few thousand rupees. The only

object was to facilitate the training of pilots for the Air Force. Nor was there any question of reducing facilities which exist. It was one of concentrating all our efforts in turning out pilots required by the Air Force. I can assure the Honourable Member that Government are as anxious as he to see that the flying clubs exist so long as they can serve a useful purpose in present conditions and circumstances. If that can be secured there will be no difficulty about granting them the subsidies that have been granted them in the past. There were eight flying clubs at the beginning of the war, or rather I should say seven, because one started after the commencement of the war. But at any rate until recently there were eight flying clubs of which two have had to be closed. One is the Dum Dum Flying Club. The reason for that is obvious. Air Force activities in Calcutta have become so great that it is impossible to continue ordinary civil flying which interfere with the operations of the Air Force. We were compelled, therefore, and I think in the circumstances it was necessary, to stop all civil flying. The aerodrome in Calcutta is now operated mainly for Air Force purposes but its direction and control continues in the hands of the Civil Aviation Directorate.

Now, Sir, let me try and review the position with regard to the subsidies, very briefly, in order to put the matter in its proper perspective. The primary object of these clubs, as the Honourable mover has stated, was to develop an air sense in the public mind, to familiarise the public with the possibilities of air transport and to produce a pool from which personnel for the air services and for the civil air organisation could be drawn. Nobody will dispute, least of all Government who have been most anxious to encourage the clubs in trying to keep alive these activities, that all these purposes have been very well served by the flying clubs. Before the war and immediately after it the Civil Aviation Department put into force assisted schemes for training pilots, which proved of great advantage later on to the Air Force. They drew upon these pilots; they took in quite a large number direct into the Royal Air Force and some into the Indian Air Force. That will indicate that, far from trying to injure the interests of flying clubs in any way, Government have been most anxious to do all they can to make the flying clubs as useful as possible. Subsequently the Air Force training scheme was formulated, and under this scheme more than 300, I think the exact number is 322, pilots were trained by the flying clubs and handed over to the Air Force. But there were difficulties. The chief difficulty was in getting candidates. The Honourable mover has stated that the Air Force have been very strict in taking in men from amongst those who have been trained by the flying clubs. This was inevitable for the requirements of the Air Force are, I venture to think, more rigorous than those of other arms of the Defence Services. You must have absolutely first class material for the Air Force if you are going to make it a success at all. There is nothing surprising therefore that there should have been such a large percentage of rejections among candidates or that there should have been a large wastage amongst those whom we trained. But it was brought to our notice that candidates found it easier—it was natural that they should have found it easier—to go in for Emergency Commissions. On the Air Force side there are many stiles to cross, because it is impossible to predict when candidates are first taken in whether they are going to make good pilots. After a few weeks training it may be found—and in many cases that has happened—that certain candidates will be of no use for the Air Force. Their training then has to be terminated. If they are not they go from the flying clubs to the Initial Training School, from the Initial Training School to the Elementary Flying School, and from the Elementary Flying School to the Service Training Schools. At each of these stages a candidate has to be tested. The result is that many fall by the way. That I say is inevitable in Air Force training. We felt that it would be better in the circumstances if there was a combined Board which would select for the Air Force, the Army and Navy and allocate the candidates to one or other branches. That decision was taken some time ago, I think it was in December. The

[Mr. S. N. Roy.]

special Selection Board which was appointed by the Civil Aviation Department and the Defence Department in consultation ceased to exist. The selections are now made by a combined Board. I merely mention that to show the difficulties we have had with regard to getting proper candidates.

Now, side by side with that the Air Force have a large scheme of expansion and they feel that at this time, when time is a very important factor, it is desirable that from the stage of selection by the combined Board, through all the stages of training, the control of the training shall remain with the Air Force. We recognised the justice of that contention. The expansion scheme of the Air Force involves the use of a very large percentage, if not the whole, of the training aircraft which Government possess, and which Government have handed over to the flying clubs. Honourable Members probably know that most of these clubs do not have training aircraft. Most of the training aircraft have been purchased and supplied to them by Government. It follows that if this Air Force expansion is to take place and if our training aircraft is required for that purpose, there may not be aircraft left for flying clubs. Moreover as Honourable Members will realise, great restrictions have had to be placed, under existing conditions, on the consumption of petrol and lubricants. We cannot allow—nor, I believe is it allowed in any country which is in the war now—joy flying in flying clubs. The training that is given must be related to the requirements, direct and indirect, of the war. Now, the subsidy scheme to which my Honourable friend referred is based on the payment of a fixed contribution dependent on the number of aircraft which they operate, some of which as I have just explained are given to them by Government. There is also a bonus payable for trainees up to a certain standard. If training aircraft are not supplied to the clubs, if they have to be utilised for other purposes, quite obviously the subsidy scheme in the existing form cannot operate. The Air Force expansion scheme will also probably necessitate placing some of the flying clubs at the disposal of the Air Force. We are not in a position at the moment exactly to say what flying clubs may have to be utilised. It may be possible in some cases to adapt the existing organisation for the purposes of the Air Force, and in so far as that can be done we shall see that it is done and that the separate entity of the flying club is preserved. Let me make it quite clear that the question at the present time is how best to utilise the flying clubs for the requirements of war, of concentrating all the facilities that we have in order to turn out the men required for the Air Force. Now, it is probable that some of the flying clubs can still be continued on their present basis and we hope that in those flying clubs it will be possible to continue their present activities of training U.T.C. candidates as in Madras or of army personnel. I think I am right in saying that at the present moment there are few coming forward to take out licences. In any case they must give way to more urgent requirements. In considering the problem all the factors I have mentioned have to be borne in mind, *viz.*, the restriction on petrol, on lubricants, the urgent requirements of the Air Force, the value of the normal activities of flying club in relation to the requirements of the Air Force. In the light of all these factors Government will have to decide from time to time what the future of any individual flying club will be. My Honourable friend has mentioned that we have recently issued orders continuing the subsidy to these flying clubs. Those orders, however, are limited to the first quarter of the next financial year. The reason for that is, as I have explained, that we cannot see the future very clearly yet. But I hope I have said enough to indicate that it will be our endeavour to continue to maintain the existence of these flying clubs for as long as possible. One other factor that comes into this problem is that the Air Force might require the services of the instructors that we have trained, so that some of the clubs will not only be bereft of training machines but also of instructors. Well, Sir, I think Honourable Members will recognise that this development in the present circumstances is inevitable and having regard to the fact that Government have

continued the subsidy for the next quarter, subject to review at the end of the quarter, I hope my Honourable friend will be able to withdraw his Resolution.

**\*THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadian) : Mr. President, the House must have listened with great interest to the information given by my Honourable friend Mr. Roy regarding the present activities of flying clubs and the policy of the Government towards them. It seems to me, Sir, that it was not the desire of the mover of the Resolution to say that there was any antagonism between the Civil Aviation Department and the Air Force. The objects of both are the same and the flying clubs have done their best to carry out the scheme referred to by my Honourable friend Mr. Roy regarding the training of pilots. Over 300 pilots have been trained by them and as he told us they are all going to be made use of by the Air Force. The enthusiasm that the people showed for joining the—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY** : On a point of explanation, Sir. We trained 322. As far as my information goes 287 of them have been taken into the Air Force.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : I was under the impression that Government issued a communique some time ago that there was every chance that everybody trained in the civil flying clubs under their special scheme would be taken up by the Air Force ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY** : Yes, subject to their being considered satisfactory. That is the reason for the discrepancy between 322 and 287.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : That is, those only who were inefficient have been rejected, but all the efficient pilots have been made use of by the Air Force. This shows how useful the civil flying clubs have been to the Air Force. My Honourable friend Lala Ram Saran Das stated in the course of his remarks that it had been found that in actual fighting that the men trained by the flying clubs who had gone through a longer period of training than those who had received training under the Air Force had been found more efficient. My Honourable friend Mr. Roy was quite silent on the point.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS** : Facts are facts and cannot be challenged.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : I do not know whether he was silent simply because he had no information or because he concurred with the views expressed by the mover of the Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY** : Because I do not know.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : Well, in any case the efficiency of the men trained in the flying clubs has not been questioned. It would seem therefore that the Air Force would lose nothing if the flying clubs were continued. Mr. Roy has mentioned a number of special factors which must be taken into account by us. He has particularly drawn our attention to the shortage of petrol and lubricants. If the facilities which the mover of the Resolution has asked for were wanted to encourage joy-riding—I am using the word used by my Honourable friend—there would have been some point in the remarks that he made regarding the necessity for economising in the use of petrol and lubricants. If Government intend to make use of every efficient pilot trained by the flying clubs then there is no element of joy-riding left in the training given by the flying clubs. The

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

flying clubs have not claimed that they should continue their activities on the old basis. They are glad that they have been able to give the fullest assistance they can to the Air Force and they will be still more pleased if Government enable them to play a larger part in training the pilots that are needed at the present time. My Honourable friend himself therefore seemed to me to be labouring under a misconception when—

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : On a point of personal explanation, Sir,—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You will have another opportunity of replying. Will you please allow the Honourable Member at this stage to have his say ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I was saying that it seemed to me that my Honourable friend himself was labouring under a misconception when he said that the Government could not allow petrol to be used at the present time for joy rides, for that was not the demand of the mover of the Resolution. All that he wants is that the flying clubs should be allowed to exist. Let them become for the time being a part of the expanded organisation established for the training of pilots required by the Air Force but let them be continued so that the associations that exist at the present time to create air-mindedness in the civil population should not be abolished. Now I admit what my Honourable friend said that it was not the policy of the Government to abolish these clubs and they would try to continue them as far as they could. This assurance is satisfactory so far as it goes but I would like to know really what is the main difficulty in the way of keeping up these flying clubs at the present time. There was, I believe, some idea last year of closing down these clubs on the ground that all the planes that were being received in the country were needed for purposes of defence. The Civil Aviation Directorate, I am glad to say, protested against this proposal if my information is correct, and managed to keep the flying clubs in existence, but it is quite possible that the pressure of the Defence Department on the Civil Aviation Directorate may have increased during the last few months and there may be some idea of making over the entire training of pilots to the Air Force. Now it is here that a difference of opinion between us and Government comes in. If the training given by the flying clubs is efficient there is no reason why they should not be continued in existence. Start new organisations if they are needed but continue the existing organisations because there is no point in abolishing them even temporarily and setting up other associations in their place for the very same purpose which they are fulfilling at the present time.

My Honourable friend referred to the paucity of training aircraft, but the remarks that I have made with regard to petrol apply to aircraft also. If the flying clubs are regarded as a component part of the establishment set up by Government to train pilots there is no reason why they should be denied the use either of petrol or of aircraft. My Honourable friend did not say one word to show that the training given by the flying clubs was inefficient or that any change in it was desired. If any change is desired and the flying clubs are informed of it I am sure that within the means at their disposal they will do their very best to introduce them, and if the assistance of Government to which Mr. Roy referred in the course of his remarks is forthcoming in full measure we need not doubt that the enthusiasm and the keenness of the flying clubs will enable them to discharge any task that may be entrusted to them.

On these grounds, Sir, I lend my hearty support to the Resolution moved by the Honourable Lala Ram Saran Das.

\*THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR Madras: Muhammadan): If I venture to intervene in the debate now it is mainly for the purpose of elucidating some further information. I should like to have some of the doubts cleared which the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. Roy has created. I should like to know, Sir, in the first instance whether there are any civil aviation clubs which have forfeited their subsidies and if there are no such clubs are there any clubs which in the view of the Government do not deserve to be given the aid which they have been given up till now.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have not understood your question.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: The question is whether there are any such clubs which have failed to function properly and in the opinion of the Government do not deserve to be continued to receive help from Government.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: But the Honourable Member has not said that. As I understood him he said that during the war all clubs have not been supported all over the country, in fact all over the world. So I am afraid the Honourable Member has not understood his reply properly.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: I listened very carefully to what he said, Sir. He postulated some condition. From what he said it appeared that there are some clubs which might not be able to satisfy those conditions. He said that the subsidy depended on the number of aircraft operated by the club.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He will further explain his remarks.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: That  
12 NOON. is why I want to know if in view of those conditions there are any flying clubs which are likely to forfeit the subsidy which they have been receiving up till now? Again, Sir, I should like to know also whether the amount of aircraft which these clubs have been operating has been reduced at all, and if the Government have withdrawn from these clubs any of the aircraft which they had given to these clubs? If these aircrafts have not been withdrawn, and if the number of aircraft operated by these flying clubs is still the same, and they have been useful till now, I do not see any reason why there should be any change at all in the treatment given to them. I would also endorse the opinion just expressed by my Honourable friend Dr. Kunzru. He has just said that since these flying clubs have been doing very good work, they have been performing very good functions and they have proved a training ground for recruits to the Air Force and most of the pilots who have been trained by these clubs have been found to be quite fit to be employed by the Royal Air Force, there is no reason why these subsidies should not be continued. These clubs are not engaged, as he said, in encouraging joy rides. They are engaged in very useful and important work and they are also anxious to do their work in view of the conditions which are now obtaining in the country. If it is found necessary that there should be any change at all in the training that is given to the air pilots in these clubs, the necessity is in quite a different direction, namely, that Government should take care to see that the training given there is made both



[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

efficient and suited better to the purposes for which they are required. As regards lack of petrol, Sir, that should never be allowed to stand in the way of the useful work turned out by these clubs—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I understand that from July next you will get no petrol at all.

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR :** Our suggestion is that since the work generally of these clubs is the sort of work which goes to help the war effort, it is necessary that all possible effort should be made to provide these clubs with the petrol that is required.

With these remarks, Sir, I give my whole-hearted support to the Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** Sir, I have heard with rapt attention to the remarks of my Honourable friend Mr. Roy. He has not dealt with the questions which I consider as very important in replying to my speech. My first point which he has not dwelt upon is whether these flying clubs will remain as initial training centres for the Defence Department. As far as the Delhi Flying Club is concerned and as far as my Flying Club (Northern India Flying Club) at Lahore is concerned, it has been giving initial training to the Defence pilots. May I understand that it is now the policy of the Government not to give initial training to those officers who have been selected for the Air Force and, that in future such officers will not be trained at these clubs? If that is so I shall ask the Honourable Mr. Roy to kindly explain why this change in policy has been made? I might also inform the Honourable Mr. Roy that he is not right in saying that all the aircraft used for training purposes by the clubs was found by Government. I think he has not been rightly informed. I might tell him that nearly all the clubs—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY :** I said, training aircraft.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** I also mean the training aircraft. I can tell him that as far as the Lahore, Delhi, Jodhpur, Lucknow and Cawnpore Flying Clubs are concerned the aircraft used for training in the beginning was not found by Government, and even now I can say that many clubs have their own training aircraft which they purchased from club funds.

Then he says that the grants will continue in case the clubs go on doing useful work. I am glad he said so, because now the initial training for the Defence Department of pilots is being done in the clubs. This very fact of usefulness has been established so the demand that the subsidies should continue is fully justified. In case the Honourable Mr. Roy means otherwise, it will mean that Government is going to change and reverse its policy and stop further initial training in clubs.

Then he said that perhaps we will be deprived of the training aircraft in case Government needs them. Here I might tell this Honourable House that the aircraft which is used for training purposes is not at all modern. It cannot be used in regular fighting or bombing.

Then comes the question of petrol. He says there is no petrol to spare—the Honourable the President observed that from July next there will be no petrol available—I may inform the House and the Honourable Mr. Roy that the average consumption of a civil flying club in case it has also to do initial training of Government officers ranges about a thousand gallons a month. There are some clubs

whose petrol consumption normally has not gone above 600 to 700 gallons. That is not much, Sir. Stoppage of petrol means stoppage of initial training. I would, therefore, request my Honourable friend Mr. Roy to clear the point whether the Government does or does not intend to give initial training to the candidates selected by the Air Force in these flying clubs, because, if they abolish this initial training in these Clubs, it will be doing another great injustice to these clubs that have done so well and proved their worth.

The Honourable Mr. Roy also said that no petrol can be provided for joy rides. As President of the Northern India Flying Club I come into contact with all these questions more frequently and I can say from my past experience of several years that by joy ride is generally meant the country ride, and for the initial training of a pilot that is quite necessary. You may call it joy ride, but I will always say it is a country flight. There are only a very few people, who are very rich, and who might afford to take joy rides in aeroplanes—and some Princes—but I can say that nobody ever considers of having joy rides in these times.

Then comes the question of the type of aircraft. My information is that even in the Indian Air Force in India, all the units are not provided with modern aircraft. If my information is wrong, I hope the Honourable Mr. Roy will put me right.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : That has nothing to do with flying clubs.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : What I say, Sir, is that even in the institutions which are founded by the Defence Department, the boys are not trained on modern aircraft. I know that the aircraft on which the flying clubs give training are not meant for fighting purposes. They may only perhaps be of use for communication purposes. Therefore, Sir, unless my Honourable friend explains whether they are going to stop initial training for the Defence Department in flying clubs I am sorry I cannot withdraw my Resolution, because in case this air training for the Defence Forces is to continue the clubs must continue and I can also say that initial training in the clubs can be done far more economically than otherwise. Therefore before I make a decision I should like to hear the Honourable Mr. Roy on the points that I have now raised.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Sir, let me first of all remove a misapprehension which my reference to joy riding may have caused. Joy riding in aviation circles is used broadly to indicate flying for pleasure and this may include those who want to take out licenses as in normal civil times. When I said that joy riding had been stopped, I intended to convey that the flying clubs are actually engaged now on activities directly or indirectly connected with the war. They are training army personnel on a voluntary basis. They are army officers who probably want to go in for army co-operation flying. Anyway they come to the flying clubs and we offer them an opportunity of getting the training. The other type of work that flying clubs do is army co-operation, in connection with the use of anti-aircraft guns on the ground. You must have some aircraft flying about in order to enable the anti-aircraft units to judge ranges and distances and so on. The point that I was trying to make was that though the flying clubs are doing work that the Air Force require, in the interests of Air Force training more concentrated effort may be required. If the Air Force consider that they can get better results by taking over control through all the stages, I feel that so far as we are concerned we ought to make way for them in the wider interest of producing quicker results.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : May I put a question to my friend ? During the war certain changes have taken place in other Departments too. For instance, the Indian Stores Department and the Contracts Directorate, which is an organisation under the army, have been amalgamated. But

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

it is assumed, or rather it has been said that after the war the two organisations will revert to their previous condition. Can my Honourable friend give an assurance that if the Defence authorities take charge of the flying clubs now that they will revert to their present conditions after the war ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Undoubtedly. Whatever may happen at the present time to a flying club in order to quicken the pace of training which the Air Force require, the position will be restored after the war. That is our intention.

Then my Honourable friend Lala Ram Saran Das asked me to say whether these flying clubs will continue initial training for the Air Force. Initial training is the first stage in Air Force training. It includes drill and other ground training necessary for flying. No initial training is given in the flying clubs. What we do there is to give preliminary flying training. There are four stages in Air Force training—initial training, elementary training, service training and operational training. We have been giving preliminary flying training before the candidates are handed over to the Air Force and we think that this training is of very great value to the men selected for Air Force training. After the preliminary training, when they are taken over by the Air Force, they go into the Initial Training Schools. Then they are drafted to the Elementary Flying Training Schools, and so on. Now, as regards that particular question, as to whether we are going to continue preliminary flying training the position as I have said is that the Air Force intend to take over the whole training and two clubs have had to be closed down. So far as the other flying clubs are concerned, if they can be made use of in connection with the Air Force scheme, they will be kept alive. But I cannot at this moment give any assurance after the three months period that any particular school will continue to receive its subsidy. That would depend upon what use can be made of the club, but I will repeat what I have said once before, that it is our intention to try and keep these clubs in being as long as it is possible to employ them on some really useful work. In Madras, the Madras Government have a scheme of their own for giving flying training to some University boys, who form a sort of University Air Training Corps. This work should continue but even there I am not in a position to say whether some sort of change of control may not be necessary in order to achieve the objects of the Air Force. I must therefore ask the Honourable Member to take my assurance on behalf of Government that so far as possible we do intend to keep these flying clubs alive and if they have to be closed they will certainly be restored after the war.

The Honourable Member referred to training aircraft. It is true that most of these clubs, in fact all of them, have got small machines, Gipsy Moths and Leopard Moths. Those are not the machines I was referring to when I referred to training aircraft. Generally speaking, by training aircraft I mean Tiger Moths. The majority of these are the property of Government. Government have bought them and distributed them to the various clubs. These are the machines which the Air Force will require in connection with their expanded training scheme and if they do require them, if we have to hand them over for that training, if we also have to hand over instructors, it may happen that a particular club may be unable to carry on. In other cases we may have to use the flying clubs. I am not in a position to make any statement as to what we shall do in respect of a particular club after the three-month period, but I think I have said enough to show the Honourable Member that we have the interests of the flying clubs very much at heart, that we have done our best at every step to encourage and help them in spite of difficulties of all kinds that have arisen from time to time, and the Honourable Member need have no fear that our interest in these flying clubs will become any less.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** I wish to make a few remarks and correct my Honourable friend—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** You are not entitled to make a second speech. But if you wish to make a few remarks, you can do so.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** The Northern India Flying Club at Lahore had a Tiger Moth for training before the Government gave them aircraft for training. I might also tell him what I understand from what he has said is that this elementary or initial training at the clubs will continue. That is what I have understood from him. If that is the case and in case Government is really serious to keep these clubs going and keep them alive, I may be given permission to withdraw the Resolution on the assurances given by the Honourable Mr. Roy.

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

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### RESOLUTION *RE* STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE CIVIL DEFENCE DEPARTMENT.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU** (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the Resolution that I desire to move runs as follows :—

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to constitute a Standing Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature for advising the Department of Civil Defence.”

The Department of Civil Defence was created into a separate portfolio after the expansion of the Executive Council and it is surprising, Sir, that whereas in other Departments we have Standing Committees, there is no Standing Committee attached to the Department of Civil Defence. There was a time when we had no Standing Committee attached to the Department of Defence, but that time has now disappeared. We have a Standing Committee, which is called the Defence Consultative Committee, attached to the Department of Defence. I do not know how and why it is that the Civil Defence Department goes without a Standing Committee of both Houses of the Legislature. Sir, you will perhaps allow me on this occasion to make a few remarks of a rather general nature about civil defence generally. The possibility of air raids can no longer be regarded as absolutely remote. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief stated the other day that nobody could tell what Japan's next move would be. I am paraphrasing his speech and I am not reproducing his exact language. The importance of civil defence therefore is obvious. Now, Sir, the one thing which has struck me so far as civil defence organisation in the provinces is concerned is this. I am speaking particularly with reference to my own province. The organisation is largely, if not, exclusively in official hands. The suggestion that I should like to make for the consideration of the Honourable the Civil Defence Member is that the organisation of Civil Defence should be largely in non-official hands. There are, as the Honourable Member knows, provinces where no responsible government is functioning. In those places—I am particularly speaking with reference to those provinces—Government should have a central defence committee of respectable citizens belonging to different organisations, particularly social service organisations. Take, for example, my own province. There the most important social service organisation is the Seva Samiti, of which Dr. Kunzru is the President. Apart from the Seva Samiti, there are other social service organisations in the province. There are the Boy Scout organisations and all the representative men belonging to these organisations, representative men

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

belonging to political parties also, should be invited to serve on this body which would be the central body for the province. Not only should you have a provincial central body but you should also have local central bodies, that is to say, in each district the co-operation of the Municipal Board, of the District Board, of non-official citizens or of non-official social and political organisations should be invited and they should be formed into a committee and the direction of A.R.P. work should be largely entrusted to the care of these non-official organisations. Government will lend to them—that is my supposition—an officer of their own, who may be a civil officer or a military officer or a provincial service officer—they will lend an officer to these bodies and the officer will or ought to be required to work largely under the direction and control of these civil defence non-official organisations which you set up, because I think that the object of civil defence is to sustain the morale of the civil population and we know that morale counts in modern warfare. I need not emphasise that point as it was emphasised the other day by General Sir Archibald Wavell himself. Now I do not think that official agency, particularly in a country like India, is competent for the sort of work that the A.R.P. organisation is likely to do, I will tell you something about the nature of propaganda that is being done by the A.R.P. organisation.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO :** The Resolution of the Honourable Member only recommends the creation of a Standing Committee. I think he should confine his remarks to the subject-matter of his Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** On a point of order, Sir. Is my Honourable friend not entitled to point out that he wants a Standing Committee in order to emphasise that the Department should listen to civil opinion as much as possible and should be associated with civilians, that is, non-officials ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO :** I do not object to the Honourable Member discussing anything but whatever he discusses he should confine to the subject-matter of the Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** Sir, the subject-matter of this Resolution is very wide. I want a Standing Committee to be attached to the Department of Civil Defence and it has been the usual practice of this House on Motions of this character to make observations of a general character. I am, therefore, entitled—I say this with all respect—to make general observations on the civil defence organisation as a whole.

I wanted to say something, Sir, about the propaganda side of civil defence work. First, Sir, when the war broke out the propaganda was somewhat in this form : “There is no danger of air attacks. There is no danger of India being attacked. You have only to think of other theatres of war. Do not be nervous at all”. Today, Sir, when Japan has come to the very doors of India all this has changed and the poor labourer is told that he is in imminent danger of life ; he is in imminent danger of property and that he must take precautions. He wants to know what are the precautions that he must take and my experience is that the men who run the organisation are not clear themselves as to the nature of the precautions that we must take. Some of them tell us, “Oh, you must dig trenches, take cover, etc.”. Others give different advice. They speak with different voices. The result is that the poor worker knowing that this Government may or may not do anything for him gets frightened. He leaves his town in panic and the evacuation of not only Calcutta but other towns which are remote from Calcutta is going on and there is no one in

this vast organisation of civil defence to hearten or cheer the poor man. Why cannot you tell him the truth? Why cannot you tell him that generally military objectives are bombed; civilian population is likely to suffer but the suffering in other countries has not been so far as civilian population is concerned anything like what they imagine, and that the chance of a fellow being bombed is one in a million. Why cannot Government hearten these men? I am, speaking for myself, opposed to this evacuation business and encouragement of evacuation. I think, Sir, nations that deserve to live do not act like cowards; they face danger with courage, with determination, with resolution, and I am not blaming my own countrymen for showing lack of courage. I am blaming the men who are responsible for propaganda. I have known, Sir, in my Province the Director of Civil Defence say that Allahabad is within bombing range. I have known, Sir, the other authorities saying that Allahabad is not within bombing range and I have known as a result of these contradictory statements great panic in the city.

Then, Sir, you did not have formerly any blackouts. Now you are having blackouts. Well, it may be necessary to have blackouts in Calcutta and port towns or the towns which are near Calcutta, but is it necessary for you to have blackouts in towns which are far removed say 500 or 600 miles from Calcutta—where you are having blackouts it may be necessary for you to give a demonstration for three or four days a week, but is it necessary for you to have continuously these blackouts and then make the people think that danger is very near? Then if you have blackouts you must remember, Sir, the economic conditions in the country. You must remember that there is a lawless element in our country and you have a lawless element for the matter of that in every country, and they get an opportunity to commit larceny, theft, robbery, dacoity and all that sort of thing, which means that you must increase your internal security arrangements. You must increase your civic guards, you must have Home Guards, you must have your internal security troops, because unless you give a sense of security to the people in these blackout areas people will get panicky and they will start evacuating your towns and if they start evacuating your towns your industrial production will suffer; therefore your war supplies will suffer; therefore, Sir, there is need for a clear departure from the methods which have been followed by the A.R.P. organisations so far.

I have also, Sir, noticed a tendency on the part of A.R.P. workers to think that non-official organisations are no use and that they must merge their identity in the A.R.P. organisation. Now, Sir, we should all like to see such political conditions established in this country as may make it possible for all non-official organisations to merge themselves in one organisation but so long as such political conditions do not exist—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** Just let me point out to you that what you say is all right, what you say is all correct, but your Resolution simply says that a Standing Committee may be appointed to advise the Civil Defence Department. Does the Civil Defence Department need advice in that matter? What you say is correct that locally the Home Guards and others, who are in charge of it should form organisations and that is what the Honourable Member for Civil Defence also said. Please cut short your remarks.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** I will cut short my remarks. I wanted to talk, Sir, about the conservancy arrangements, about the food arrangements, about the nursing arrangements, about the hospital arrangements, all of which are to be included in A.R.P. work. I think, Sir, that you need to enlist the co-operation of doctors, you need to have male nurses. If you cannot get male nurses you need to train young boys, all young people, in first aid work. Then

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also you need to see that people get during air raids ample food supplies and that conservancy arrangements do not suffer, I mean all that is part of civil defence work.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I quite agree that all this is very necessary, but your Resolution asks for the creation of a Standing Committee to advise the Civil Defence Department. Therefore please stick to the terms of your Resolution, though as illustrations you may cite these cases.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** I feel, Sir, that no clear direction appears to have been given by the Central Government as regards the manner in which the A.R.P. work ought to be conducted, and I would, therefore, respectfully suggest to my Honourable friend Dr. Raghavendra Rao that he should convene again a Conference of all Provincial Civil Defence Departments to consider a common plan of action so far as A.R.P. measures and propaganda are concerned. There is need for co-ordinated effort. I am not blaming my Honourable friend the Civil Defence Member. I know that it is only recently that he has taken over charge of the Department. But I want him to consider the suggestion which I am making that he should have a conference of A.R.P. workers all over India in order to arrive at certain conclusions as regards the way in which A.R.P. work should be done in the various provinces. I do not say that complete uniformity is possible or desirable. Local conditions vary and there may have to be variations according to local conditions. But a consultation of this character will enable him to find out for himself what is being done in the provinces, what requires to be done in the provinces and how what is required to be done in the provinces can be achieved best with non-official co-operation and support. Sir, there is, as I pointed out, need for organising at this moment propaganda which would allay panic, and prevent the spread of false rumours and the disorganisation of essential services. The question raises many other points, for example, the question of adequate water supply in case of an air attack. We know what happened in Rangoon, how the A.R.P. organisation failed there. I am told that even in England experience has shown that non-official agency is better suited for A.R.P. work than official agency. Sir, I shall be, according to you, straying from my point if I were to consider these points and so I will not dilate on them any further. I will, before I close my speech, make an earnest appeal to my Honourable friend Dr. Raghavendra Rao to take up this question of convening an all-India conference of civil defence workers. We have the Advisory Board of Education, we have the Advisory Board of Public Health and we know what useful work these Advisory Boards have done. I do not see why we should not profit by the example of these Advisory Councils—the Council of Agricultural Research, for example, or the Advisory Board of Education or the Advisory Board of Public Health. I would earnestly ask my Honourable friend to take up this question of co-ordinated effort so far as civil defence is concerned, because the question of civil defence has assumed vast proportions.

With these words, Sir, I would commend the Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadan) :** Mr. President, I wish to support the Resolution that has been moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Saprū, and I hope there should be no occasion again for the Honourable Member in charge of Civil Defence to take objection when I advance arguments in support of the proposition propounded in the Resolution. I heard the Secretary of the Civil Defence Department the other day speaking in another place for about an hour and a half and mostly talking about medical

supplies, hospitals and water supply, and I, therefore, thought that these should be considered subjects quite pertinent to this Resolution as well. Anyway, it is not my intention to go into these details. I shall only explain the reasons why I consider the constitution of a committee of the type suggested by the Honourable Mr. Sapru very essential for this Department. It is, Sir, a new Department, and it has been created for the purpose of meeting a special emergency. The emergency is of such a nature that the most essential condition of meeting it is to secure public co-operation. What is the way to do it? This Resolution is one step in that direction. His Excellency the Viceroy, the other day, issued an appeal to the people of this country for enlistment in what was styled as the National War Front. This Resolution, I suppose, is in conformity with the spirit behind that appeal and Government will be well advised to accept it.

Sir, the official practice in these matters has been so far very defective. The practice has been to leave the official to direct the policy and then in a spirit of trusteeship to expect the non-official to do the propoganda and win support for the official scheme. I consider this position wholly unsatisfactory. It should in fact be just the contrary of what it is. The people should be made to feel that the policy in these matters is directed by the representatives of the people and that the official only executes it in effect.

Sir, the exigencies of the present situation require that the morale of the civil population should be raised. It can only be raised by increasing the concern of the people in their own defence, by creating a feeling of responsibility, and by giving the country some status which it would like to preserve.

Sir, I consider it a very fine augury of the present times that even the Congress organisation, which is the only organisation in this country which had been not co-operating with war efforts or at any rate had been indifferent to war efforts, is now showing a tendency to co-operate with Government in the matter of civil defence. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is reported to have said, yesterday, that the time has come when officials should ask for Congress co-operation in A.R.P. work. Already, in Bengal, at the request of the Ministers, he said, when they had agreed to constitute a non-official controlling authority, he had permitted the representatives of the Provincial Congress Committee to offer co-operation. He further stated that if in other provinces such non-official bodies were to be set up, he would have no hesitation in allowing the Provincial Congress Committees to send their representatives thereon for service to the people. I think, Sir, this offer should be taken advantage of by Government and at least one common platform should be created where a public organisation like the Congress and a Government organisation like the Civil Defence Department should work in co-operation and in full sympathy with each other.

The Honourable Mr. Sapru made a brief reference to blackouts and I should like to know if Government are able to say what exactly their policy is with regard to blackouts; because, I was surprised that my own town of Muzaffarpur, which is rather in the interior in North Bihar, was about the very first to be declared an emergency area and we had blackouts there causing unnecessary panic, and nobody has so far understood what the policy of the Government is.

Then there is one more question which I would like to ask. In the Gazette of India dated 7th March, 1942, an Ordinance was published to constitute a Civil Pioneer Force for service in British India and to provide for its organisation, control and discipline. I should like to know if this Civil Pioneer Force is to be controlled and administered by the Civil Defence Department or—

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO : Labour Department.



**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA :** That is all I want to say with regard to this Resolution and I hope Government will see their way to accept it.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO (Civil Defence Member) :** Sir, I have listened with considerable interest to the speech which the Honourable mover of this Resolution made. So far as the subject-matter of the Resolution is concerned, let me assure him, and his friends who supported the Resolution, at once that Government have great pleasure in accepting the Resolution and will in due course create a Standing Committee of the two Houses to advise the Government in the Civil Defence Department. (Applause.) I hope this satisfies the Honourable Member.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Member raised certain other questions which in my opinion are such as give insufficient notice to the unfortunate Member in charge to be able to reply correctly and scientifically. He then raised the question of Allahabad City. I may assure him, Sir, that Allahabad City is the safest city in the United Provinces. He need have no anxiety about it either from the south or from the north. In addition to that I am glad to say the United Provinces Government are taking ample precautions, extra precautions which are not strictly necessary. He may rest assured in the confident hope that there will be no attack on the City of Allahabad either from the south or from the north.

Then an Honourable non-official Member raised the question of a Conference. Perhaps he does not know that after I took over the charge of this Department I held an All-India Conference at which we laid down the main principles on which the Civil Defence Department is to work, and it is I think too soon to call another Conference. It was the largest Conference that we have held in Delhi, and all Departments and representatives from every Province, both officials and non-officials, attended. I do not think it would be wise to hold another Conference. The people in the Provinces are very busy working out their own plans.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Member raised the difficult question of the co-operation of non-official agencies in India. So far as we are concerned I can assure the Honourable Member that we would be only too glad to receive the co-operation of any agency and we make no distinction between political parties and non-political parties. It is for the Honourable Members to offer co-operation to the Provinces, and I am sure all Provincial Governments will be only too pleased to receive their co-operation.

I have answered almost all the points which the Honourable Member has raised, and with this submission I reiterate that the Government is pleased to accept the Resolution which the Honourable Member has moved.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Resolution moved :—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to constitute a Standing Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature for advising the Department of Civil Defence.”

**Question put and Motion adopted.**

(The Honourable Mr. G. S. Motilal was not present to move the Resolution against his name.)

#### RESOLUTION *RE* EASTERN GROUP SUPPLY COUNCIL.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) :** Sir, I move :—

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate steps be taken to require the representative of the Government of India on the Eastern Group Supply

Council to submit a detailed report of his activities on the Council with special reference to the establishment, expansion or development of any new or existing industries in this country at an early date, and to place the same before the next session of the Central Legislature."

Mr. President, in view of the grave international situation and the very bad turn in the Far East the prevalent impression is that what is being done is not sufficient. A categorical explanation of the activities of the Eastern Group Supply Council and a critical examination with immediate thorough reorganisation of the body would clarify the situation and inspire confidence and put the country's war efforts on a proper and sound footing. The Eastern Group Supply Council, ushered in with a fanfare of trumpets following the Report of the Roger Mission, remains to this day a veritable Cinderella to Indian industrialists. Whether this Cinderella possesses the charm and beauty which her chaperons claim for her is a matter worth investigating. The activities of the Roger Mission itself, which fathered the Eastern Group Supply Council, were questioned by the industrial community in India from the very beginning, and subsequent experience has proved that the missionaries of the Roger Church did not contemplate seriously the salvation of heathen India. Sir Walter Massey Green, who led the Australian Delegation to the Eastern Group Conference, made no secret of his aspirations when he said at Calcutta that—

"It was manifestly unwise in time of war for one part of the Empire to start some war industries *de novo* and go through all the teething troubles, if another part has got so far past the stage, that it could supply the needs of the whole by expansion or development of its existing resources".

Sir Walter no doubt was actuated by a laudable motive, but he manifestly forgot that by saving India its teething troubles he was condemning this country to perpetual toothlessness. He also forgot that during the then 14 months of the war Australia had established and expanded the armament and ship-building industry on a sound and secure footing.

The Association of the Representatives of the British Federation of Industries and the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and the impending Technical Mission from America have created doubts in the minds of the people of this country. India was informed by Mr. M. S. A. Hydari about the middle of 1941 that—

"it is not for the Council to concern itself with economic planning; its purpose is mainly the efficient procurement of war supplies using the group as a vast unit of supply".

But, Sir, what assurance has this country that where there are alternative sources of supply India will get a square deal, and when it comes to establishing new industries or expanding our existing industries India's claim will not be ignored? The Supply Member has said in reply to a question in the Assembly on the 27th October, 1941 that—

"the Council has no power to over-ride a decision by a Group-country to establish a new industry or expand an existing industry on its own account".

The information conveyed is that the Council has done whatever it could and it is not to be saddled with the responsibility for starting new industries in this country. These statements are contradictory to the statements made by the Government spokesman that the best possible use of materials, potential as well as available, in this country is being made use of to conduct this war.

In this connection a brief survey of the lacunae that exists in the industrial expansion of this country and the inadequate preparations, military and otherwise, which have been taken, is worth a few comments. I admit, Sir, that industrialists have been able to get a little better price for their commodities, but to say that there has been a vast industrial expansion in this country is a gross over-statement,

[Mr. M. N. Dalal.]

except perhaps in the case of iron and steel, coal and cement for which Government have at the moment stopped giving statistics. Take, for instance, the Indian production of cotton manufactures which amounted to 4,269 million yards in 1938-39. Today it is very much the same. The production of jute manufacture (including twisted yarn) in India amounted to 1,222 thousand tons in 1938-39. Today it is the same. The Indian tea production amounted to 371 million lbs. in 1938. In 1941 it is a little over 394 million lbs.

On the 29th November, 1941 the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Company complained that India had been kept dependent upon foreign countries and it was not until late in 1941 that orders were placed with Tatas for the manufacture of tyres, wheels and axles for rolling stock. The Chief Commissioner for Railways in his Budget Speech has told us what poor progress we have made in the manufacture of locomotives. The Honourable the Finance Member in his Budget Speech has told us that we have made very slow progress in ship-building and aircraft manufacture. After two and a half years of this war we have not even been able to make a start on the automobile industry in India. The heavy chemical industry and the major engineering industry cannot be said to have been developed to any great extent. Sir Padamji Ginwalla has recently written a series of very interesting articles in the *Statesman* on the loss of tonnage and the muddle that exists in the steel industry. As regards the difficulties for obtaining plants and moving them, may I quote Sir Padamji? He says—

“As we know plants have been bodily transferred from one part of Russia to another and back again, and the President of the United States stated not long ago that some of the new plants are to be transferred from the Pacific Coast where they are vulnerable to the interior. Coming nearer home, unless my memory is gravely at fault, a fairly large blast furnace at Batelle in Alabama, U.S.A., was during the last war dismantled, shipped to India and re-erected at Jamshedpur. It is therefore idle to plead that some at least of the plants which can almost immediately be used for the production of war materials and eventually converted to peace-time requirements cannot be provided for India because of the war”.

The argument about the lack of trained personnel has been over-worked. It is no use disillusioning ourselves by saying that 90 per cent. of the war requirements are manufactured within the borders of this country, for when I think of tanks and anti-aircraft guns I get a rude shock.

In any case we have to make a beginning; otherwise more time will be wasted and a cataclysm might overtake us and there will be no chance of preserving ourselves from eternal misery. The loss of Malaya, the fall of Singapore, the partial occupation of Burma and the impending attack on Australia and India has brought about an unprecedented change. The present situation is such that a radical change is necessary to save Great Britain and her mighty British Empire. You must take the people of this country into your confidence and submit a detailed report of the Eastern Group Supply Council, which would dispel suspicion. We have a right, Sir, to be told what this Council has done and what it is capable of doing. We are all for unstinted war efforts, but what we desire is, that our country should be kept in the vanguard of economic progress as any other civilized country of the world.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (Defence Co-ordination Secretary): Sir, Government have every sympathy with the object underlying this Resolution, namely, the establishment, expansion and development of new or existing industries in this country. But having said that, I regret that I am unable to accept the Resolution in the terms in which it is expressed. The Resolution, I fear, indicates some misapprehension of the constitution and functions of the Eastern Group Supply Council. Its constitution is such that it cannot be regarded as an appendage, or as in any way subordinate, to the Government of India. The Chairman and one of its Members

represent His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Army Council, respectively. The other four Members represent Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India. The major part of expenditure on the maintenance of this body is borne by His Majesty's Government. Of the general cost of administration half is borne by His Majesty's Government and the other half is shared between the Member-countries. Of this cost India's share amounted in 1941-42 to about Rs. 1½ lakhs and in 1942-43 it is expected to amount to about Rs. 2½ lakhs. The cost of the Member-countries representatives' is borne by those countries themselves; but on the other hand the cost of the expert advising staff, all of which are officers of His Majesty's Government, is entirely borne by the United Kingdom. It follows therefore that the Government of India are in no position to direct or to undertake that this body should submit a report to the Indian Legislature.

As for the functions of the Council, they are to secure the maximum possible co-operation and co-ordination amongst the Member-countries for establishing and using the capacity of the Eastern Group for war supply. The Honourable Member will see from this that the Council is what may be described as a corporate body. It has, so to speak, its articles of association. It has its own duties, quite apart from the responsibility of its constituents to their own countries. In fact, its main responsibility is collective. At the same time the individual representatives are not only under a responsibility to their own Governments, but they must be guided by the policy of those Governments. It, therefore, follows that in so far as any individual member can be said to be responsible for what is or is not done, any question which may arise as to the action taken or not taken should be directed, not to the individual member, but to the Government which he represents. The subject which the Honourable mover has at heart is mainly the concern of the Supply Department of this Government, or, to some extent, of the Commerce Department, and it is from those Departments that he should ask for information and for a report of the nature which this Resolution seeks.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** Why is the Honourable Member then replying? Why does he not ask a representative either of the Supply or of the Commerce Department to reply?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** I am under the painful necessity, Sir, of dealing with the Resolution as it stands.

From what I have said, I trust that the Honourable mover will get the general picture—that this Council is designed for helpfulness towards the common war effort. Frankly, it is not the responsibility of the members of this Council—to put it crudely—to push the interests of their own countries. Undoubtedly, as a result of the work of this Council, whatever the Honourable mover may have said, there has been an enormous expansion and increase in the industries of India.

On the munitions side, it is clearly not in the public interest to give any details; but on the general, or what I may call the "stores" side, there have been striking developments. For instance, in the month of September, 1939 the number of articles of clothing produced were about a quarter of a million; in November, 1940 they were 8 millions. Again, leather manufactures in April, 1941 were to the value of Rs. 64 lakhs and in January, 1942 Rs. 168 lakhs.

I have not got the figures of the production of timber, but I can assure the House that it is enormous.

As for new industries, a very considerable number have sprung up. Capacity for the manufacture of hitherto unproducable chemicals, sera, surgical goods and even small machine tools has been induced by the activities of the Supply Department and indirectly by the activities of the Eastern Group Supply Council.

[Mr. A. deC. Williams.]

The engineering capacity of India, to which I think the Honourable mover referred, is of a somewhat peculiar nature. Hitherto it has not been generally specialised; it is more of what one might describe as a jobbing character—a single concern is apt to cater for heterogeneous purposes. At the same time, in pursuit of the war effort, the engineering industry in India has displayed very considerable ingenuity in devoting itself to various forms of specialised production.

I may further add that on what I have described as the general stores side it is hoped in the period 1942-43 to show at least a 50 per cent. advance on the 1941-42 figures.

I think it was in answer to a question in this Council that I gave the information that the very impressive total of Rs. 230 crores worth of orders have been executed by the Stores Department up to the end of last year. I do not think that it is fair in the face of facts of this character—

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU:** What does the Honourable Member mean by “up to the end of last year”? Does he mean up to the end of December last?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS:** Up to the end of 1941.

In the face of facts like these, I think it is rather unfair to assert that there has not been substantial progress on the industrial side in this country; and, as I have said before, if despite these facts the Honourable Member is not satisfied he should address himself to the appropriate Department and not to the representative of India on the Eastern Group Supply Council. In that connection I would like to take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of Government of the constant vigilance of their representative on the Council in the interests of Indian industry.

Having regard to what I have said, Sir, and having regard to the very real sympathy which Government have with the underlying object of this Resolution, I trust that the Honourable Member will not wish to press it.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL:** We have a very heavy agenda on the programme today and it is not my intention, therefore, Sir, to delay this House any longer. However, I think the reply given by my Honourable friend Mr. Williams is rather disappointing. One of the arguments used by my Honourable friend is that the Eastern Group Supply Council does not deal in heavy armament. I have not said, Sir, that the Eastern Group Supply Council deals in heavy armament, but I merely pointed out the lacunae that exists in the industrial structure of this country. Another argument I think my Honourable friend used was that Great Britain pays 50 per cent. and the balance is made up by the Group countries. I should like to know, Sir, as long as India pays for its representative and his staff on the Eastern Group Supply Council are we not entitled to know what the Council has done and what the Council is capable of doing? I, for one, Sir, feel that Government should not have opposed or shown a lukewarm attitude on such a modest Resolution. I am not asking for any Defence secrets; I am merely asking for a report from our representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council with all the wealth of information which would have enabled people and the Government to take the requisite joint action. I feel, Sir, that Government are taking shelter under the veil of official secrecy. However, in view of the sympathetic reply given by my Honourable friend I think I should withdraw the Resolution.

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

## CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** Before I adjourn the House I wish to announce the results of the elections.

With reference to the announcement made by me on the 10th March, regarding nominations to the five Committees, I have to announce that the following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to the Central Advisory Council for Railways :—

1. The Honourable Lt.-Col. Sir Hissamuddin Bahadur.
2. The Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.
3. The Honourable Sir David Devadoss.
4. The Honourable Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh.
5. The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha.
6. The Honourable Sirdar Nihal Singh.

There are six candidates for six seats and I declare them duly elected.

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## STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS, 1942-43.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** The following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to the Standing Committee for Roads :—

1. The Honourable Mr. Abdool Razak Hajee Abdool Suttar.
2. The Honourable Mr. R. H. Parker.
3. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.

There are three candidates for three seats and I declare them duly elected.

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## STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SUPPLY.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** The following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to the Standing Committee attached to the Department of Supply :—

1. The Honourable Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy.
2. The Honourable Mr. M. N. Dalal.
3. The Honourable Mr. P. N. Sapru.

There are three candidates for three seats and I declare them duly elected.

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## STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** The following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce :—

1. The Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.
2. The Honourable Sir Suleman Cassum Haji Mitha.

There are two candidates for two seats and I declare them duly elected.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to the Standing Committee to advise on subjects other than " Roads " dealt with in the Department of Communications :—

1. The Honourable Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.
2. The Honourable Mr. Abdool Razak Hajee Abdool Suttar.
3. The Honourable Mr. N. K. Das.

There are three candidates for three seats and I declare them duly elected.

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**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** This is a convenient time to adjourn. When we meet after Lunch, the Honourable Mr. Kunzru will move his Resolution. At 4 P.M. we will proceed with the debate on the Adjournment Motion. We will now adjourn till 3 P.M.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** It is only 1-20 P.M. now. There will be a sufficient interval if we meet again at 2-45 P.M.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** You did not exactly follow me. I never said that if the debate on your Resolution is protracted and is not finished, it will be terminated. The debate will be postponed to the next available non-official day.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** It is a very full day, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** It is not my fault.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till Three of the Clock.

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The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock, the Honourable Sir David Devadoss in the Chair.

**RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS IN THE INDIAN CORPS OF ENGINEERS, ETC.**

**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 that immediate steps be taken to provide that Indians are freely appointed as officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, Indian Artillery and Mechanized Cavalry. ”

Sir, the army in popular estimation generally means the infantry and the cavalry, but as we know, no army can be complete without its scientific and technical services. Formerly the Indian Army Ordnance Corps, Engineers and Artillery were the main scientific and technical services ; but the Cavalry may also now be regarded as belonging to the same category as it has been or at least is being mechanized. Experience of war at the present time has shown the great importance of these services. It is therefore necessary if we want to have an Indian Army to see to what extent Indians are being admitted to these technical services. The Infantry is of

course open to Indians and so was the Cavalry of the old time. This should not, however, create the impression that even now a majority of the officers selected for appointment in connection with the war consists of Indians. Such an impression would be very far from being true. The Additional Defence Secretary pointed out in another place during the last session, that only about 25 per cent. of the Emergency Commissions have been given to Indians including statutory Indians, that is, Anglo-Indians. But so far as the Artillery and Indian Corps of Engineers, which is the name now given to the old Sappers and Miners, and mechanized cavalry are concerned, I am afraid that the position is even more unsatisfactory than it is in regard to the Emergency Commissions in general.

Sir, I put a question in November last to find out what was the number of Indian and of British cadets undergoing training at the Cadet Wing of the Artillery School at Deolali. I was told that information could not be supplied but that the proportion of Indian and of British cadets was 15 and 85, respectively. I should add, however, that the British cadets were to be employed in both the Indian and British artillery units. It is clear from this reply that if we want to get any true picture of the position of Indians in the Indian artillery units, that is artillery units belonging to the Indian Army which are not part of the Royal Artillery, we should know what the proportion of Indian and British officers in the Indian wing actually is. This information too was supplied to me last November. I was told that the actual percentages of British and Indian officers in the Indian artillery wing were "British 86 per cent. and Indian 14 per cent." No fixed proportion has been laid down, but those were the proportions in the month of November, 1941. It is clear from these replies that the position of Indians was extremely unsatisfactory in November last. It appears from the reply given by my Honourable friend Mr. Williams to a question of mine this morning that the position has not improved at all. He said that the present proportion of Indian commissioned officers in the Indian Artillery was one to seven exclusive of Royal Artillery officers attached to Indian artillery units. This means, Sir, that only 14 per cent. of the officers are Indian. The proportion will be smaller still if this reply is taken to mean that there is one Indian military officer to seven British officers?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : Yes, that is correct.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : One Indian to seven British officers. If that is so, then it appears that out of every eight officers only one is an Indian. This shows that the proportion of Indians is only  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This means that it has decreased during the last three or four months. We have every right to expect that in the essential services in our own country the number of Indian officers will go up, particularly as the military authorities are constantly asking us to come to their aid and to supply them with young men who will be prepared to lay down their lives for their country. But they still seem to be extremely reluctant to appoint Indians to important services.

Now, Sir, I will pass on to the Indian Corps of Engineers. I do not know what the proportion of Indian officers in November last was, nor do I know what was the proportion of cadets under training at the time. But we know now from the reply given by the Honourable Mr. Williams to which I have referred already that in the Indian Corps of Engineers, there are two Indians to seven British officers exclusive of the Royal Engineers employed with the Indian Corps of Engineers. This means that out of every nine officers only two are Indian. In other words, Indians form about 22 per cent. of the total number of officers. The position here is better than in the Indian artillery units, but not such as to give satisfaction to any Indian. The position of Indian officers here is as backward practically as it is in the other services. Honourable Members must have noticed that these proportions, that is the proportions to which I have drawn their attention, exclude the Royal Artillery



[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Engineers employed with Indian units. This means that if the total number of officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers is taken into consideration, the Indian proportion will be even less than what I have stated it to be. This shows how disquieting the position is. It shows the reluctance, the extreme reluctance, of the Government to take Indians into these services. For a long time these services were regarded as the preserves of Britishers. Indeed the Army Reorganisation Commission of 1859 laid down that Indians should never be admitted to these services. It is more than three-quarters of a century since that Commission reported. But even now the policy of the authorities seems to be influenced by ideas and suspicions that were responsible for the recommendations made by the Army Reorganisation Commission to which I have just drawn attention.

I will now pass on to the Mechanised cavalry. Here we have been told that there is one Indian officer to four British officers. In other words, Indians form only 20 per cent. of the officer cadre. Out of every five officers one is an Indian. Consequently, the percentage of Indians in the total cadre is only 20. I asked for information this morning regarding the proportion of Indians under training at the Fighting Vehicles School at Ahmednagar which trains officers for the Mechanised cavalry. I was not given that information on the plea that as the number of cadets was changing and there was no fixed proportion between Indian and British cadets, any information that might apply to the candidates at the present time would cease to be of any value very soon. The same argument might have been used to refuse information with regard to the percentage of Indian and British officers in the Cadet Wing of the Military School in November last. But perhaps it did not occur to the military authorities then that they should not give it. It has perhaps occurred to them now that they should not supply the information I had asked for, because either the situation in respect of the Fighting Vehicles School is no better than it was in respect of the Artillery School or is even worse. I should not be surprised if it is worse. Indeed, from the information that has reached me, it seems to me that the number of Indian cadets or officers under training there is even smaller than it was at the Artillery School. It is quite true that the proportion of Indian officers varies, but I understand that it was never high and that it was very small in comparison with that of British officers.

Sir, the figures which I have placed before the House show that whatever might be said in theory, Indians are not being freely admitted to the higher ranks of the Indian Corps of Engineers, Indian Artillery and the Mechanised cavalry. Now, the authorities, when charged with having kept Indians out of these services, have always replied that they have not succeeded in securing cadets of the proper stamp. This is an argument which has been frequently trotted out in the past with regard to every service. It is not one therefore which is likely to carry much weight, at any rate with the non-official Members of this House. But let us examine it for what it is worth. Take the Indian Artillery. The information that I have been able to obtain shows that although the attitude of British officers in the beginning was sympathetic to the Indian officers, but things underwent a change about one and a half years ago. Two Indian officers had to resign their commissions. Some others were transferred from their units. Technically they may be doing work connected with the artillery but I understand that they would not have left their units but for the attitude of their higher officers towards them. Now the officers concerned generally speaking were those who had been well spoken of by their previous commanding officers. No sudden deterioration could occur in them in the course of a few months. It would be reasonable to draw from this the inference that the fault lay so much not with the cadets themselves as with the point of view adopted by their officers. The position of a military officer *vis-a-vis* his superior is an exceedingly difficult one and an Indian officer labours under even greater disadvantages than a British officer of the same rank.

Apart from what I have said, Sir, with regard to the Indian Artillery I should like to bring another fact to the notice of Government. I have been told and I think reliably that there have been instances in which Indian officers have had as their battery captains British officers junior to them. I do not know how Government can defend such a procedure. Of course, the Indian Artillery is not the only Service in which a senior Indian officer has been placed under a junior British officer. I know of several other cases too in which this has occurred, but I am for the time being concerned only with the Services mentioned in my Resolution, and so the instances that I have given show how discouraging were the conditions under which the Indian officers had to work. No wonder that they got disheartened and that some of them resigned and some of the others sought relief by accepting a transfer to other units.

Now, Sir, take the Indian Corps of Engineers. As its name shows it is a Corps consisting of highly trained men, that it is a body of men who have received a high degree of technical training but this is so in theory where Indian officers are concerned. Now I do not mean to say that all the British officers who have been taken are men with no qualifications but why are Indian cadets being strictly treated and asked to show initiative, personality and character in the highest degree possible? This blessed formula is not applied impartially to British cadets. I have been supplied with instances in which men with no previous technical training have been appointed to this Corps. They may have been given some training after joining it but in one or two instances I understand that no training was given even subsequent to their appointment as officers. This is the difference, Sir, that is made by the British authorities between Indian and British cadets. They may take a man from a jute factory who had not been working there as an engineer at all and appoint him to a post—and a pretty high post—in the Indian Corps of Engineers. Similarly, they may take a sergeant from a workshop, give him a commission and then promote him rapidly. There is, Sir, an Indian V. C. in the Indian Corps of Engineers. The authorities have made much of the fact that he has been made a Captain now—a temporary Captain in consequence of the accelerated promotion granted to him—but there is at least a fair number of British cadets who though not possessing high qualifications have been promoted to even higher posts, who have become majors and lieutenant-colonels within a very short period.

I could give, Sir, similar instances with regard to the Mechanized cavalry. Very few Indians are being trained for it and consequently there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Indian officers themselves who find the discrimination made between them and their British colleagues even more galling than we do.

This is a state of things, Sir, which calls for an urgent remedy. The British Government cannot ask for our wholehearted help, cannot ask us to look upon the war as our own war and yet keep us out of the most important Services and treat us as pariahs even in the army of our own country. The figures that I have given, Sir, show that the schools that have been established in this country are really schools for the training of British officers and not schools for the training of Indian officers, although at least a large part of the cost of such institutions comes out of Indian revenues.

Mr. President, I do not want to prolong this debate but the facts that I have placed before the House show how serious the condition is, how shameful is the difference in the treatment of British and Indian cadets and how necessary it is that this disgraceful state of things should be ended without a moment's delay. We have been told that Indian young men of the requisite qualifications are not available. I have already said that trained Indian engineers have been rejected on the ground that they did not possess initiative, personality and character and Europeans with scarcely any qualifications have been taken. Indeed, Sir, it is within my own experience and the experience of my friends that people who were loafing about before the war have been able to get commissions and to rise more

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

rapidly than Indian officers. I do not say that things have been as bad in the technical services as in the other non-technical services, but here too such things are occurring. Besides if Indian officers have shown in Libya and Abyssinia and in other theatres of war that they do possess initiative, personality and character, when their qualities as officers have been borne testimony to both by the Secretary of State for India and the Commander-in-Chief it does not lie in the mouth of any other authority in India to say that Indian youths do not possess initiative, personality and character. If the Indian authorities have not been able to get from the Officers' Training Schools at Bangalore and Mhow the number of officers that they needed for those technical services what special efforts have they made to secure them? Did they issue any appeal on the subject? Did they go to the Universities? Did they make any special effort to get qualified Indian graduates in science and mathematics? I am not aware that any effort of this kind has been made. Sir, it seems to me that the excuses given by the authorities for keeping down the number of Indians in the services to which my Resolution relates are of the same kind as their excuses for not appointing Indians in larger numbers in the other Services. These are excuses which have no reality. The only reason for it is the desperate effort which the military authorities are making even now to keep the Indian Army under the leadership of Britishers. This is the real cause of the backward position of Indian officers in the three Services to which I have drawn the attention of the Government. Sir, the position, as I have shown, is exceedingly grave. It is indeed outrageous and I trust that every non-official Member of the Council will consider it his duty to extend his warm support to my Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) :  
 Sir, I rise to support the Resolution so ably moved by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru. I am very sorry to find that this House has to discuss such Resolutions at this juncture. We are accustomed to be told in season and out of season that young men of the requisite type are not available for the fighting services in India. But that theory, propounded by the Government, has long been exploded. In fact, Government has accepted now, after the outbreak of war, that young men of the requisite type are available and also are ready to lay down their lives for the fighting forces of India in the interests of their country. The highest authorities have testified to the courage, gallantry and suitability of our Indian young men. If that is the position, then I submit that the Government or the authority responsible for this state of affairs do not trust Indians and therefore do not want Indians to be recruited for these technical services. Sir, if in the non-technical services of the fighting forces the Government could obtain several thousand Indians as Emergency Commission officers, I fail to understand why they should not obtain the requisite type of Indian youths for manning these technical services. As we see from the reply given this morning, the proportion of Indian officers in these technical services has decreased and not increased. In 1941, according to the answer given to the question of my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru, we had 15 per cent., and now we have got about 12 or 12½ per cent. That shows that the authorities who are responsible for administering these services do not want the requisite kind of Indian youths to enter these key positions. I have received complaints from some of my young friends whom I have sent to the fighting forces in India that some of them were transferred to non-technical services and some were made to resign. I have also received complaints to the effect that the subordinate European military staff does not like that Indians should be in these key positions. However much the Government may make a show of change of policy and say that they want more Indian youths to come into these services, their subordinate staff is still following the old policy of not trusting Indians and not taking them into these fighting services. Sir, we have started training schools. We pay for those training schools. The Indian taxpayer bears the increasing burden of paying taxes every time more and more

for training our youths and not the British youths. We are responsible for defending our country. We are asked to create a national front. I put it to the Government and to those who are in power whether this is the right method to create a national front for the defence of India? Sir, I do not want to use harsh words, but it pains my heart to see that in the year 1942, when the war is at the very gates of India, the same old policy of distrust is being followed in the General Headquarters. I think that even now, though late, the authorities must change their attitude and see that Indian youths of the type they require do come in very large numbers in these technical as well as non-technical services and take a proper share in the defence of their country.

Sir, my Honourable friend has dealt with this question so ably that I do not think I should take up the time of the House more and add to it. But I must sound a note of warning to Government that if they continue further in this policy of distrust, there is no hope of creating a national front.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : I rise to support the Resolution which has been so ably argued by my Honourable friend Dr. Kunzru. I am one of those who are of opinion that the present war should be won and that causes of discontent among the people should be removed. My information is, and if I am wrong the Honourable Mr. Williams will put me right, that even the recommendations of the Skeen Committee as far as Indianization is concerned which were accepted by the Government of India were not translated into practice, and for a few years pace of Indianization amongst Defence officers in accordance with the pledge given by the Government was not made. This has led Indians to think that the policy of the Government in pace of Indianization has been reversed. Another point which has added discontent among Indians was the creation of the Indianized units. A great deal has been said about that segregation because it was the result of racial discrimination and hatred. I was under the impression that Government had realised this mistake and that now there were no purely Indianized defence units in existence. In the Skeen Committee Report it is mentioned that there was fall in numbers of British officers for service in India as they disliked serving under Indians in various Government defence services, but a responsible official assured Britishers that in the defence services they would not be put under the command of a blackie. That impression still continues because pace of Indianization instead of improving is getting worse. I would like the Honourable Mr. Williams to say here whether that policy, that British officers will not be placed under Indian officers, is still continuing or if it has been put an end to. Let this matter be made clear because people are under the impression that this fact which was borne out in the Skeen Committee Report has been put an end to. My information is that two Indian officers in defence units who attained their majority and who were about to be put second in command of units and who were likely later on to be put on as commanders were transferred to auxiliary units and thus deprived of the subsequent command. I do not like to give names here but my object in putting this matter forward is that for the sake of the increased war effort there should be no discontent left among the people on account of racial discrimination and consequential segregation in Government services. I want that Indians should be allowed to enter all units; there should be encouragement of comradeship and brotherhood amongst all officers. I have heard that a number of retired officers have been recalled to join the defence services. We have a gallant Indian officer here, in Colonel Sir Hissamuddin. We do not find that he has been recalled and put in command of a regiment although he was the first Indian who did command a regiment. That shows what my Honourable friend the mover said, that there is still mistrust left in the mind of the Government. I say this because I want the war effort to become supreme. Let there be comradeship among the Indian and British officers. I want all incidents which are the result of racial hatred to end, such as the treatment accorded to Mr. Trivedi, lately the Chief Secretary of the Central

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

Provinces and the incident at Allahabad the other day. The Defence Department is noted for its discipline. These incidents show how that discipline which has lasted so long is now being undermined. I therefore request the Honourable Mr. Williams to say whether that policy of a Britisher not being put under the command of a blackie still exists, and whether Indianized units are still in existence or has that policy been put to an end. I do not want to say any more on the subject, but I must say that there is still discontent in the public mind as it is preventing the war effort reaching its full measure.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I should like to lend my support to the Resolution which has been moved with his usual ability by Dr. Kunzru. Dr. Kunzru has pointed out that progress in the direction of Indianization has been very, very unsatisfactory. We have about 25 per cent. of the Emergency Commissions given to Indians. I think that it was possible, if sufficient enthusiasm was roused among young men and if a proper approach was made, to have a very much larger number of young men as emergency commissioned officers than we have at the moment. I know that in some cases young men who applied for Emergency Commissions were refused, but they are being asked for now when the need is for increasing the number of officers. I say that that is not the right way of creating enthusiasm. That is a sure way of damping enthusiasm and I regret that it has never occurred to our imaginative Government to realise that after all Indians have a right to expect fair treatment in the land of their birth.

Then the Honourable Dr. Kunzru has given us figures of Indian officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, the Indian Artillery and the Mechanized cavalry. In the Indian Artillery the percentage would seem to be about 86 per cent. British and 14 per cent. Indian. Does it reflect any credit on the machinery of the Government in this country during war time that after nearly two years and eight months of war the number of Indians in the artillery is only 14 per cent. ? Surely much greater effort could have been made than has been made to give Indians a chance in the artillery.

(At this stage the Honourable the President resumed the Chair.)

Sir, reference was made by the Honourable Dr. Kunzru to the position of Indians in the Indian Corps of Engineers and I understood him to point out that the Indian proportion is only about 22 per cent. of the total cadre, excluding Royal Engineers. Dr. Kunzru has explained that so far as Mechanized cavalry is concerned, the position is that only 20 per cent. of the officers are Indians and he went on to point out that in some cases a feeling has been left that justice has not been done to individual Indian claims for promotion. Now, Sir, all this is really very upsetting at this time when both the British and the Indians need to get together in order to present a common front against the aggressor. We cannot really get together, it is psychologically impossible for us to get together unless we are helped to do so by a change in the Government attitude. Unless Britain changes her attitude—an attitude which goes back to 1857, the Peel Commission Report of 1859 was referred to by Dr. Kunzru—it is impossible to get to the heart of the Indian people. What you need to do is to get to the heart of the Indian people, to convince them that in fighting this war you are fighting their war just as much as you are fighting your own war. That is the feeling that you should generate at this moment and I therefore would strongly urge that there should be a drastic change not only in constitutional policy towards India but also a drastic change in the military policy that you have followed in this

country. Just consider what you have done. You have left this country practically defenceless. That, I think, is the gravest indictment against British administration in this country. The other day that boastful Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, said that Indian politicians had hampered the development of the defence services, that they should be the last persons to criticise Britain for the helpless position in which India or Britain finds herself and that they had been opposing military expenditure. Sir, it has been said that a partial untruth is worse than untruth. If we have been critical, as we have been critical, of defence expenditure in the past, the reason is quite obvious. Defence was looked upon in the past as the close preserve of the Britisher. We had, and we have, no opportunity of discussing foreign policy in this House and a policy was followed towards Indianization which annoyed and irritated Indians. I could answer Mr. Amery very effectively, but I do not wish to do so at this moment, because we are eager to hear the Honourable Mr. Williams and I know there is the Adjournment Motion to be discussed ; and therefore I will wind up by saying that I give my whole-hearted support to the Resolution moved by Dr. Kunzru.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (Defence Co-ordination Secretary) :** Sir, I find that—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Would you like to make your speech after I have disposed of the Motion for Adjournment ? If you like to do that, if there is time, I am quite prepared to finish this Resolution at this meeting ; otherwise, it would have to be adjourned to the next non-official day.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** Do I understand you are taking the Adjournment Motion now ?

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Yes, at 4 P.M.

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#### STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

**THE HONOURABLE MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON (Leader of the House) :** Sir, it is hoped that the Finance Bill will be passed by the other House by tomorrow or day after. I, therefore, suggest, Sir, that we meet on Friday, the 20th, at 5 P.M. for the sole purpose of laying the Bill on the table so that we can take it up on Monday, the 23rd.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** It is a great pity that under the statute we cannot by circulation lay the Bill on the table.

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#### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT *RE* EVACUEES FROM BURMA.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Honourable Members, we will now proceed with the discussion of the Adjournment Motion. I will remind Honourable Members that the provision under Standing Order 23 (2) is

4 P.M.                      mandatory and no speech can exceed 15 minutes in duration.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan) :** The Motion which I beg to move is as follows :—

“ That this House do adjourn to discuss a matter of public interest and urgency, namely, the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma.”

[Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.]

Sir, the importance of this Motion has been realised by the House and, as the present situation in the country and immediately outside this country is, it requires certainly a very careful consideration of the questions arising out of evacuation. The evacuation of Burma is not finished. Only nearly one-fifth of the Indians have been able to come over to this country and four-fifths are still there. Not only is it a question for Burma but I hope we will take lessons from this evacuation as to what might happen in this country itself. The stories and the reports that have come to us are absolutely harrowing. They are of a character that one could easily say that the treatment meted out to Indians was inhuman. In spite of the fact that we are considering evacuation at a most abnormal and difficult time we know that the conditions were not such as to deserve the treatment which was meted out to Indian evacuees. One thing I may point out what is very essential at the present moment and that is the morale of the people and the spirit of the civilians. We have had lessons from Malaya, Singapore and also from Burma that for most of the difficulties it is the spirit and morale of the people which was responsible. Not only in India, Burma and Far Eastern places but we have before us the lessons of the surrender of France, in which this played one of the most important parts. The treatment which was meted out to evacuees and the tales which they bring with them to this country does not remain confined with them alone or this House; it is being talked out from one end to the other of this country. And what would be the feelings of any Indian at the present juncture after listening to these harrowing tales of those evacuees. One could understand the difficulties in the way of evacuation—some of inevitable results which generally happen in such a difficult time—but one cannot forgive or take lying the preferential treatment which was given to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, while the Indians were dying on account of want of sanitation, food and water.

Sir, it is true that this is a war with which Britishers are most concerned but that is not all; their concern does not take them to the goal of success. It is the co-operation of other people which they desire, the resources of other countries which they want to use. They are the factors which would make easy the winning of the war. Now what are they doing to secure sympathy, co-operation and willing support of the people to conduct this war?

I will give to the House certain instances which reached me from sources which I believe are not like rumours but from people of responsibility and I hope that the Honourable Member on the other side will throw some light on them.

I am told that in the third week of February, about the 21st or 22nd, all the criminals and lunatics were let loose from prisons. Well, one might say that they were let loose because in Rangoon there was danger of air-raid and so on, but that would not be a sufficient answer; they could have been removed long ago. The trouble over Rangoon did not come suddenly. There was plenty of time for all sorts of preparations but unfortunately I see that the policy of the British people today is to be unprepared in everything—from Far East to Middle East—and in every matter. Now, could they not remove these criminals from Rangoon to somewhere in the north? Were they so many in number that it was not possible to remove such a lot within weeks and months? I understand that the number never exceeded 2,000. If they wanted they could divide criminals into certain classes and the more dangerous criminals, of whom they were apprehensive that they would commit loot and arson and other crimes, could have been removed earlier and not let loose. I also understand that there was no law and order from 21st to 25th February and it was on the 25th that the Governor put the administration under the military command, and General Sir Archibald Wavell, the present Commander-in-Chief in India, was put in command of the military administration over there. So, virtually Burma was under the command of India. We

find that at that time, the military which for its operation requires the co-operation of the civilians and who are supposed to be the defenders and protectors of the civilians themselves, committed acts which nobody can justify. For instance, it has been reported that on the 21st or 22nd, the soldiers came to the shops in the well-known Indian bazaar. They asked for articles to be shown to them. When the articles were shown to them, they took them and walked away. If there was a protest, they paid no heed to it but helped themselves with a little more and went away. What happened after the City of Rangoon came under the command of India is something terrible. Of course I admit that Rangoon has many places of military value, but the whole of Rangoon City cannot by any stretch of imagination be considered to be of such military value as to apply the scorched earth policy to the whole city. It is substantially true that Rangoon today is a heap of burnt timber and bent iron girders and hardly any building or any quarter worth the name is left there without damage. How and why has this happened? It may be said that the Government or the military is responsible for destroying certain places which might have been useful to the enemy if they had come into their hands. To that no one could grudge. But how is it that these main bazaars, where beautiful silks and other things were sold, were burnt to ashes? The *Statesman* correspondent has given his impression, from what he saw, that it is the work of hooligans. If in spite of the military and all its paraphernalia being there to defend the city from outside aggression, hooligans either from outside or inside the city have committed crimes of that kind without any hindrance or obstacle, that is no credit to the military or civil administration responsible for the city. That is not all. People there have lost their all. Men who were millionaires are not worth a penny today. It is a very sad thing. But if really it could not have been helped, no one could say anything and there would have been some consolation. I may repeat the old proverb, "Margi amboh jashnay darad", which means that the death of a crowd of people is also a kind of joy. But this was not the case there. The case was nothing short of either deliberate destruction of property or negligence amounting to criminal negligence in not trying to protect the life and property of the people. This, so far as the property of our countrymen and of the local people there are concerned. We read every day reports in the papers that such of the evacuees as are still in Burma are coming to the frontier of India by foot. Is it not a fact that they are dying of cholera, and that there are no arrangements on the road for their drinking water or sanitation and other things? Was it not in contemplation that it will not be possible to evacuate all the Indians there by means of steamers and the road will have to be used? If they did not, then that is exactly what they have been doing everywhere—unpreparedness. But, if they did contemplate that the road will have to be used, then why were arrangements not made? Why was not water to drink supplied on the road? There are, as I said, about a million people still on that soil and they are dying of hunger and thirst and lack of sanitation. What has been reported to me about the preferential treatment is really awful. I have been told on good authority, by men whose words it is not easy to doubt, that at the commencement of evacuation, a certain place was reserved for high class Indians and Europeans and Anglo-Indians—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Please bring your remarks to a close. Others will give further illustrations. Your time has expired.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** In two or three minutes more I will finish, Sir. I have been told that Rs. 5 per head per diem was paid by Government to caterers for catering to the Europeans, while Indians, who were 99 per cent. of the people in the Race Course, were there about the end for three days and nights without any arrangements at that time for sanitation or food. They were taken out by the police or the men who were in authority. One was caught hold of and turned out of the gate and a pass was given to him and he was asked to go and



[Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.]

take the steamer. If the mother went, the children were crying inside the Race Course. If the husband went, the wife was still there. Yet when the people reached the harbour and they went to the boat they were packed up there like sardines. There was a notice that no arrangements for food can be made. One curious fact is reported from a very reliable gentleman that on that steamer there was room for about 30 or 40 persons and the commander of the ship said that he could take a few more and he asked the people to come over the gangway. Then 30 or 40 Indians rushed there and he took them in, but the gentleman who is responsible for protecting Indians' rights and interests there actually and virtually took a whip and he whipped those Indians out of the steamer, and the reason was that he had 30 more Anglo-Indians to put in.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Who did it ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : Mr. Hutchins, the Agent of the Government of India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN : Am I to assume that my Honourable friend is laying the specific charge against the Agent of the Government of India of having whipped Indians off a boat in Rangoon ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : Yes.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Do you speak from personal knowledge ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : I speak from a very reliable source. I have now one of the gentlemen watching from the top whose nephew was actually beaten up with a *danda* by Mr. Worley, I think the Evacuation Officer of the Burma Government.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : Is it Mr. Hutchins or somebody else ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : The first one was Mr. Hutchins.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I have heard a different story about it.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : You can say that.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Will you please now stop. I am sorry your time is up. There are other speakers.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : What I want to say is that the things which have been done are done. The one thing which I want to impress and insist upon is the question of compensation to those who have lost their property either through the deliberate act of the military or the civil Government or through their negligence, namely, that they could have protected and saved their property but they did not save it.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Husain has placed before the House a picture of the Indians who stayed on in Rangoon and who had to bear untold hardships there. I do not want to go over the ground covered by him but I should like to add to what he says that the men who remained in Rangoon were those who were connected with essential services. They remained there at the request of the Burma Government. They remained there because

they were discharging functions in relation to the military which other people could not discharge. One would have thought therefore that such people would receive special protection from Government, especially when the military administration was under our own Commander-in-Chief, and the complaint of Indians is that although they did their very best to carry out the behests of the authorities and to supply the authorities with all that they needed their protection and interests were completely ignored. It is true that the interregnum of five days, that is the period during which the civil authority was not functioning and the military authority had not taken over control, was the worst period from their point of view. But their troubles did not end when this period expired. It continued even after that. As the House knows, Sir, there are two main routes taken by Indians, one going from Burma to Chittagong and the other from Mandalay and places round about to Manipur in the Province of Assam. There are two routes for reaching India, I understand, even through Manipur, but one of them is exceedingly difficult and the other which is easier and which is being opened out is under the control of the military or is going soon to be completely controlled by them. My Honourable friend Mr. Bozman gave an account in another place yesterday of the efforts made by the Government of India to render help to the Indian evacuees. Now I for one accept every word of what he said. I have no doubt that he and his colleagues are trying to do the best they can in very difficult circumstances. I also know that we can rely on him to do whatever is possible within the limits of his position. But what I should like to know is whether the Government of India feel that after deputing a certain number of doctors from Bengal and Madras and making other arrangements at Chittagong where they have established five camps, they have done their duty by the evacuees. Their number is large. Out of more than a million Indians in Burma only about 50,000 have come back at least by sea. I have no doubt that there is a much larger number of Indians waiting to come back to this country. Considering that the arrangements made by the Government of India have proved insufficient and totally insufficient, I should like to know what further efforts they propose to make to give help to the evacuees and to make it easier for them to return to their country. These remarks of mine apply to the route which leads from Burma to Chittagong. It is an extremely difficult and uncomfortable route. The Government of India have certainly tried to supply the refugees at a particular place called Sandoway or a place near it with water and provisions as these things are not at all available there. They deserve every credit for it, but as I have said, the arrangements made up to the present time are totally inadequate to the requirements of the situation.

The second thing that I wish to say in connection with Indians returning from Burma is this. The route that they take at present, even after reaching Sandoway or after reaching the sea coast, is a difficult one. Can anything be done to increase the number of ferries, so that these people might be taken over quickly to Akyab or Chittagong? Formerly ocean-going steamers plied between a Burman port and Chittagong. Such large steamers are not available now. But is it impossible to supply smaller boats at the present time, so as to provide for the quicker evacuation of the Indians who wish to come back.

Now, I wish to ask a question or two with regard to the road leading from Mandalay to Assam. This road is very much better than the Burma-Chittagong road, but there are certain portions of that road too that are difficult and after reaching Manipur, I understand the road bifurcates. Perhaps to be more correct, there is no road in one direction, but a route can be opened out. There is some thing like a road in another direction which is now being used for military purposes or which may soon be used for that purpose. I understand that the military authorities want to reserve this route for military traffic and that in the meanwhile they want to restrict traffic on it as much as they can, so that they might broaden it and improve it in other respects. The desire of the military authorities to have a military road leading from Burma to India is perfectly legitimate. But one would

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

like to know whether the military authorities consider it necessary to stop all traffic along that road, or whether they are prepared to allow a certain number of evacuees to use that road even at the present time. And the second question is whether when the number of evacuees that can use that road is fixed the privilege of using the military road will in practice be allowed only to Europeans or will be extended freely to all evacuees, whether Indians or Europeans. My Honourable friend Mr. Bozman said in another place yesterday that although he had heard complaints of discrimination he was able to say that the machine which landed in his presence contained only Indian passengers. He was very lucky and it must have been of great advantage to him to relate such an experience to the other House. I should like to know a few more particulars on this point before I can feel satisfied with the account that he gave yesterday. I should like to know when evacuation by air began, how many trips the aeroplanes employed either by the Government of India or by the Assam Government have made between Mandalay and India and how many passengers they have evacuated? Lastly, I should like to know how many of these evacuated passengers are Indians? It is only when we have this information that we can decide whether evacuation by air is allowed freely in the case of Indians and Europeans both or is in practice restricted to Europeans only. I pointedly refer to this matter, Sir, because I understand that even high-placed Indians have not been able to return by air. An Indian belonging to Bihar wanted to come back by plane and his relations were prepared to charter an aeroplane, but he was told that it was impossible that an aeroplane should be spared for him. These are, Sir, the facts in regard to which I want information. Having heard that the Defence Department can influence the policy of the Government a great deal in this respect, I should further like to know what part it has played in the matter. Mr. Bozman assured the Assembly yesterday that it was not the policy of the Government of India to discriminate between Indians and Britishers. This may be quite true, but I want to know whether the Defence Department has fallen into line with this policy or whether it is following a policy of its own. I understand that it is the Defence authorities who are partly responsible for not treating Indians fairly. A military officer who was the head of the Supply Department here was sent to Manipur the other day, I believe, to survey the route leading from Burma to Assam. I should like to know what he has done? Has he been able to render any service to Indians? This particular route has been under survey for a pretty long time. What has been the result of this survey? Has it in any way facilitated the return of Indians? And if not what further steps do Government mean to take to enable Indians to use the Mandalay-Assam route and in particular to enable them to use the easier of the two routes available to them after reaching Assam. These are the questions that are troubling our minds. Before we can acquit the Government of India or the other authorities concerned of the charge of discrimination that has been brought against them, we must have full information regarding the points that I have ventured to place before the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, at this stage it is not my intention to detain the House longer than is necessary. There is just one point which I should like to put before this House. It is an undoubted fact that Indians in several parts of Burma have lost a considerable amount of property and goods due to three causes (1) scorched earth, (2) looting by the local rowdies and (3) by enemy action. So far as the last is concerned, I have nothing to say. So far as scorched earth and looting are concerned, I think there is an undoubted case for compensation and the Government of India would be failing in its duty to Indians overseas if it did not work up to secure the necessary compensation from the Government of Burma or His Majesty's Government.

With these words, Sir, I support the Motion.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR** (Central Provinces : General) : Mr. President, the picture that our Honourable friend Mr. Muhammad Husain has drawn of the condition of the evacuees and of the Indians in Burma is very sad and most annoying. He has laid a definite charge in his speech against the Agent of the Government of India and those who know something about the work that he has done in the past in Burma so far as Indian interests are concerned feel a little bit of difficulty in accepting the charge. But as my friend has stated definitely that he misbehaved with Indians in such a way as to create annoyance amongst all self-respecting persons, it is, I think, the duty of the Government of India and their spokesman here to give us correct information on that point.

Sir, the question of looting and arson committed by bandits does not according to me come under the purview or under the jurisdiction of the Government of India, but, if the looting and arson took place when the military was in charge of the civil administration, then certainly I think, Sir, that the Government of India in the Defence Department is responsible for the failure in protecting the Indians in Burma.

Sir, a statement was made in the other House by a very responsible gentleman about a route, to which a reference was made by my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru. The statement that was made there was to the effect that a particular route was not allowed to be used by the military officers by Indians but that that route was freely used by Anglo-Indians and Europeans. I do not think, Sir, that there are black and white routes constructed in Burma but as the statement is made on the floor of the House in the other place by such a responsible gentleman that statement, if not correct, has to be contradicted, or, if correct, action has to be taken, and the Government of India must take action against those military officers who were responsible for this act.

Then, Sir, the question of evacuees which is causing great annoyance to us all here has to be dealt with from a humanitarian point of view. We have received complaints that the officers who were in charge of the situation there not only made a discrimination between Indians and Europeans—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN** : Is the Honourable Member speaking of the evacuation of Rangoon by sea ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR** : Yes.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN** : Thank you.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR**—but also failed to provide them with the necessities of life, for instance, water and food. Now, Sir, this question has to be investigated by the Government of India and officers who are responsible for this ought to be brought to book.

Another point that has struck me after reading the accounts that have appeared in the Press is about the evacuees who have actually come to India, I understand, but I cannot vouchsafe for the correctness of the information that has been given to me, that evacuees who have come to Madras are not getting proper help. Some of them are getting help from the non-official committees, but they are not getting proper help from the Government of Madras. I hope and I believe, Sir, that my Honourable friend Mr. Bozman will also enlighten us on this point.

Then, Sir, the question of evacuees who have gone to other Provinces than Madras has to be dealt with by not only the Provincial Governments but also by the Government of India. We want to know, Sir, what financial help the Government of India propose to give to those evacuees who have gone to Provinces other than Madras and what financial help they, the evacuees, are getting from the Provincial

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**Governments.** I suggest, Sir, that to alleviate the sufferings of those evacuees who have lost all their property and who have come to India, some financial help must be given not only by the Central Government, not only by the Provincial Government but the Government of India should also approach the authorities concerned and get help from the Viceroy's Fund. I understand that contribution is given from the Viceroy's Fund in other countries for alleviating their sufferings and I think I am right in stating that if people of other countries can get money from this Fund the Indian evacuees are justified in making a demand on that Fund. I hope in his reply my Honourable friend Mr. Bozman will give detailed information to this House on the points raised.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official):** Sir, I had absolutely no idea of joining in this debate but of watching the events with considerable interest. The statement made by the Honourable Member who has last spoken, namely, that the evacuees to Madras have not been treated properly—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR:** I said that I cannot vouchsafe for the correctness of the information but that was the complaint that I received.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO:** I am glad that he does not make any responsible statement, but as far as I know from my personal knowledge and the interest which I took in the evacuees from Burma, I can say that everything that is possible was being done and is being done. There are three Funds started: one was known as the Madras Mayor's Fund, the second was the Citizens' Reception Fund, the third is the Government help. The Government of Madras deputed a special officer for the purpose of meeting these people at the port or at the various places where they arrived and directed him and his subordinates to look after their interests. In addition to that the Vigilance Committee of the Mayor and the citizens have been going round and looking after them. So far as the evacuees returning to Madras are concerned there is absolutely no negligence or much less criminal negligence with regard to their physical and personal wants in the City of Madras, but monetary help also was given to some of them with a view to enabling them to reach their homes. Wherever they were unable to provide for themselves food and clothes were supplied, and the citizens of Madras contributed very liberally to the Funds as well as in the matter of supplying clothing and money for these evacuees. Therefore, it seems to me it would be very unfair for any Honourable Member of this House to say that so far as Madras is concerned the evacuees have not been treated properly. They have done their best in order to make them comfortable and see that the situation in which they are placed has been minimised as much as possible. We all realise how difficult the situation would be in Burma during the five days when there was no Raj whatever. During that period, it is natural that there should be some confusion, disorder, lawlessness and looting. Who could be responsible for it at that time? Therefore, to say that any particular officer or Government is responsible is not at all justifiable. But specific indication of any very inhuman act by any particular officer remains to be investigated. If it is true that a particular class of His Majesty's subjects were pulled out and other class of subjects put in there, that is a matter which we, Indians, with all the self-respect we possess today, cannot tolerate. But it remains to be seen whether this is a proved fact or only the imagination of some of the evacuees. They have come and expressed their grievances, but these are much more exaggerated than what they really are. So, the Honourable Member who made the suggestion ought to have made a thorough investigation before making any such statement against an officer.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan):** Sir, I am sure the House would like me to express our sympathy

not only with the evacuees from Burma but also with the Indians and other residents of Burma in their hour of trial. Sir, Burma is passing through a period of great suffering and we all hope and pray that it may emerge out of the suffering through which it is going victorious.

Sir, the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Husain has rendered a public service by inviting attention to the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma. According to a statement which was made by the Honourable Mr. Bozman in the other House, I believe that so far about 45,000 to 50,000 Indians have been able to come to this country—

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN : By sea alone.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : By the sea route alone. That is to say, Government have been able to evacuate or help in the evacuation of nearly one-fifth of the Indian population in Burma—

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN : The figures are wrong.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS : 50,000 out of a million. The population there is over a million.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : So, they have been able to evacuate 45,000 or 50,000 Indians from Burma.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN : By sea.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : The Indians who have come back from Burma have most harrowing tales to tell. I met two Indian gentlemen who were there on the 23rd December on which date the first raid on Rangoon took place. They told me that after the raid, the Burmese looted the Indians, there was hardly any law and order in the town and that it was with the greatest difficulty they could obtain food, shelter or the other essential requisites of life. They said that the conservancy arrangements broke down, the electric arrangements broke down and there were grievances against the manner in which they had been let down by the Burmese Government. It is only fair to say that I have heard conflicting stories about the attitude of our Agent, Mr. Hutchins. I should not like any public servant to be condemned without a fair and impartial inquiry. It is quite possible that some of the evacuees who have come out to this country have allowed their imagination to run riot. We all allow our imagination at times to run riot. But the broad fact stands out that very serious charges have been made against Mr. Hutchins and we do not like the honour of our Agent to be traduced in any manner whatever. I think it is only fair to him. I do not wish in the slightest degree to suggest that the allegations that have been made—I have some more allegations to make myself; there are others that have been made to me—should be accepted as Gospel truth. But what I do suggest is that there is a case for a fair and impartial inquiry, and it is in the interests of Mr. Hutchins himself that the inquiry should be made by the Government. One allegation that has been made is that passes for going to the ship were being issued by Mr. Hutchins. The office which he had was a very small office and Indians had to go to this small office, and while they were going to this small office, the police charged the crowd, they got a beating from the police and some people were hurt and injured. I do not know what truth or what falsehood there is in this allegation, but I repeat it on the floor of the House as it was mentioned to me by a respectable citizen.

Another story which I have heard is that when crowds collected in front of the office of Mr. Hutchins there were three air raids of which apparently there was no

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

alarm given and men died then and there, standing near his office. Then the charge which has been frequently repeated by Indians who have come back is that Europeans and Anglo-Indians were evacuated by plane to Chittagong and steamers to Calcutta. And when the President of the Rotary Club arrived with his wife at the frontier—he was going by the land route—he was given a coolie hut. He asked for a cleaner hut and there was a cleaner hut available, according to his statement, and he was

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refused and he was told that those cleaner huts were meant for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Now that is the statement of an Indian gentleman who happened to be the President of the Rotary Club in Rangoon, and if there is any substance of truth in that statement then it certainly is a very serious statement. Therefore the specific complaint against the administration in Burma or against the manner in which the administration executed its authority in Burma is that there was at this juncture, when there ought to be no racial discrimination whatever, racial discrimination. For the matter of that at no time should there be racial discrimination, but at this present juncture it is particularly objectionable. It is due to Mr. Hutchins that I should tell the House that two respectable citizens of Burma whom I value as friends gave me a different story. They came away immediately after the first air raid and these stories are subsequent to the first air raid, so they can only testify to what happened on the 27th December or thereabouts. They told me that while the Burma Government were not helpful—I can mention their names, they are residents of Allahabad and they are men of position—they told me that while the Burma Government was not helpful, Mr. Hutchins was, and but for him they would not have been able to get whatever little help they were able to get.

I should like to make one more point and that is that the National Airways have been given a sum of Rs. 4½ lakhs in the budget for evacuation purposes. I think reference was made to this sum in the budget speech of the Honourable Dr. Kunzru. Therefore we are entitled to expect that the National Airways in carrying out their responsibility and their duties will show no racial discrimination. In addition to the subsidy that they receive from the Indian Government they have been given a particular sum and it is unfortunate that there should be a feeling that there has been any racial discrimination on their part.

Having regard to the fact that I have exceeded my time I cannot go into the speech which was made by the Honourable Mr. Bozman the other day in the House. I have no doubt myself that the Honourable Mr. Bozman is looking into this question carefully. We have no desire to complicate the very difficult task that he has or the Honourable Mr. Aney has, but we have mentioned these grievances in the spirit that they should be righted and there should be a better feeling at this juncture. It has not been our object to vilify any particular official. Our object is to see that relations improve and that the honour of the official concerned is vindicated.

With these words, Sir, I support the Motion for Adjournment.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : I am sorry, Sir, that I will have to differ from some of my Honourable friends who preceded me, in their opinion, that no Government is responsible for any acts of pillage or arson done by bandits. The argument was advanced that if those acts took place before the military took possession of Rangoon City, that is during the time when there was no ordered government there, then neither of the Governments is responsible for those acts. I must take serious exception to this opinion. I will first deal with the first alternative, *viz.*, that these occurrences took place at a time when there was no ordered government. To this my reply is, why was there no ordered government then? It has been said that law and order ceased to function in the City of Rangoon from the 21st to the 25th December. There was

no special reason for withdrawing the forces of law and order then. And not only that, not only was law and order allowed to cease to function, but just to add to the troubles of the people, to fill their cup of misery to the very brim, even the criminals were let loose. Where was the necessity for the criminals to be released to aggravate the situation? As my Honourable friend Mr. Muhammad Husain has just remarked, it was the duty of the Government to see that long before such a contingency arose, long before they had become powerless to keep guard on those prisoners, they should have taken steps to remove them to some place in the interior.

Sir, as we all know the welfare of Indian nationals abroad is a subject which is dealt with by the Government of India. Whatever treatment is accorded to our nationals in any other country is a matter in which the Government of India are keenly interested. It is a matter for which the Government of India do hold some responsibility. So I feel that to have allowed these poor people, most of whom stayed in Rangoon for essential services, to be plundered, looted and harassed by bandits is a thing which no civilised government should have allowed. It is the duty of every Government, not only cast upon it by the constitution but it is its elementary duty to see that the life and property of the people under its rule is protected. Either the Government of Burma or the Government of India is responsible for the trouble, because they did not see to it that things were better managed than they actually were.

Now, Sir, as regards racial discrimination to which reference has been made, it is very strange that even at an hour like this, when people are caught up in a catastrophe like this when all distinction not only between rich and poor but between race and race ought to disappear, even at this hour these invidious distinctions are made. It is very sad, Sir, if it is a fact. As has been said by my friends here, we are very hesitant to believe that any particular individual has been guilty of this act. It is therefore necessary not only in the interests of justice and fair play but also in the interests of the particular individuals who have been accused that a fair and impartial inquiry is held and it is ascertained as to who is really responsible for this feeling which somehow or other seems to exist and strongly felt in the country. I would submit that whatever might have been the misdeeds in the past the Government should take care that no such distinction is allowed to remain. Now that the sea route has been practically stopped and only land route is available it is necessary that every honest effort should be made to see that facilities are given to the people who use this route without any distinction of race or colour or even position.

As regards the destruction of property, I have just one word to submit. It is quite understandable if property which had any military value had been destroyed, but such property about which there was no military value, property which could not have been used to help the enemy in waging war, should not have been allowed to be destroyed. I understand that most of the properties which were destroyed were destroyed after the military took possession of Rangoon City. The whole of the big bazaar which goes by the name of Surati Bazaar, where we had the biggest of Indian merchants, where Indian nationals had the best of their belongings, was burnt. It might be that this arson took place either under the command of the military or it might have been done by bandits, hooligans and the military did not take steps to prevent it. If it had been done under instructions from the military officers, it is obvious that the officers who had given the command are responsible and the Government should see to it that sufficient compensation is given to the people who have lost their property in that way. Even if it was not the military who gave the orders and if this had been perpetrated only by hooligans, it is the people who were in charge of the city who have failed in their duty to give sufficient protection to the property. Either way I think there is strong ground for giving compensation to the people who have lost their property by acts of destruction and burning.



[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

Just one word about the evacuees who come to Madras. I echo what has been said by my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro. The Madras Government is doing its best to see that these evacuees are attended to. Besides the Government there are a number of non-official organisations, non-official agencies, which are also trying to alleviate the sufferings of the people who disembark in Madras from Burma. Notwithstanding all this, I feel that there is still much to be done in this direction. I met some of the evacuees who returned to Madras. I was told that there was no satisfactory arrangement for food on board the steamer and the poor people had to do without food for the whole of the voyage for four days. Even those who could afford to pay could not get what they wanted. Some of them have told me that one cup of tea has cost something like Re. 1 or Rs. 2. Things like that ought not to be allowed to continue. Again, Sir, when these people landed in Madras, according to the present instructions of the Government, railway tickets were not issued unless they signed an agreement for paying the railway fare after reaching their homes. This procedure was not only inconvenient to these passengers, but it also entailed extra expenditure, for those passengers who came to Madras had to be detained there and fed for a considerably longer time than was necessary. One day about 500 passengers were expected in Madras, but actually nearly 4,000 of them arrived and the result was that only 50 or 60 of them were able to sign agreements and give the necessary particulars in about two or three hours. Some of us who were there on the spot found that this procedure was resulting in inconvenience not only to the passengers but also to the people who attended to their needs by making their stay much longer in Madras than was necessary. Representations were made to the Government and here I must do justice to my Honourable friend Mr. Pai who was there on behalf of the Government of India. He was kind enough to issue orders that this procedure might be dispensed with. Tickets were issued without those passengers signing the agreements. I submit that as difficulties are brought to the notice of Government, instructions like these should be issued without delay. I also wish to draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of making sanitary arrangements at the port of disembarkation. Sanitary arrangements should be made not only at the shelters where people are kept before they embark, before they start on their journey, but also at the port of disembarkation. Sir, the Overseas Department is doing its best but real improvement in these directions can be effected only if the Defence Department co-operates.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN (Secretary for Indians Overseas): Sir, I must confess that the course which the debate on this Motion has taken so far has been somewhat surprising and painful to me. I had hoped that we might have a useful and helpful discussion as to what the Government of India should do to assist these people either in the process of getting away from Burma now or in India after they have arrived. Instead, I regret to say, we have had a considerable number of individual accusations made and it was indeed most painful to me to listen to an accusation against an officer of the Government of India which has never been made to the Government of India hitherto, an accusation now made in a public place where his name must be mentioned in the press, on grounds which have not been stated to the Government of India themselves. Since the accusation has been made, I think I must demand from the Honourable Member a full statement of all the evidence in his possession with regard to the incidents of which he has complained. I shall want to know the date, the ship, the people affected, whether they had or had not tickets, whether the people affected were women or children or men, and all details of that kind, and I am quite certain that my Honourable friend will supply me with all such details. I shall then certainly inquire into the incidents as best as I can.

Now, Sir, we have heard a great deal about the sufferings of the unhappy Indians who have had to leave Burma. I hope no Member in the House will accuse me of

minimising those sufferings, because I have had numberless stories told to me myself by these unfortunate people and I have as clear a picture of the hardships and misery that they had suffered as possibly any Member in this House. I have also recently visited Akyab myself in Burma to see whether I could make any further arrangements to assist them on that particular route out of Burma ; so I shall not, I am sure, be accused of lack of sympathy if I attempt to show that the Government of India have not sat back with hands idle, and have attempted to provide some amenities and some assistance for the evacuees.

On the two land routes to which my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru referred conditions are entirely different. On the route from Prome there is a land journey of a little over 100 miles passing through somewhat difficult and hilly country. This journey brings the refugees to a small place on the coast of Burma called Taungup. From Taungup to Akyab there has always been and still is a service of launches and there are also a number of country craft plying on the inland waters. My main pre-occupation when I was in Akyab was to satisfy myself that every conceivable conveyance by water that could be used between Taungup and Akyab was being used and I did so satisfy myself. All the launches which are capable of reaching Taungup—and I make that qualification because the creek leading to Taungup is narrow, shallow, obstructed and winding—all launches that can reach Taungup are going regularly without delay between Akyab and Taungup. I am glad to say that two or three launches which were brought up from Rangoon belonging to the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company have been added to the fleet which was already available at Akyab. The capacity of these launches varies considerably : some take about 150 ; others carry as many as 400 on a launch. Every one of these launches is now being so used.

My second immediate concern at Akyab was to see that sufficient shipping was available to take from Akyab the large numbers of refugees arriving from Taungup. Since my visit the total number of ships employed on that run has been practically doubled. I regret I cannot give the numbers because for security reasons the number should not be known but I can assure the House that they are not inconsiderable and that I am at the moment attempting to increase them.

My third preoccupation at Akyab was to see that everything possible was being done in the supply of medical assistance, food and water. The medical assistance provided from India on that route amounts to, first, a party of four doctors sent over by the Government of Bengal and, second, a medical unit sent from Madras which consists of one 1st class Health Officer, one 2nd class Health Officer, one Assistant Surgeon, two Sub-Assistant Surgeons, six Health Inspectors and seven Nursing Orderlies. All are efficient and keen. They took with them 75,000 doses of cholera vaccine, one ton of bleach powder, saline infusion and inoculation sets. That particular medical unit was sent from Madras at a notice of a few hours only. I met the two principal doctors in Akyab myself and I conveyed to them, and through them to their assistants, our humble and grateful thanks for their immediate response to the calls made upon them.

As for food and water, the launches are supplied with water. Food, I will admit, is scarce but food is available at both ends of the journey. The main difficulty is between Prome and Toungoo on a land passage of about 100 miles. There again water is available and food is available, except at one or two particular camps, but it is scarce and it is expensive.

And now to turn to the other land route, the one leading northwards from Burma into Manipur. I described that route in another place as actually a combination of various routes. The crossing of the Indo-Burma border is normally made at a place called Tamu. Tamu can be reached both by road and by river with a very short road journey. From Tamu there are two routes which arrive at the same place inside

[Mr. G. S. Bozman.]

Manipur. From Imphal, which is the main town in Manipur, there are again two routes, one to Manipur Road and the other to Silchar. There are variations on these routes at various places but I will attempt to give only an outline of how they run. One of these routes is a matter of very great military importance and I should like now to mention the point raised by a number of Members with regard to racial discrimination on this particular route. I shall deal with racial discrimination generally a little later. I did hope today, and indeed I had hoped in another place yesterday, to give a definite and final answer as to what the particular facts were; I regret that I have not yet had the final facts placed before me. I would say only this that as a result of the appointment of the military officer, to whom my Honourable friend referred, there is now going out from Burma into Assam a stream of refugees at the number of 750 a day which in two or three days it is hoped to increase to 1,500 and shortly after that to increase to a higher figure daily. But with regard to the reservation of one route for Indians and another route for Europeans and Anglo-Indians I am not as yet in a position to state exactly what the facts are. This only I can suggest. Military considerations are apt, particularly there, to vary from day to day and there may have been restrictions which have had this practical effect, but I can say this that if that effect has been caused we shall do our utmost to remove that effect. It is our firm resolve that where restrictions have to be imposed they shall be imposed without distinction of race, caste or creed. (Applause.) From the centre of Manipur I mentioned just now that there are two roads into Assam. There again, the restrictions imposed will be solely on account of the road capacity, because all traffic on these roads is carried by lorry or bus and we can only get away as many people as can be carried by the lorries and buses—

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU:** Is the Honourable Member now speaking of the road from Imphal to Manipur?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN:** There are two roads leading out of Imphal, one to Dimapur, which is to the north, and one to the west to Silchar. In order to relieve the pressure on the road from Imphal to Dimapur we are now organising as best we can the road west to Silchar. That consists partly of a motorable road and partly of a road which has to be covered by foot. On the path which has to be covered by foot, camps are now being erected, doctors placed at the camps, and food and water and other necessities supplied. It is hoped by that means to maintain at least the full flow of about 2,000 daily and possibly more.

With regard to the provisions made on the road inside Burma, the reports I have received indicate that camps have been established, but that the camps are in many cases somewhat primitive shelters. Food has caused some difficulty. We have, however, sent officers from India into Burma to give every assistance to the Burma authorities in organising these camps, and we are shortly sending officers who can speak the various languages which we expect to find among the refugees. On the land routes inside India, as my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru mentioned, we have six camps at Chittagong itself. We have five camps on the land routes in Chittagong. I must digress there for a moment because it is possible to get by land into Chittagong also from Akyab after a short launch journey. We have five camps on those land routes. We have camps at short and convenient stages now on all the land tracks between the Burma-Assam frontier and Manipur or Imphal. At each of these camps a doctor has been placed and arrangements are made to supply camps with food and water.

Now I think I should refer perhaps to the air evacuation scheme which was mentioned. I hope my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru is not correct in saying that I was extremely lucky to see an aeroplane land, which was full of Indians. I have spoken personally to all concerned with this air evacuation scheme, except

those who are permanently inside Burma. All are determined, as we are, that there shall be no racial discrimination in this air evacuation scheme. I have seen it repeated in correspondence time after time. I cannot give the complete figures which the Honourable Pandit Kunzru asked for. We were told originally that there were some 2,000 people waiting to be evacuated. We arranged that with one D. C. 3 plane approximately 150 to 200 people a day should be brought out by air. This involves three or four trips backwards and forwards by the same plane and we should be grateful to the Chinese pilots who are working this plane for their great energy and the great help which they are giving to us in India. (Applause.) I have since heard that there are more than the original 2,000 waiting. The numbers are not yet absolutely clear. We are now making efforts to increase the extraction number up to something like 250 a day, and if anything more can be done in that respect, I have no doubt it will. I should add that this is in addition to the ordinary service which runs from Lashio to Calcutta. I believe that the numbers on that service are something like 350 a week and no doubt those numbers include also a certain number of refugees—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Bozman, I appreciate that your reply is very important but your time has already been exceeded by a couple of minutes. If you propose to take a long time, I must ask the permission of the House to allow you to do so. How long will you take?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN: I shall attempt to finish in another five or ten minutes, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Is it your pleasure that leave be given to the Honourable Member to continue?

HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Yes.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The House gives you permission to continue.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN: The next point I wanted to refer to was the total evacuation from Burma. There has been some misunderstanding—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: May I interrupt the Honourable Member? Will he be able to secure later the figures I have asked for?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN: I will make the very best effort I can, Sir.

With regard to the total figures, I think there has been some misunderstanding, possibly through a short report of what I said in another place. I said there that the total number evacuated by sea was estimated at between 45,000 and 50,000. But I went on to say that our estimate of the numbers who will come away by land was about 75,000 giving us a total of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. I think it is not unlikely that the number may be higher than that. I should put it myself at between  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs. That is out of a population of about 10 lakhs. I mention these figures only so that the position may be clear and we are not misunderstood.

Now, Sir, there are two or three points which have been made by one or two speakers. First of all, with regard to compensation for property, I feel myself that there has been some misunderstanding on this point also. On the 20th February, an order was given for the complete evacuation of Rangoon. That, as I understand it, means that the Burma Government publicly stated that they no longer had authority in Rangoon after the date and time of evacuation had expired. The notice, I understand, was 48 hours.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: What was the date?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. BOZMAN :** I think it was the 20th February. After the evacuation period had expired, the Government of Burma ceased to function in Rangoon. Under the Government's instructions certain people remained in Rangoon. These were those who were detailed for the demolition of vital points in the city. So far as my information goes at present, the vital points destroyed by the demolition parties were only three; that is, apart from permanent obstructions caused to the wharves and harbour. Therefore, the burning and destruction in other parts of Rangoon was not by the order of the Government of Burma and the stories that I have heard from people who came away from Rangoon after the demolitions had been carried out fully bear out the deduction I have made that burning and destruction was caused by looting. Burning and destruction of private property was not caused by Government order. As to the liability either of the military authorities or the Government of Burma with regard to private property lost or destroyed, that is a matter on which legal opinion will be necessary which I am certainly not competent to give. I can only say that the matter having been raised by a number of Members in this House I shall attempt to examine the position and see whether in point of fact any responsibility can be placed.

And now, Sir, to come back to the two main subjects which I had expected to be raised in this debate, namely, the policy of the Government of India with regard to discrimination and the policy of the Government of India with regard to the evacuation of refugees. I think, I hope, I have made it quite clear that as regards racial discrimination the policy of the Government of India has never wavered from what it has always been with regard to the treatment of Indians overseas, namely, that all citizens of this country should be treated alike. With regard to the evacuation of refugees the policy is a simple one although the problem is by no means simple. The policy is that the Government of India should give all assistance they can to the evacuees in the country which they are trying to leave and all the assistance they can to the evacuees in India when they arrive. When they arrive the reception committees meet them. And here I should like to pay a tribute to the reception committee in Madras, of whom I have heard only yesterday from Mr. Satyamurti, and to the reception committees in Calcutta and Bombay and to the reception committee just constituted in Chittagong. The reception committees receive these people. They are distributed with the assistance of Government and private funds and arrangements are now in hand, or rather I should say arrangements are now being suggested to the Provincial Governments, for the purpose of finding employment and maintenance for these people when they have been dispersed. Therefore, in brief, the Government of India's function starts by assisting the Government of the country from which they wish to evacuate themselves and by assisting the refugees both in that country and when they return to India.

I should make one more point before I close. I was asked whether the Central Government and Provincial Governments were making financial provision for these people. I can only say that in no case that I have come across have financial considerations come in the way of every available assistance being given to evacuees, whether by Provincial Governments or by the Central Government, and so far as maintenance of those who are indigent is concerned the organisation is already operating. So far as education for their children is concerned, Provincial Governments and Universities have all agreed to special conditions and special terms and even special arrangements in the curriculum. I think it is fair to say that no Government in this country has viewed this problem with any but the most sympathetic and humane outlook.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** As this debate has not concluded automatically within the two hours prescribed by the rules, it is my duty to place the Motion before the House for its vote unless the Honourable Member who has moved it wishes to withdraw it and the Council gives permission.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : My purpose has been served by the discussion which has taken place and I beg leave of the House to withdraw my Motion.

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

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THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : As regards the Honourable Pandit Kunzru's Resolution, the debate on which will yet take some time, I think it will be advisable to postpone it to the 25th March. I will direct that it should be placed first on the agenda paper and it will be debated in that order.

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The Council then adjourned till Five of the Clock on Friday, the 20th March, 1942.

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