

# COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

Tuesday, 19th February, 1946

Vol. I—No. 2

## OFFICIAL REPORT



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## COUNCIL OF STATE

Tuesday, 19th February, 1946

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

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

#### K.L.M. AIR LINE

31. **THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH:** Is it a fact that the Dutch K.L.M. air line will shortly resume service to the Far East making some point in India as a terminus? If so, have Government accorded their sanction, so far as this country is concerned. If so, with what terms and conditions.

**THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN:** The Government of India have not so far received any proposals from the K.L.M. for the resumption of their pre-war civilian air service across India. Government have, however, permitted the operation of a Dutch military air service between Amsterdam and Batavia touching India at Karachi and Calcutta, subject to the conditions that no commercial traffic rights are conferred and that the permission granted will be without prejudice to the terms of any agreement for a future Dutch civil air service to or across India between the Government of India and the Dutch Government.

**THE HON. MR. N. K. DAS:** Have any Indian companies applied to operate on the same routes? If so, with what result?

**THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN:** I must ask for notice of the question.

#### INVALIDATION OF JAPANESE CURRENCY IN BURMA

32. **THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH:** (a) Is it a fact that Indian residents in Burma have become bankrupt, as the result of a proclamation issued by the Military authorities in Burma, the effect of which is to render worthless all currency issued by the Japanese who were in occupation of the country?

(b) What steps have been taken by Government to prevent the inhibition of the Indians in Burma by reason of the above proclamation?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** (a) Reports have been received that owing to invalidation of Japanese currency many Indians in Burma have in common with members of other races been put to loss.

(b) The Government of India can take no action in respect of the currency in another country particularly as there has been no discrimination against Indians in this matter.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL:** Are Government in a position to say what are the losses which have occurred to these Indians on account of changes in the currency?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** No, Sir.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL:** Are Government taking any steps to change Japanese currency having regard to their previous holdings or something like that?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** No. It is the policy adopted by the United Nations. All nations have suffered, not only India.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW:** Cannot the Government of India press upon His Majesty's Government to see that such impoverished Indians are helped in some way?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** No, Sir.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW:** Why cannot the Honourable Member take it up and do it?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** It is not a question of losses to Indians alone

There are so many races who are residing in Burma—Chinese, Burmese, etc. All have suffered from the same calamity on account of the war; and it is the policy adopted by the United Nations.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** The fact that others have suffered does not mitigate the suffering of Indians—

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT :** Put your question and do not argue.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** Is it not the duty of the Government of India to protect the interests of Indians in Burma—

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT :** You must put your question and not argue.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Is it a fact that the Government of England has come to the help of British subjects in Burma?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE :** I am not aware of it.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will the Honourable Member make enquiries about it?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE :** I will.

#### CONTROL OF ENTRY INTO BURMA BY THE SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND

**33. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH :** (a) Is it a fact that entry into Burma is now controlled by the South East Asia Command, and that representatives of British interests were allowed to proceed to Burma, fulfilling the technical procedure, but the same facilities were denied to Indians?

(b) Have Government ascertained how many representatives of British interests and how many of Indian interests have been allowed entry into Burma since the recovery of that country from Japanese occupation; and will they place the result of their enquiry before the House?

(c) What specific steps have been taken by them to see that the rights of Indians to immigrate and settle in Burma, which existed before the war, will be continued unimpaired in future, and that no discriminatory executive or administrative action will be taken against them?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE :** (a) Up to the 16th October 1945 entry into Burma was controlled by the South East Asia Command. Since that date entry into Burma is controlled by the Government of Burma, but control of all means of transport into Burma still remains with the military authorities. Government's information is that no special facilities are being provided to representatives of British interests as such to proceed to Burma.

(b) The information is not readily available.

(c) Government have been keeping a close watch on the situation and will not fail to take any action that may be required.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** With regard to the second sentence of part (b), have not Government collected any data about the number of representatives of Indian interests who sought re-entry into Burma?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE :** No, Sir. Government have not collected data. But I may tell the Hon. Member—he must have seen in the papers—that about 2,000 people interested in the rice trade have been allowed to go to Burma; and I may further tell that about an equal number, perhaps more, of other traders are also likely to go to Burma. Replacement of staff will be allowed.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** Is the Honourable Member aware of the statement made by Mr. Master, who recently returned from Burma that sufficient facilities are not being given to Indian traders?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE :** I am not aware of it.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL:** Is the Hon. Member in a position to say how many Indians have been allowed to go there ?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** I want notice of the question. I have no information.

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU:** Did the Hon. Member say that the re-entry of the evacuees into Burma depended on the permission of the Burma Government and not that of the Government of India ?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** No, Sir. It is not so.

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU:** What is the position ?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** At present, naturally the conditions being difficult in Burma, it is only a matter of mutual consultation between the Government of India and the Government of Burma to allow such people as can be readily absorbed and who will not suffer. That is all.

#### TRANSFER OF THE MINT FROM LAHORE TO CALCUTTA

**34. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH:** Will Government state whether it is proposed to shift the newly created Lahore Mint back to Calcutta ? If so, why ? What amount of expenditure was incurred in erecting the Mint in Lahore ?

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES:** Government do propose to transfer the Lahore Mint back to Calcutta in pursuance of their original scheme to establish a new and up-to-date Mint at Alipore (Calcutta) in place of the existing Calcutta Mint. This scheme could not be brought to completion in 1942 owing to the then war situation, which necessitated emergency arrangements being made at Lahore. The question was recently re-examined by Government and, in view of the undoubted administrative convenience and financial economy afforded by the establishment of a modern Mint at Alipore as a permanent measure the previous decision to abandon the Lahore Mint has been reaffirmed.

As regards the latter half of the question, the expenditure incurred on the construction of the Lahore Mint is of the order of Rs. 52 lakhs.

#### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIANS IN GIBRALTAR

**35. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH:** Will Government state whether racial discrimination against Indians prevails in Gibraltar ? Will Government enquire and state the nature of such discrimination and the steps taken for its removal, together with the results of such efforts ?

**THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE:** There is no discrimination against Indians as such. Indians who are statutory aliens under the Alien Traders Ordinance, 1934, do not have the same rights and privileges as the natives of Gibraltar. Every British subject who is not a native of Gibraltar other than British subjects under the service of His Majesty is a statutory alien under the Ordinance.

#### LATE DELIVERY OF MAILS, ETC., IN LUCKNOW

**36. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH:** (a) Are Government aware that there is a general public complaint in Lucknow, regarding the late delivery of mail and very often postal articles are not at all delivered to the correct addresses, and are misdelivered ?

(b) Is it a fact that correspondence has been going on with reference to the above between the local postal authorities and the Post Master General of the U. P. Circle ; but nothing has so far resulted ?

(c) Will Government take necessary steps, either by increasing the number of postmen and exercising more effective control over them or in any other way, to see that the genuine complaints of the public in this respect are soon removed ?

**THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN :** (a) There is no general complaint regarding the late delivery or misdelivery of mails from Lucknow Head Office. The Postmaster-General, United Provinces, has already taken steps to sanction the additional staff justified.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

**INCIDENT IN CONNECTION WITH EMBARKATION OF VICEROY'S COMMISSIONED OFFICERS**

**37. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH :** Will Government give the main details of the incident which took place in England some time back, in which a number of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers declined to embark for India, on the ground that accommodation provided for them was not the same as that provided for British Officers of equivalent rank ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** The incident referred to by the Hon. Member, which took place on the 21st of May 1945, involved some 180 Viceroy's Commissioned Officers who were recovered prisoners of war from Germany, and were being repatriated to India. Owing to the shortage of cabin accommodation, they were allotted two troopdecks, each of a capacity of 250 men—one deck for sleeping and one for messing. I should add that this was the accommodation frequently occupied by officers of the British Army on repatriation ships.

2. All the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, with the exception of 21, refused to embark on the grounds that as V.C.Os. they were entitled to cabin accommodation. Arrangements were eventually made to provide cabin accommodation on these ships at later dates.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** Is it a fact that there was discrimination in the matter of accommodation between British and Indian officers of the same cadre and rank ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** The Viceroy's Commissioned Officers are in a class by themselves. As the Hon. Member knows, they are not given the same accommodation as Commissioned Officers. They were given accommodation that would be given to officers of their rank. However, as a special case because these men had recently been prisoners of war—and as the Hon. Member knows recovered prisoners of war, it does not matter to which nationality they belong, are generally in a highly strung condition and very sensitive—they were given sympathetic consideration and eventually allotted cabin accommodation.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** Is His Excellency aware that there is a deep sense of heart-burning among Indian officers that there has been this sort of discrimination in treatment ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** They were Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and not Indian Commissioned Officers.

**RESERVATIONS ON THE FRONTIER MAIL**

**38. THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** With reference to the answers given on the 6th April, 1945, to my question No. 279 in the Council of State, will Government state :—

(a) When was the local practice contrary to rules introduced at the Delhi Station ?

(b) When did Government first come to know of it ?

(c) Does it still continue ?

(d) Has it not negated the rule when I applied under it for reservation ?

(e) At what other places such local practices prevail ?

(f) What are other practices contrary to rules now in force regarding reservation ?

(g) Have Government inquired which officer introduced this practice which nullifies the rules relating to reservation referred to in the Railway Board Circular No. 3058-TT, dated the 15th February, 1945 ?

(h) What steps do Government propose to take against this officer ?

(j) Whether there is any practice at the Delhi Railway Station in regard to reservation on the G. I. P., N. W. and E. I. Railways contrary to the rule embodied in the circular sent to Members ?

**THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GRIFFIN :** (a) The local practice of provisional reservations, which was not contrary to rules, was in force for a long time : there is no record of the exact date when it was first introduced.

(b) In March 1945, on receipt of notice of the Hon. Member's Question No. 279.

(c) and (d). No.

(e) At no other place.

(f) None.

(g) No. In view of the reply to (a) the need for an inquiry did not arise.

(h) Does not arise.

(j) No.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** May I know, Sir, what is the exact position at the Delhi Railway Station for reservation of accommodation whether the rule or the practice is followed ?

**THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GRIFFIN :** The rules are followed in all cases. The Hon. Member may be aware of a letter which was recently sent which describes the procedure which is available for Hon. Members when they depart from Delhi.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Is Government aware that this rule was not followed when I applied for reservation in Bombay ? I was told that they had not received any instructions and they did not issue me a ticket under the rules prescribed by the Hon. Member.

**THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GRIFFIN :** I do not know.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will the Hon. Member make enquiries please ?

**THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GRIFFIN :** Yes.

#### IMPORTS OF CONSUMER GOODS ARRANGED BY THE HYDARI MISSION

39. **THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will Government state imports for 1945 and 1946 arranged by the Hydari Mission in volume and value of each kind of consumer goods which are not manufactured at all in India at present or manufactured in very small quantity ?

#### VALUE OF STEEL, ETC., IN RESPECT OF WHICH INDIA IS TO HAVE RELIEF

40. **THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will Government state the quantity and value of goods mentioned in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Press Communiqué issued on Friday, the 6th April, 1945, and also specify the approximate value of steel, leather, timber, woollens, cement and cotton textile; in respect of which India is to have relief of 4 crores in 1945 and 70 crores in 1946 ?

#### VOLUME AND VALUE OF IMPORTS ARRANGED FOR 1944 AND 1945

41. **THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will Government state what is the volume and value of each kind or category of "other goods" the imports of which have been arranged for 1945 and 1946 ?

**THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS :** With your permission, Sir, I should like to answer questions Nos. 39, 40 and 41 together.

The figures required are not readily available and the labour and time involved in preparing them would not be commensurate with the result desired. In any case the details settled when the war was on both in the East and in the West have become out of date due to the unexpected cessation of hostilities in August 1945 and would not therefore serve any useful purpose now.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : These questions were sent last year. Have not Government had the time to compile the figures ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : This point was considered at the time the communique was out and, the very things that I have mentioned came up then. It was for that reason that the communique last year took the form it did.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Have not Government got some details ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : It would be a terrific task to compile the complete figures but if there is any particular article in which the Hon. Member is interested I would be very glad to work up something for him.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : The question specifically mentioned such articles as steel, leather, timber, woollens, cement and cotton textiles. It is only half a dozen articles for which you could have gathered information.

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : As I have said at the time the communique was issued there was the idea to go somewhat further in the direction of being specific but for the reasons I have given it was decided that it was not possible to compile the figures for all the articles. If the Hon. Member is interested in any particular article I will see if I can work up something for him, though I cannot promise that we will be able to gather the exact information.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : I want information about all of them and I understood on very good authority that those figures would be given to me when a question was put. It is now that Government comes forward and says that it is not convenient to collect these figures.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT : It is an argument. Please put a definite question.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : It is a polite way of refusing to answer.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT : So far he has given all the information which is available.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Is there nothing more than this ?

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT : There may be but then you must put a definite question.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : That is what I say : Is there nothing more than the information already given ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : No. I am afraid it will involve a considerable amount of work, Sir, but I am prepared to discuss the matter with the Hon. Member and see if we can get some way towards meeting his point.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Is there any objection to giving the information to the House ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : The targets fixed as a result of the Hydari Mission were stated in very very general terms and they were affected by shipping and other considerations. Now to collect exact information in regard to particular items would really mean a very very considerable amount of work.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : How much of these goods have come so far ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : I require notice of that, Sir.

PERCENTAGE OF PRODUCTION OF COTTON TEXTILES, ETC. AVAILABLE FOR CIVILIANS.

42. THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Will Government state :—

(a) What percentage of the production of the Indian cotton textile, steel, cement and leather industry, respectively, is available for the civilian needs

at present and what will be the position in 1945 when the agreement with His Majesty's Government takes effect ?

(b) Whether the arrangement for the importation of consumer goods stated in the communique are in addition to imports by private trade channels ; if the answer is in the affirmative, will they state the method of distribution of those goods ?

(c) Whether it is proposed to take steps to ensure that the Indian industries are not adversely affected by the imports arranged ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : (a) Indian cotton textile industry. About 81 per cent. in 1945 and about 90 per cent. in 1946.

Steel—42·94 per cent. in the 3rd quarter and 44·47 per cent. in the 4th quarter 1945 and 68. per cent. in January-March, 1946. (This excludes Railway requirements.)

Cement—50 per cent. in April 1945 and nearly the whole production in 1946.

Leather—75 per cent. in 1945 and 85 per cent. in 1946. The probability is that as a consequence of prospective cancellation of military demands the 1946 percentages will eventually be higher than as given.

(b) *First part.* No, Sir.

*Second part.* Does not arise.

(c) In regulating imports from abroad careful consideration is being given to the legitimate interests of the indigenous industries.

PRODUCTION OF TOILET GOODS

43. THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Will Government state the total production of toilet goods in this country and their total value and how much in value it is proposed to import such goods in 1945 and 1946 ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : *First part.* No reliable statistics are available.

*Second part.* Value of total imports in 1945 is approximately Rs. 1,41,00,000.

Value of proposed imports in 1946 would be approximately Rs. 1,68,00,000.

The figures cover imports from both U.K. and U.S.A.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : And other countries as well ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : I think the imports from anywhere else would be, in these particular years, infinitesimal.

AWARD OF THE VICTORIA CROSS TO INDIANS

44. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state how many Victoria Crosses have been awarded to Indians in the present war upto date and how many of them to Hindus, Muslims and members of other communities ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : Eighteen Victoria Crosses have been awarded to Indians as follows :—

Hindus	. . . . .	9
Sikhs	. . . . .	5
Muslims	. . . . .	4

In addition 10 Victoria Crosses have been awarded to Gurkhas.

CHIEF DELEGATE REMARKS TO THE COMMONWEALTH AIR TRANSPORT COUNCIL

45. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following remarks made by Sir Gurumath Bewoor, India's Chief delegate to the Commonwealth Air Transport Council, which recently met in London :— " We hope that progress will be maintained in British aviation because we hope to use as far as possible British aircraft and British personnel " ?

(b) On what authority has this statement been made? What is the intention of Government in regard to Indian air companies in the matter of manufacturing aircrafts or from going to other countries for aircrafts or technical personnel? Do Government propose to refute, confirm or modify the remarks referred to in (a)?

THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN: (a) and (b). No such statement was made by Sir Gurunath Bewoor. I lay however on the table a copy of the speech in question and would invite special attention to paragraph nine thereof as also to the letter which Sir Gurunath Bewoor sent to the *Hindustan Times* and which appeared in that paper dated 22nd September, 1945. I lay on the table a copy of this letter as well.

### COMMONWEALTH AIR TRANSPORT COUNCIL

#### 1ST MEETING

*Speech by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, C.I.E., I.C.S.*

Lord Swinton,

I would like first of all to express an appreciation of the initiative taken by H. M. G. in the U. K. in convening this first meeting of the C. A. T. C. the formation of which was agreed to by all of us last December. I need not dwell upon the importance of the subjects we have met here to consider; the presence here today of the delegates of the Dominions and India many of whom have travelled thousands of miles is a sufficient evidence thereof.

2. We have read with interest and profit the proceedings of the S. African A. T. Conference and the resolutions adopted thereat. The discussions have certainly been most useful; and valuable suggestions have been made from which, we, in this Council will, as you, Sir, have observed, undoubtedly benefit. Arising out of these discussions, I would urge, for the consideration of this Council, the desirability of associating representatives of the Post Office with the deliberations of this Council. Of the traffic which Air Transport is designed to carry, mails are certainly not the least important and undoubtedly are the most paying, weight for weight. The public convenience served by the carriage of mails is certainly greater than that of any other kind of freight and those who offer this freight and have to deal with the public who originate that freight should, I think, be associated with us.

3. So far as development of civil Air Communications is concerned, I am afraid we have little progress to report from India. Though happily the war in Europe has ended in complete victory, we have still to beat the Jap. Though not at the gates of India any longer, he is an ever present menace and India is a vital base for the war against Japan. All our resources, all our efforts have to be devoted to that objective—to hit the Jap until he surrenders unconditionally. Planning, however, must proceed, for, we do not want to be caught unprepared, when victory comes, as surely it will and must.

4. We have therefore proceeded with our plans for our Civil Air Transport Services both internal and external. In the internal field, they provide a network of trunk air services on the basis of one daily return service, involving approximately a flying mileage of 8 millions a year. From the standard of the U. K. and the Dominions, this is no doubt a modest plan but considering our resources in men and materials, it is one which we think is a practical one capable of achievement within a reasonable period. A grandiose plan might have looked better on paper. This plan of ours is however a first instalment and it does not exclude the development of regional services which local enterprise may undertake. These trunk services of ours will act as feeders to the Commonwealth Services. In the field of external services, we have planned for services to U. K., to countries of the Middle East, to China, to Malaya and to East Africa. Our internal services must of course come first and our efforts would be concentrated on them initially but this does not mean that nothing will be done in the external field. In fact, we propose to take up as soon as practicable the establishment of services from India to countries of the Middle East and to Burma and Malaya as soon as they are completely free.

5. The Government of India have considered and announced their policy regarding the agency by which India's air services are to be operated. This is something gained towards an early achievement of our plans. This policy is to promote the development and expansion of air Transport services generally by a limited number of sound and reliable private commercial organisations, with however, freedom, to Government, in selected cases, to take a financial interest but not a controlling interest in them. Government have also reserved the freedom, in any particular case, to operate a route entirely by an organisation owned by the State. Legislative powers have already been taken for the establishment of an Air Transport Licensing Board. This Branch will have the sole power of granting licenses for the operation of services subject to such conditions as it may prescribe and without a license so granted, no air service in or from India will be permitted to operate. The detailed rules relating to the constitution, functions and procedure of the Board, will it is hoped, be shortly issued.

6. We are glad to note the further study that has been made on the subject of the standard bilateral agreement and an extremely valuable draft has been placed for our consideration. We are grateful to H. M. G. for this. This is a very complicated matter but it is one on which a common agreement must be reached as early as possible for, though we in India have not so far been approached by anyone, such approaches for a Bilateral Agreement may be made at any moment and we must not be unprepared. (As an exception, I may mention, Ceylon is the only country which has made certain proposals.)

7. On the draft Technical Annexes, India has sent very detailed observations to the Government of the U. K. We have taken part in the Paris meetings of the I. C. A. N. and hope to contribute our share to the discussions in the meetings of this Council and in the Plenary Session of the I. C. A. N. on these subjects.

8. You, Sir, have referred to the work of the provisional secretariat of this Council—work which was voluntarily undertaken by the U. K. Government. We appreciate very much the excellent work performed so far and as regards the future, in view of the general shortage of skilled personnel, I would make for the consideration of this Council the suggestion that we should request the Civil Aviation Ministry of the U. K. Government to provide the Secretariat for the time being and for some time to come. I think we can safely rely on their efficiency and adequacy.

9. Finally we are indeed very glad to note from the papers sent to us the good progress that is being made in the aircraft production programme of this country. For a variety of reasons which I need not elaborate, India would prefer to use British Aircraft (and, incidentally, in the initial stages, British personnel) to any others. We hope therefore that progress would not only be maintained but if possible improved upon. I have however one observation to add. While no doubt large scale and long range aircraft are necessary for international traffic, and in consequence greater attention and time is devoted to their design and production, we would like H. M. G. and the British Aircraft manufacturers to devote equal time, attention and effort to the designing and production, of medium size and medium range aircraft which are essential for the successful and economic working of the internal air services of countries like India and Australia or for the operation of regional services, as in, say, the Middle East or in Southern Africa. There is a market here which, it is in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole should be satisfied by the supply of suitable aircraft of British manufacture which, I am confident will excel others in quality, durability, economy in operation and in price.

Thank you.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
POSTS AND AIR DEPARTMENT,  
NEW DELHI.

*20th September, 1945*

Sir,

On my return to India yesterday, my attention has been drawn to the editorial in your issue of the 11th July commenting on the speech which I made at the First Meeting of the Commonwealth Air Transport Council in London on the 7th July. Your article is apparently based upon telegraphed reports of my speech and you have put in quotation marks certain sentences. I am afraid that the telegraphed report must have been incorrect and inadequate. I now enclose the text of my speech and would like to draw your special attention to the last paragraph of the speech which I quote below :

“ Finally we are indeed very glad to note from the papers sent to us the good progress that is being made in the aircraft production programme of this country. For a variety of reasons which I need not elaborate, India would prefer to use British Aircraft (and, incidentally, in the initial stages, British personnel) to any others. We hope therefore that progress would not only be maintained but if possible improved upon. I have however one observation to add. While no doubt large scale and long range aircraft are necessary for international traffic, and in consequence greater attention and time is devoted to their design and production, we would like H. M. G. and the British Aircraft manufacturers to devote equal time, attention and effort to design and production of medium size and medium range aircraft which are essential for the successful and economic working of the internal air services of countries like India and Australia or for the operation of regional services as in, say, the Middle East or in Southern Africa. There is a market here which, it is in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole, should be satisfied by the supply of suitable aircraft of British manufacture which, I am confident, will excel others in quality, durability, economy in operation and in price. ”

You will note that I have made no commitment whatsoever with regard to the purchase of British aircraft for air transportation services in India. I expressed the hope that British manufacturers would produce suitable aircraft which will excel others in quality, durability, economy in operation and in price. If this is achieved I see no reason why Indian air transporters should not buy British aircraft in preference to others. The fact that we are going to buy British aircraft *now* does not stand in the way of aircraft manufacture in India. No aircraft industry now to be started in India would be able to supply the aircraft required for operations now; it will be some time before any aircraft industry started in India could supply the aircraft needed by India for air transport purposes. The development of civil aviation in India can not and should not be allowed to be held up until Indian aircraft manufacturers supply the aircraft while other countries go ahead in civil aviation. The policy of the Government as regards air transport in India has already been published in India and has been touched upon by me in paragraph 5 of my speech from which I quote below :

“ The Government of India have considered and announced their policy regarding the agency by which India's air services are to be operated. This is something gained towards an early achievement of our plans. This policy is to promote the development and expansion of air transport services generally by a limited number of sound and reliable private commercial organisations, with however, freedom, to Government, in selected cases, to take a financial interest but not a controlling interest in them ”.

It will be for the private air transporters to decide what aircraft they will buy and there is going to be no compulsion on them as to what aircraft they will use, Indian, British or American, so long as such aircraft satisfy the prescribed requirements of safety and suitability. I feel, therefore, that your comment has been based on a complete misconception of the whole speech and I will be glad if you will please give due publicity to this letter so as to remove the wholly wrong impression created by your article.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) G. V. BEWOOR.

The Editor,  
*Hindustan Times*,  
NEW DELHI.

#### DISPOSAL OF SURPLUS PROPERTY LEFT BY AMERICAN ARMED FORCES

46. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : (a) Is it a fact that the Government of India will act as agent in the disposal of surplus property left in India by the American armed forces, which is valued at a large sum ?

(b) What method do Government propose to follow in the disposal of this huge property ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : (a) No, Sir. The Government of India have agreed to purchase from the United States Government all such U. S. Government surplus property in India as will not be withdrawn for military purposes. This agreement was reached on 24th December, 1945 and covers all U. S. Government surplus property in India that had not already been sold or offered for sale by the Foreign Liquidation Commission.

(b) U. S. Government surplus property thus purchased by the Government of India will be handled by the Director General (Disposals) in conformity with the policy of the Government of India governing all surplus property located in India of whatever origin.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : Is it a fact that the American Government agencies have been destroying property belonging to them and which they cannot carry abroad ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : Actually there were reports to that effect last year, and our investigation showed that, while for security reasons there may have been a certain amount of destruction, and possibly occasional individual ebullience the actual reports were greatly exaggerated. I think the reports related to the period before the end of last year.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : Will the Government impress upon the American Government the necessity of seeing that their surplus goods are disposed of in India instead of being destroyed ?

THE HON. MR. M. W. M. YEATTS : I do not think there was ever any question of any other attitude being adopted by the United States Government. As I have said, these reports of destruction were undoubtedly considerably exaggerated, and had no origin in any instructions issued by the United States Government.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : There was some substance in the reports.

#### RECRUITMENT OF CANADIAN NATIONALS TO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND INDIAN POLICE.

47. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : (a) Is it a fact that a campaign has been started in Canada canvassing for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police service and are Government in any way responsible for this move ?

(b) Are Government aware that thousands of copies of a special booklet have been issued in Canada for this purpose ? Are Government in any way responsible for their distribution ?

(c) Will Government obtain a copy of this booklet and place it on the table of the House or in the Library ; and inform the House that it has been so placed in the Library ?

(d) Will Government state the reasons for the attempt to obtain recruits for certain services in India from outside this country ?

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER : (a), (b) and (d). The facts are as follows :—

Service in the Merchant Navy or Mercantile Marine counts as war service and persons with such service are therefore eligible to compete for vacancies in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police reserved for men with war service. In order to enable personnel of the Merchant Navy and Mercantile Marine, wherever they may be serving, to acquaint themselves with the conditions of recruitment in the same way as members of the Armed Forces, copies of circulars and of a descriptive pamphlet setting them forth were made available at British Consulates in major ports throughout the Colonies, Dominions and Protectorates. Some 30 copies of this pamphlet were thus sent to Montreal and rather fewer to Halifax and Vancouver.

(c) A copy of the descriptive pamphlet has been placed in the Library.

THE HON. MR. N. K. DAS : May I know the exact number of Indians and non-Indians that are sought to be recruited to the I.C.S. by the end of 1946 ?

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER : I suggest that that question does not arise on this question. But I shall be pleased to tell the Hon. Member, when I have informed myself on the point. The figures are available and I will communicate them to him.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : Is it the intention of the Government, by distributing the pamphlet in all countries, to recruit as many non-Indians as possible to these services in India ?

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER : No, Sir. The proportion reserved for non-Indians is fixed, and it does not matter how many places the pamphlets go to, no more people will be recruited from outside India in any case. The numbers are fixed.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : Are Government aware that there are 22 non-Indian nationalities enjoying the status of Indian nationals in the Indian Army, while no Indian is taken in any other national army ? It is the result of this propaganda.

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER : I suggest that that question does not arise here.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Have booklets of this kind been circulated in the other Dominions also ?

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER : Yes, Sir.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Have they been circulated in South Africa ?

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER : I shall have to have notice of that question.

#### COMMODITIES FOR UNRRA

48. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following observations made by Mr. Francis B. Sayre, Head of the UNRRA Mission in India, in course of a talk broadcast from the All India Radio, Delhi, on or about the 22nd July 1945 :—

“ Our Mission seeks through discussions held with Indian Government officials to ascertain what commodities India can best spare without dislocating its own economy, or draining away resources needed by her own people ” ?

(b) Will Government state what commodities, indicating their varieties and quantities separately, India has agreed to spare as a result of the visit of the UNRRA Mission to this country ?

(c) Is it intended to establish in India the main office of the UNRRA in the Far East? If so, where is it proposed to be located?

THE HON. MR. N. R. PILLAI: (a) Yes.

(b) A statement is laid on the table.

(c) The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The latter part does not arise.

*Statement showing quantities and varieties of commodities procured for UNRRA against India's contribution*

Commodity	Quantity
<b>1. Jute Manufactures :</b>	
(a) ' B ' Twills (Bags) . . . . .	} 23,190 tons
(b) Hessian Bags (22" x 36") . . . . .	
(c) Hessian Bags (24" x 40") . . . . .	
(d) Sand Bags (14" x 30") . . . . .	
(e) Jute Bags . . . . .	
(f) Jute Baling Cloth . . . . .	
2. Raw Jute . . . . .	25,000 ,,
<b>3. Raw Cotton :</b>	
(a) Sind 289 F27,32" . . . . .	4,438 bales
(b) Surti 7/8" . . . . .	1,625 ,,
(c) Sind N. T. 7/8" . . . . .	24,497 ,,
(d) Jarilla 13/16" . . . . .	11,000 ,,
(e) Punjab 15/16" . . . . .	2,855 ,,
Total	44,415 ,,
<b>4. Groundnuts . . . . .</b>	
	70,000 tons
<b>5. Tea . . . . .</b>	
	2½ million lbs.
<b>6. Pepper . . . . .</b>	
	1,000 tons
<b>7. Red Cross Parcels . . . . .</b>	
	1,80,648 Nos.
<b>8. Coir Yarn . . . . .</b>	
	300 metric tons
<b>9. Manganese Ore . . . . .</b>	
	5,000 ,, ,,
<b>10. Bandage Cloth :</b>	
(a) Bandage Cloth (36" wide) . . . . .	1,400,000 yds.
(b) Loose Woven Bandage for Plaster of Paris (6" x 6 yds.) . . . . .	8,00,000 pieces
<b>11. Surgical Instruments . . . . .</b>	
	Various items.

**INDIAN PRESS REPRESENTATIVES AT THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE**

49. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Did Government receive any protest from the Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Conference, against the unsatisfactory nature of the arrangements for the accreditation of Indian Press representatives at the San Francisco Conference? Will Government indicate the nature of the difficulties and restrictions complained against, and the steps taken by them to remedy the same?

(b) Which Indian and Anglo-Indian Press representatives were allowed to attend the San Francisco Conference for the purpose of reporting; and were their reports subjected to censure?

LT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR THOMAS HUTTON: (a) Yes. The All India Newspaper Editors' Conference complained about the smallness of the number of Press representatives for whom Government were able to arrange facilities, and also of the apportionment of only three out of the five seats to members of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference. The number of Press representatives was governed by three factors, namely, (i) availability of air passages to America, (ii) accommodation in San Francisco, and (iii) provision of dollars. Only three seats could be offered to All India Newspaper Editors' Conference as Government did

not consider it proper to impose any disability on non-members of the Conference. Moreover certain newspapers which were members of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference had made direct arrangements with the United States Government for their representatives to attend the San Francisco Conference. These were in addition to the three seats offered to the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference by the Government of India.

(b) Government have no information that any Indian representatives were prohibited from attending the San Francisco Conference. Facilities were provided by the Government of India for the following five Press representatives to proceed to the United States of America in order to attend the Conference :—

1. Mr. Amritlal Sheth
2. „ S. A. Sabavalla.
3. „ A. N. Sivaraman.
4. „ Tyeb Shaikh.
5. „ S. Vedaratnam.

The first three of these were nominated by the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

The messages sent by these correspondents, like all other press messages entering India during the war, passed through censorship. None of them was, however, stopped in censorship.

#### RESTRICTION ON INDIAN JOURNALISTS TRAVELLING IN LIBERATED COUNTRIES

50. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Are there any restrictions placed on Indian journalists against travelling in all liberated countries and reporting objectively on the state of those countries? If so, what are they; and what steps have been taken by Government to remove them?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Before any civilian of any nationality can enter a liberated country while it is still under Allied military administration, he must get permission from the military authorities concerned.

The way for a journalist who wishes to proceed to such countries is to be accredited as a war correspondent. The remainder of the question does not arise.

#### TELEPHONE SYSTEM IN LUCKNOW

51. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Has the attention of Government been drawn to a communication published in the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 1st August, 1945, Dak edition, entitled "Lucknow city's decrepit telephone system, delay, interruptions, and cross-connections"? What steps have been taken or are proposed to be taken to remedy the defects and to remove the complaints made against the Lucknow Telephone System?

THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN: Yes. The matter has been investigated and steps have been taken to remedy all the defects so far as possible in the present circumstances.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: If Government are considering the desirability of making the telephone service more useful, will they take into consideration the inefficiency of the telephone service in Calcutta and take steps to improve it?

THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN: We have already taken that into consideration and steps are being taken to improve the service in Calcutta.

## TRADE AGREEMENT WITH SWEDEN

52. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Is there any proposal for trade agreement between Sweden and India? If so, what are the main features of it?

THE HON. MR. N. R. PILLAI: No, Sir.

The second part of the question does not arise.

## DELHI PROVINCE

53. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Is there any proposal to enlarge the Delhi Province by including in it the Jat areas of Eastern Punjab, and the Jat and Rajput areas of the Western U. P.? If so, will Government make a statement on the subject, indicating the main features of the scheme?

THE HON. MR. A. E. PORTER: No.

## SIGNING OF THE JAPANESE SURRENDER INSTRUMENT

54. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Is it a fact that Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser, Commander-in-Chief of the British Pacific fleet, signed the Japanese surrender document on behalf of India?

(b) If so, did he represent the Government of India or the people of this country?

(c) Was there no Indian vested with the requisite authority to sign for India?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a), (b) and (c). No, Sir.

It so happened that at the time there were no units from India, Canada or South Africa engaged in operations in the South West Pacific Area. Accordingly none of these countries was represented at the signing of the surrender instrument on board the USS *Missouri* in Tokio Bay. I should explain that this was a military ceremony, and that the proper occasion for the representation of every Government which took part in the war will be at the signing of the final peace treaty.

## CIVILIAN CLAIMS AGAINST BRITISH ARMED FORCES FOR TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS, ETC.

55. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government make a statement relating to the Claims Commission (India) Organisation, which has been set up for the investigation of civilian claims against the British Armed Forces in India, arising out of traffic accidents and "Civil Wrongs" and kindred matters, indicating the total amount and classification of such claims received upto date, the total amount of claims admitted and the amount of claims still outstanding?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: I lay a statement on the table.

The Claims Commission (India), comprising representatives of the War Department, Legislative Department, Military Finance Department and all three Services, was set up to deal with claims in India made by or against the Armed Forces (British, Indian, Dominion and Allied) or the personnel thereof, arising out of traffic accidents, training or manoeuvres and occurrences in the nature of civil wrongs, whereby personal injury or loss of life or property or damage to land, crops or other property has resulted, in circumstances for which the Armed Forces, or the Central Government on their behalf, allege or accept responsibility, but excluding claims in respect of which any other authority for settlement is prescribed by law. The Commission is also responsible for advising on measures to minimize accidents and damage and for maintaining statistics.

2. Navy, Army and Air Force Orders have been issued providing for immediate report to Claims Commission Officers of all incidents liable to give rise to claims by or against members of the civil population.

3. The Commission discharges its functions through Executive Officers, and 18 District Offices of the Claims Commission, have been located throughout India, as follows:—

<i>Northern Command</i>	<i>Southern Command</i>	<i>Eastern Command.</i>
Rawalpindi.	Bangalore.	Calcutta.
Karachi.	Bombay.	Ranchi.
	Poona.	Shillong.
<i>Central Command</i>	Secunderabad.	Imphal
	Madras.	Chittagong
Delhi.	Coimbatore	Comilla.
Lahore.		
Lucknow.		
Nagpur.		

4. All incidents liable to give rise to claims which are reported either from Service or civilian sources are promptly investigated by Claims Commission District Officers who are located as above. Claims when received are investigated and considered on their merits and in all proper cases reasonable compensation paid *ex gratia* without admission of liability on the part of Government and the Services. Graded financial powers have been delegated to Claims Commission Officers according to appointment in order to ensure rapid disposal of smaller cases. All Claims Commission Officers work under the general directions of senior officers at Command H.Q. and G.H.Q., and all are responsible for their technical duties to the Commission itself.

5. The Commission commenced to function with effect from the 1st January 1945. From that date to the 25th December 1945 the Commission had registered 21,267 cases, which are classified as follows:—

1. Traffic Accident cases . . . . .	16,448
2. Training and Manœuvre cases . . . . .	1,208
3. Miscellaneous cases . . . . .	3,611
	21,267

(The majority of Training and Manœuvre claims have not concerned the Commission and have been disposed of under Defence of India Rules by the authorities prescribed therein.)

6. Of 21,267 which is the total number of all classes of cases registered by the Commission, 17,346 had been disposed of up to the 25th December 1945, and *ex gratia* payments amounting to Rs. 14,98,754-13-11 had been made.

7. The number of registered cases outstanding and under investigation as at the 25th December 1945 was 3,921, in 2,643 of which claims, which will probably involve disbursement of over two lakhs of rupees, had actually been intimated up to that date. (In this connection it should be noted that all incidents which may give rise to claims are registered and investigated by Claims Commission Officers on information supplied from Service or civilian sources, whether or not a claim is actually received, so that if and when a claim is made all relevant information is available to enable the case to be dealt with expeditiously).

#### SIGNING OF THE JAPANESE SURRENDER INSTRUMENT

56. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government state why they took no steps to secure the signature of the representative of the Indian Army, or of India, at the signing of Japanese surrender terms on board the Missouri in Tokio Bay, or at the surrender of Singapore, or Burma?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: At Rangoon, on the 28th of August 1945, Lt.-General Browning, Chief of Staff, South East Asia Command, deputised for Admiral Mountbatten and alone signed the local agreement on behalf of all the Allies. As regards what happened on board the USS *Missouri* in Tokio Bay, I have just explained the position a few minutes ago.

At Singapore, however, on September the 12th, both General Slim and Brigadier Thaimayya signed as representatives of the Indian Army.

## GARRISON DUTY BY THE INDIAN TROOPS

57. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state the number of Indian troops, if any, doing garrison duty in Japan ; and other places in the Far East ? What is the cost involved and how is it borne ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : It would not be in the public interest to give the figures asked for, but I may state that none of the cost involved is or will be borne by India except in the case of Indian troops who may be employed on garrison duty in Japan. In respect of Indian troops which do take part in the occupation of Japan, India will bear such part of the costs as are not recoverable from the Japanese Government. The amount of this share cannot at the moment be calculated with any exactitude.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : May I know what is the interest of India in keeping Indian troops for the occupation of Japan and for garrison duty there ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : The Government of India have sanctioned the despatch of Indian troops for taking part in the occupation of Japan in common with the troops from other Allied Nations and these troops are likely to depart from India in the near future.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW : Are Indian troops doing garrison duty in Germany also ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : No, Sir.

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE ROYAL INDIAN AIR FORCE

58. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Has the attention of Government been drawn to a letter signed Ravinder Nath Seth, former R. I. A. F. Officer, published in the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 13th November 1945. (Dak Edition) who had to resign his commission after about two years of service as a protest against racial discrimination and colour prejudice prevailing in the Royal Indian Air Force ? Will Government make a statement on the subject and indicate what practical steps have been taken to remove the complaint ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : I lay a statement on the table.

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The attention of Government has been drawn to the letter in question. In the first place, there can be no question of racial discrimination or colour prejudice prevailing in the Royal Indian Air Force as it is a wholly Indian force composed of Indian officers and Indian other ranks. The only British officers or other ranks serving with it are on attachment and are limited to the small numbers necessary to ensure its proper development. Mr. Seth's letter is based on the theory that the pay and other conditions of service of the other ranks of the Royal Indian Air Force should be in all respects identical with those of the R. A. F. This is a proposition which has never been accepted by Government and is one which, carried to its logical conclusion, would upset the balance not only between the three Indian Defence Services but also with comparable civil wages and would, eventually, have the gravest repercussions. In fact, the present pay and conditions of service of the R. I. A. F. other ranks are conditioned by the economy of India and are related to the pay and conditions of service of comparable classes in the R. I. N. and Indian Army and in civil life. The Government of India, however, are always prepared to consider any reasonable suggestions for the improvement of the conditions of service of its Defence forces. As the Hon'ble Member is aware, a Post War Pay Committee has just been appointed to consider the future pay of the Indian Defence Services and its consideration will include the question of family allowances. In regard to rail travel it has been decided that, with effect from January 1946, Flight Sergeants, R. I. A. F., may travel Inter Class on all occasions and the question of what further improvement is justified is now being considered on an Inter Service basis. Hospital attention for the R. I. A. F. is mainly the responsibility of the Army and Indian airmen are treated in the same way as Indian soldiers. No discrimination between Indian and British troops is permitted. At certain stations where this is possible separate wards for R. I. A. F. airmen have been set apart by the Army authorities. The extension of this system to other hospitals will depend on the Post-war locations of R. I. A. F. squadrons and unite and efforts will be made to introduce it wherever numbers justify it. The statement regarding lack of books and indoor games in I. M. Hospitals is not now correct. Since the supply of amenities became more plentiful, Indian Military Hospitals have received a satisfactory quota. Officers wards only exist in Indian Military Hospitals where there is no British or combined Hospital, and are very few and far between. Indian officers are accommodated in the same wards as British Officers.

Indian airmen share in the entertainment provided for B. O. Ra. and in addition, are provided with Indian Films and concert parties organised by Fauji Dilkhush Sabhas. British Combined Kine matography Shows have in some months been attended by as many as 10,000 to 20,000 Indian airmen. Furthermore, in the more populous centres, there is a considerable civilian entertainment catering for Indian tastes. Fauji Dilkhush Sabhas cannot employ artists of the same calibres as E. N. S. A. because first class Indian artists are relatively few in numbers and do not find it easy to tour or to accept the rates of remuneration offered by the Fauji Dilkhush Sabhas.

It is not the policy of Government that canteens should cater for British tastes only, and efforts have been made to encourage canteen contractors to provide adequate facilities for Indian airmen. The arrangements are not entirely satisfactory as contractors are unwilling to effect large improvements owing to the comparatively small purchasing power of Indian airmen. This matter is being carefully less watched and it is hoped that improvement will be systematic and continuous.

#### HINDI SCRIPT ON COINS

59. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government consider the advisibility of introducing Hindi script also along with English and Urdu on the new design of the proposed coins in India ?

THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES: Government have already decided that the new coinage should bear the denomination in the English, Hindi and Urdu scripts.

#### NUMBER AND WHEREABOUTS OF INDIANS SENT BY THE JAPANESE TO WORK IN PACIFIC ISLANDS

60. THE HON. RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government give full information, so far as available, regarding the number and whereabouts and other particulars of thousands of Indians in Malaya, and their dependents, who were arrested by the Japanese, and forcibly sent to work in Pacific Islands ?

THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE: The information is not available.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW: Will Government see that such information is collected ?

THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE: It is reported that the Japanese destroyed all the records before surrender and therefore this information can never be collected now.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW: We will be glad to know what efforts the Government of India are making to safeguard the interests of Indians in Malaya and other places, and to do all that is necessary for their protection.

THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE: We are making enough efforts.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Are Government unable to make a statement even with regard to the approximate number of Indian labourers sent by the Japanese to work in the various Pacific Islands and Siam ?

THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE: I have already said that no information is available and I have given the reason for it.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Even with regard to the approximate number of labourers sent by the Japanese to Siam ? Surely they have some information on that subject.

THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE: The information asked for in this question is not available.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Cannot the Government of India ask their Agent in Malaya to gather this information and try to lay it on the table afterwards ?

THE HON. DR. N. B. KHARE: We shall make an attempt.

## DEATH OF SIR RENWICK HADDOW

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT:** Hon. Members, you must have read this morning in the local papers of the sad and untimely death of one of our colleagues in Calcutta, the Hon. Sir Renwick Haddow. He was to have come here yesterday to take his oath of allegiance, but illness has cut him off and he has not been able therefore to take his seat for the second time in this House. He was first elected to this House in 1941 and served for two years. He was again elected in August last by the same constituency but unfortunately death has prevented him from coming to this House and serve a second term of office. We all regret that this painful event has happened. We all found in Sir Renwick Haddow a very capable and useful member of this Council. He was the senior partner of Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie and Co. and he took so much interest in the affairs of India, that he always took delight in working in this House and rendering public service. I am grieved that this session we have lost so many useful and worthy members and I know you all share with me the loss the House has sustained.

**THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN** (Leader of the House): Sir, I beg to associate myself with all that you have said. It is very sad that soon after the condolence resolution we passed yesterday we have to pass another similar resolution today. I request you, Sir, to convey to the family of the deceased our condolences.

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT:** I shall do so

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, may I associate myself with what has fallen from you. Sir Renwick Haddow was a Member of this House only for a short time, but by his pleasant manners and modesty he made himself liked by all the Members of this House. We are indeed very sorry to learn that he has passed away.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL** (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): On behalf of my Party, I should like to associate myself with what has fallen from you and other Members and to express our sense of sorrow over the death of the Member.

**THE HON. SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR** (Madras: Muhammadan): I also associate myself with the expression of sorrow which has been made by yourself and the other Hon. Members on the untimely death of our erstwhile colleague.

**BRIGADIER THE HON. SIR S. HISSAMUDDIN BAHADUR** (Nominated Non-official): Sir, I also associate myself with the remarks made by you.

**THE HON. MR. J. M. B. GIBBONS** (Bombay Chamber of Commerce): Sir, on behalf of myself and my colleagues, may I be permitted to offer you and other Hon. Members our very sincere thanks for the kind words of sympathy and condolence you have so generously expressed on the death of the Hon. Member?

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### RESOLUTION *RE* RESTORATION TO INDIA OF HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE EMPIRE DOLLAR POOL AND HER DISSOCIATION FROM IT

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL** (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move:—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the restoration to India of her contribution to the Empire Dollar Pool and her dissociation from it. ”

Before the war, Sir, one hundred and one ways and methods were employed for the exploitation of the resources of this country. When the war came, new methods were devised and adopted for further and more intensive exploitation of this country. One of those methods is the creation of the Dollar Pool and the association of the Government of India with it. In this way India's resources have been jettisoned to the resources of the British Empire.

I should now like to describe in as simple a language as I can what the Dollar Pool is. This Dollar Pool does not exist by any legislative measure adopted by any of the Houses of this Legislature. It is a creation of the war powers, powers obtained by the Government of India from the Defence of India Rules. What it amounts to is this. India's Dollar resources or India's dollar holdings which have accrued to India have been transferred to the British Exchequer—call it Dollar Pool, Empire Dollar Pool or British Exchequer Pool. How it came into existence might now be stated. It was on the 23rd of November 1940 that an order of the Finance Department was issued, the order relating to transfer of U.S.A. Dollar Balances to the Central Government. The order ran thus :—

“ In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (2) of rule 92 of the Defence of India Rules the Central Government hereby orders every person who owns any balance or balances, whether held in British India or abroad, expressed in the currency of the United States of America, to offer or cause to be offered, before the expiration of one month from the date of this order, such balance or balances for sale to the Reserve Bank of India on behalf of the Central Government at any of the offices of the said Bank at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Karachi and Delhi against payment of the equivalent value in rupees calculated on a basis, which, in the opinion of the Reserve Bank of India, represents the current buying rate for telegraphic transfers on the United States of America. ”

In this way the dollar holdings in United States securities or United States dollar investments by all persons in British India were taken over by the Government of India and handed over to the Dollar Pool. One saving grace, however, of it was that the Indian States which have a little more independence than British India were saved from the clutches of this order. Then, other methods which were employed to enrich this Dollar Pool were the favourable trade balances of India. Since 1938-39 private commerce continued between the Government of India and the United States and such favourable balances which accrued to India were also put into this Dollar Pool. Thirdly, the contribution made to the Dollar Pool accrued from the expenditure of the United States of America in India for which the U.S.A. paid in cash dollars. The fourth item which went to swell it was the personal expenditure of the American forces stationed in India and of those temporarily residing in India or when passing from one theatre of war to another. Various estimates of these figures have been made by competent persons and questions relating to Dollar Pool were asked on the floor of this House as well as in another place ; but the Government have maintained throughout a sinister secrecy about it. When it did not suit them to disclose those figures, they refused to give the information to the House, to the country, and to the Legislature and on the ground that it was not in the public interest to give that information. This has become a very convenient phrase and the members of this House have come to feel that this very phrase should not have been used or that what justification there was for it should have been placed before the House. Once the Dollar Pool is created, everyone knows that India's resources are going to the Dollar Pool. It is a purely financial transaction. This did not constitute ammunition or war materials or aeroplanes or tanks. This was the amount which ordinarily passed and which only was of a financial character. But the Government has maintained a secrecy—an indefensible secrecy—which has no moral justification for it. Well that secrecy was maintained during the war. Whatever excuse there existed during the currency of the war is no more now available to them. The war came to an end in June. The war in Europe came to an end in the month of June and the other in August and up to this date the Government have refused to give those figures. We have all got to imagine and infer what the reason is behind it. The figures which related to the war are available to the public. The figures of the Lend-Lease assistance received by this country and provided by this country are refused by this Government, but the Government of the United States has given those figures and printed them and all those reports are available to every one. They might or might not have been available to the enemy countries and if this Government were concerned they would simply take shelter under the plea of war being there and that those figures required secrecy. Well, the figures of the Lend-Lease Aid and the Reverse Aid which the United States has published are very illuminating and I am sure the Government are aware of those reports. I am referring, Sir, to the periodical Reports which the President of the United States presents to the Congress of the United States.

[Mr. G. S. Motilal]

Those reports are made every three months and we get a wealth of information from those figures. If they could not be of any use to the enemy I fail to understand how the information regarding the quantum of the Dollar Pool could be of any use to the enemy and when there has been no enemy left who could make use of them during the last few months. They have now issued about 20 Reports. The latest copy that I possess is of the Seventeenth Report to the Congress. They are very illuminating reports, full of figures, charts and graphs which I think this Government for the life of it will not be able to learn or produce. We get here the entire Lend-Lease Aid given to the various countries: how much was given to the United Kingdom, how much of it was given to Russia, how much to India, how much to various other countries and what were the articles which were provided. For the benefit of the House I will read—

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT :** If it has a bearing on your Resolution.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** The bearing that it has on my Resolution is this that the information which is disclosed in the Report and has been widely published is very relevant to the war purposes and yet this Government will not tell you what the quantum of the Dollar Pool is. There is nothing which could have been of any use to the enemy. Under the Lend-Lease Aid the goods transferred by the United States come to :—

Munitions . . . . .	12 million dollars
Industrial materials and products . . . . .	5 million dollars
Agricultural products . . . . .	3 million dollars
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Total transfers . . . . .	20 million dollars
Services rendered . . . . .	4.32 million dollars
Rental of ships, ferrying of aircrafts, etc. about . . . . .	2 million dollars
Production facilities in U. S. A. . . . .	600 dollars

so on and so forth.

Then we come to India and here we find information with regard to India. The Reverse Lend-Lease Aid furnished to the United States in India up to March, 1944, totalled almost 150 million dollars. This came to us without payment on our part. It consisted of petroleum products, including aviation gasoline from the British Refinery at Abadan for the United States Air Force in India. The other supplies received in the two months of January and February 1944 alone included 6,800,000 lbs. of vegetables; 170,000 pairs of socks, 300,000 yards of cloth, 175,000 pairs of trousers; 700,000 gallons of Diesel oil; 4 million lbs. of meat and fish; 2 million lbs. of fruit; 1 million lbs. of beverages and 500,000 lbs. of bread. I shall not read the other details. Now my point is this that you get such detailed information for the Lend-Lease Aid from these reports which this Government has never put before you and all the time it has been pleaded that it will jeopardise the Defence interests. I am sure in view of the publication of these reports the argument that the figures could not be given as they would be of use to the enemy loses all its force as these reports would also have been available to the enemy. But the United States did not take the same view and this view is certainly not a tenable view. It is obvious that this view is utterly untenable, and the people should have the information which they want unless—I shall not be so very uncharitable as to say—the Government want to manipulate figures later on to the disadvantage of India.

Sir, a situation arose when the Dollar resources or rather the bullion holdings of the Bank of England went down to £ 3 million from the very huge sum which it was before the war and this machinery of a Dollar Pool was then resorted to. Now, through the operation of this Dollar Pool, also assisted by it, the dollar and the gold resources of the Bank of England have gone up to 600 million dollars. I say, Sir, that this is the time when Government ought not to have any reason to refuse this information to the House. They have kept

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us in the dark. But they cannot keep us too long in the dark. We have also made our estimates. There are others who are in a position to disclose this information. Is it in the interests of the Government that this information should come to this country through other sources and that it should be denied to us—

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: I must tell the Hon. Member that he is digressing from the tenor of his Resolution.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL: It is all relevant.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: All these are subsidiary matters.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Subsidiary matters can also be referred to. I am saying this because they do not give these figures and we have to refer to the figures which we get from other authorities. Some time back Mr. Emmanuel Celler said :—

“ Although India has established a billion and a half of dollar credit, she was unable to use her money to purchase her needed capital goods from America. ”

That is a United Press of America Message from New York, dated July 23, 1945, quoted in the *Hindustan Times*.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: What is the Hon. Member reading ?

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL: I am reading from a note which I have taken.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: From a newspaper ?

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL: This is a report from a newspaper. This is not a newspaper.

So Sir, according to Mr. Emmanuel Celler, this is the figure of the Dollar Pool.

Now, I will read from the speech of Mr. Dalton which has been taken from *Hansard*. This is what he said as Chancellor of the Exchequer during the course of his speech on the Anglo-American Loan Agreement :—

“ We began the war with a reserve of a little over £600,000,000 of gold and dollars, as against sterling liabilities of £496,000,000. But in April 1941, immediately before lend-lease began, our reserves had practically vanished ; they had fallen to the dangerously low figure of £3,000,000 sterling net. ”

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: The Hon. Member has already exceeded his time. He should conclude his remarks.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL: There are one or two points which I wish to make. What I say now is this, that the dollar resources of the Bank of England have been replenished, and in Mr. Dalton's speech it has been admitted that they have been replenished, and a very large contribution to it is from India. I say that this is the time when you should press your claim upon His Majesty's Government and get back your dollar resources. We want to get consumer goods for this country ; we want to get capital goods for this country. England is not in a position to supply them for some time to come. The United States was in a position to supply them much earlier. Therefore, it is the duty of this Government to get back the dollars so that India may not be kept starving.

Sir, I move.

THE HON. MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, it will be recalled that at the outbreak of the war, with the institution of exchange control in the United Kingdom and the Allied countries, all the dollar resources of those countries were pooled together for purchase of military materials for the prosecution of the war. Although the dollars accruing to this country on account of our favourable trade balance with the United States of America and on account of the dollars and securities requisitioned from private individuals were put in this common pool, it has been the grievance of the Indian commercial community, that we were not informed how these dollars were utilised. Although the President of the United

[Mr. M. N. Dalal]

States of America had given to the U.S. Congress very detailed figures of lend-lease articles supplied to Allied Countries, such category of goods like munitions, plant, equipment, raw materials and so on, we were not given the same, on the pretext that it was in the nature of a war secret. If the publication of information vitally related to war was not considered prejudicial in the U.S.A. there was no reason to withhold purely financial information from us. Now that the war is over, and the dollar position of His Majesty's Government has improved considerably during the last few months, the Dollar Pool should be closed, especially in view of the fact very modest suggestion of the Indian delegation that a portion of our sterling assets should be converted into international currencies, was turned down at the Bretton Woods Conference. In view of the developments that may take place as a result of the establishment of an International Monetary Fund or some sort of monetary arrangement in future, it is all the more necessary that India should have independent dollar resources of her own for her post-war economic development. It is imperative, therefore, that India's share of the dollar resources should be given back to her on a fair *pro rata* basis.

The Hon. the Finance Member in his Budget speech in February, 1944, mentioned that a portion of India's dollars accruing from her favourable trade balance with the United States of America would be earmarked for this country.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL : A portion only.

THE HON. MR. M. N. DALAL : A portion only. But we are not aware as to what portion of the total of India's favourable trade balance with the United States is thus earmarked. Twenty million dollars are earmarked for the year 1944, and 20 million dollars for the year 1945. But this is a negligible amount considering the needs of this country. Again, we are not aware as to what arrangements are being made with regard to the U.S. surplus materials bought in this country. India is in urgent need of finance for financing her purchases of capital goods, and we cannot afford to put any further strain on the 20 million dollars, earmarked for this year, for payment for the surplus goods which have been purchased. We would further like to know if any definite policy has been laid down for the best possible utilisation of our Dollars and what proportion is earmarked for plant, machinery, raw materials, industries, chemicals, metals, etc. and for securing expert technical advice, plants, designs, patent rights, etc. If no portion of our Dollars is earmarked for these capital goods, we should at least like to have an assurance from Government that they will give the first and highest priority to the importation of capital goods as against ordinary consumer goods. I should again like to ask for an assurance from Government that no consumer goods will be brought into this country and paid for from the Dollar Pool so long as they are available in the Sterling area or so long as they can be manufactured in this country. Finally, Sir, I should like to point out that although there is a possibility of closing down the Empire Dollar Pool under Article 7 of the Anglo-American agreement, the agreement provides a proportionate reduction of the release of payment of sterling balances when America waives the interest which the United Kingdom Government has to pay. Under this agreement, even the balances left after such reductions are to be distributed over a period of years starting from the year 1951. For the successful working of the post-war plan and rapid industrialisation, our total sterling balances should be available forthwith. India can, under no circumstances, agree to the scaling down of her Sterling balances nor can it agree under the present circumstances to accept payment spread over a number of years which will bring to naught all our post-war plans. A Delegation is to be sent from India to England recently and I would request the Government of India to impress upon that Delegation to press these two vitally important points and be very adamant for securing them.

With these words, Sir, I reiterate the demand and the urgent need of the immediate dissolution of the Empire Dollar Pool and the complete restoration to India of her contribution in the Empire Dollar Pool.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT : Thank you very much. You have made a very pertinent speech.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES (Finance Secretary):** Sir, I think it is all to the good that an opportunity should be given in this House for ventilating a matter of this sort, which is of considerable importance to the country, but which is a very technical subject in itself and rather apt to give rise to a certain amount of misunderstanding of the real position. The Resolution itself is in two parts, and with your permission, Sir, I would like to take the second part first, the part which requests the immediate withdrawal of India from the Empire Dollar Pool. My impression is that there is a general misapprehension in the first place as to what the Empire Dollar Pool is. For instance, the Hon. Mover of this Resolution said that the Pool began with the requisitioning of dollar securities held by residents in India. I can assure him that that is not a fact. The "Empire Dollar Pool" is only the name given to the Sterling area arrangement (which had already been in existence for something like a century) when it came up against peculiar difficulties during the course of the war. The Sterling area arrangement was an arrangement by which Empire countries and certain other countries arranged their international trade and their external financial business through London as a method both convenient and economical. Sterling before the war was freely convertible into any currency in the world, and by maintaining a sterling reserve the amounts of any world currencies required for payment were obtainable at any time and individual countries were saved the trouble, expense and wastefulness of maintaining their own balances in the various capitals of the world. That was the Sterling area arrangement. As the war progressed, the foreign balances held in London on behalf of the Sterling area group of countries in some cases—those that we call hard currency countries—began to be progressively exhausted. I do not think I need go into the reasons for that progressive exhaustion. They must be known to Hon. Members. There was the dual effect of increased payments on account of war requirements and of reduced supply, the latter partly on account of reduced exporting capacity of countries like the United Kingdom and partly because certain Empire countries which had contributed to the Exchange resources in London before the war, such as Malaya, were over-run by the enemy. Malaya, of all the Sterling area countries, was the biggest Dollar earner for instance, and their surplus Dollars accumulated in London and became available for expenditure by any other Sterling area country which required them. When Dollars and certain other currencies became scarce, it was a matter of commonsense, as has been publicly admitted by the United States Administration itself, that there should be a sort of pooling arrangement, or rationing *via* exchange control, in respect of these hard currencies, so as to utilise them to the best advantage for the dual purpose, firstly, of meeting war requirements which naturally were given first priority and secondly, of meeting the essential civil requirements necessary for maintaining the civil economies of the various Sterling area countries. That was undoubtedly an appropriate arrangement. I do not think any body would question its wisdom, and it undoubtedly contributed materially to the winning of this war which was of fundamental importance to each of the various countries participating in this co-operative arrangement. The principle of the pooling system was that all participating countries contributed what they could according to their ability and each country drew from the pool according to its needs, whether it be for winning of the war or for meeting essential civil requirements. But the arrangement was never intended to be permanent, and the intention always was that the moment the necessity for it passed and sterling returned to its pre-war position, the pooling or control arrangement would be discarded. I think the House will understand that the United Kingdom will be only too anxious to restore sterling to its pre-war position of free multilateral convertibility at the earliest possible moment, and the United States for their part are equally keen because so long as exchange control has to be applied on account of scarcity of certain currencies, it inevitably involves a certain amount of trade discrimination which the United States want to see abolished at the earliest possible moment. Therefore the House can rest assured that it is in the common interests of the United Kingdom and the United States of America in particular, as it is of all the Empire and other countries in the world, that this restrictive pooling arrangement should cease and with it the corresponding exchange control and artificial direction of trade, should cease at the earliest possible moment. That is the objective of all the countries concerned and it so happens that at this present moment we are at least getting in sight of that objective. By the terms of the Anglo-American

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Financial Agreement recently concluded in Washington, which I must remind the House is still subject to ratification by the Congress of the United States, by the terms of that Agreement, the United Kingdom has undertaken that within one year of the effective date of the Agreement all sterling receipts from current transactions of all Sterling area countries will be freely available for current transactions in any currency area without discrimination. In other words, each member of the Sterling area will have its whole current receipts, whether sterling, dollar or any other currency, at its free disposal for current transactions anywhere in the world. In other words, the Sterling area dollar pool arrangement will automatically cease from, we hope, something like the Spring of 1947. Seeing then that India's essential current requirements are being catered for by the Pool, as are those of other Sterling area countries; that we still have a comfortable balance in our post-war dollar fund, which has been specially earmarked for the purchase of capital goods for India's post-war reconstruction entirely outside the working of the Pool, and that the life of the Pool itself is strictly limited; I would suggest for the consideration of this House that it is premature altogether to talk of withdrawing now from the Pool unless some clear advantage could be shown to result from such withdrawal. And in this connection I submit that it is significant that for many months now—18 months to 2 years—the balance of trade between India and the United States of America has been running against India. Putting that in other words, India, who during the war was in the fortunate position of being able to contribute to this Pool nett, is now beginning to reap the benefits of her membership of the Pool, which is financing India's current deficit not only in those currencies in respect of which India's trade has always been adverse, such as Swiss francs, Swedish kroner and so on, but also in United States dollars in relation to which for some time past there is and has been a deficit. If we were to withdraw from the Pool at this stage, Indian payments in dollars would necessarily have to be limited to India's earnings of dollars, and even appreciably less, because the Reserve Bank would have to build up adequate reserves in New York, which itself would take a considerable time. Similarly with the other currencies, and the Reserve Bank would have to hold balances in a large number of the capitals of the world which is a wasteful expedient to obviate which the Sterling area arrangement was developed, as I said, some hundred or more years ago. A further result of immediate withdrawal from the Pool would be a paralysing interference with established methods of trade and trade finance which have gradually grown up in the past through established connections in London and elsewhere. In these circumstances, Sir, I think it reasonable to hold that *immediate* withdrawal of India from the Pool would not be in the interests of India, and I say that without making any attempt to forecast or without attempting to give any idea as to whether or not it may turn out to be so in the future as a result of the U.S.A. Congress decision on the Anglo-American Agreement and the outcome of the Sterling balances negotiations with His Majesty's Government. I am merely considering the present time and I would submit in the circumstances it would be both premature and contrary to India's interests to walk out of this pooling arrangement immediately.

I come now to the first part of the Resolution—the return of India's net contribution. The reason for that demand, I take it, is that if India leaves the pool, she would certainly need a repayment of her net accretions to provide adequate exchange for making purchases outside the Sterling area. Hon. Members have complained of the secrecy with which the working of this Pool has been treated during the war. I suggest that if they will reflect, they will see that information as to what exactly the countries in the various theatres of war, India, Australia, etc. are drawing by way of dollars or receiving by way of lease-lend would provide the enemy with very material information as to the disposition of forces, where effort was being concentrated, and so on, and that information of this sort would be of an entirely different order from information as to the number of pairs of trousers or the number of eggs which the United States Forces were receiving on reciprocal aid from India.

THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Munitions as well.

THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES: Yes, we would maintain that information as to what lease-lend munitions were proceeding to different parts of the Empire from America would certainly give the enemy information which we would very much

prefer to be withheld. But now that the war is over, and with a view to ascertaining the result over the period of the war of India's transactions in hard currencies and their equivalent gold, the Hon. the Finance Member is undertaking the preparation of an objective statement designed to show how they have affected India, that is, how much of the assets in question India has earned during the war and how much India has utilised for her own purposes. It is an extremely complicated business. The channels of trade are devious; and neither the Government of India nor the Reserve Bank of India nor His Majesty's Government nor the Bank of England are in a position unaided to provide these figures. The financing of international trade through London is such a complicated business that we are not in a position individually to compile this information, but we are making a joint effort, the Government of India, the Reserve Bank, the Bank of England and His Majesty's Government; we are making a joint effort to try and draw the picture of the way that India has been affected during the war by the working of this Pool. The work is not quite completed, but it is near to completion, and we hope to be able to announce the results in the near future. All that I can say now, Sir, is that the result when it is announced will, I am afraid, come as a very great surprise to those who entertain exaggerated notions as to the contribution that India has been able to make. I am fairly certain that the net figure will be appreciably below 1/10th of figures which I have seen frequently given out by various people. So, without being in a position to disclose at this stage the exact figure (for the sole and simple reason that I do not know it) I would submit that leaving aside the question of the equity or the reasonableness of India as one partner in a co-operative enterprise demanding back her contribution in full out of the balance left in the Pool after providing for war and other essential expenditure, regardless of the claims of other participating net contributors, leaving aside that aspect altogether—which my Hon. friend Mr. Dalal met by asking for *pro rata* distribution—leaving aside that consideration altogether it might well result that immediate unilateral withdrawal on India's part might not only not help her but might actually place India in a worse position. I would like to ask the House to remember that under the Anglo-American Agreement the United Kingdom stands committed to discussions on the question of the settlement of the Sterling balances within a period of a year, and under those discussions it is anticipated and expected that arrangements will be made for a portion of India's Sterling balances to be released immediately, convertible into any currency for current transactions; and that of the part which will be released in instalments in later years the instalment each year will be similarly convertible. We have to remember also that India is not the only creditor of the United Kingdom, and the total amount of Dollars that can be made available for these releases to the United Kingdom's various creditors, however much we may want, however much we think we may be able to utilize these releases, must necessarily depend by the hard logic of the situation on the present gold-cum-dollar resources of the United Kingdom (or rather I should say of the Sterling area) and the prospective export surpluses to the United States of America from the Sterling area, inclusive, for instance, of countries like Malaya which I hope will soon be in a position to resume their export activities. Even if India could secure some repayment of her net contribution to the Dollar Pool now, it could only result in a corresponding diminution of the portion of India's balances to be initially released in multilaterally convertible form in the Sterling balances negotiations which will have to be embarked on now in a matter of months. Meanwhile, as I have already mentioned, in this short interim period we have the Dollar Pool to cater for our essential current requirements. We have our post-war Dollar fund to draw on for our capital goods requirements, and we have the possibility of obtaining a Dollar credit either from the International Monetary Fund or from the International Bank. I would therefore seriously suggest, Sir, that it would be far better to await the Sterling balances discussions, which are now only a few months ahead. Should those discussions take place while the present Hon. the Finance Member is in office, he has given an assurance that he intends to take as strong and representative a team as he can including, he hopes, representatives of the major political parties. It will then be for India's delegation to make their opening demand, say for example, for the immediate release from our balances of either India's net contribution to the Dollar Pool during the war, or the estimated requirements of India for the first five-

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years up to 1951, whichever is greater. If then the United Kingdom were to plead inability to meet that demand, the onus of proving inability would be placed fairly and squarely upon His Majesty's Government. One cannot anticipate the trend of these discussions but I suggest Sir, that the least we can reasonably do is to embark on the discussions which now shortly must take place, make our initial opening demand and then hear what His Majesty's Government have to say about it, and thrash the whole business out round the table.

I trust that in the light of what I have said, Sir, the Hon. the Mover will consider it unnecessary to press his Resolution at this particular stage.

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, my Hon. friend, the Finance Secretary has made a very useful contribution to the discussion. He has clarified some factors which were not known as fully to the House as they are known now. But in spite of his explanations and the light that he has thrown on the subject it seems to me that the matter is still somewhat shrouded in mystery. My Hon. friend Mr. Govindlal's Resolution raises a question of very great importance to the future of India. We all desire that the industrialisation of this country should proceed at a rapid pace. In order that this desire may be fulfilled it is essential that we should be able to obtain the capital goods required for the industrialisation of the country as quickly as possible from abroad. We shall be able to make our purchases abroad only if the amount of gold required by us for the purchase of the needed capital goods is available. My Hon. friend Mr. Govindlal contended or implied in the course of his speech that the existence of the Dollar Pool has from this point of view been harmful to India. The Finance Secretary, however, on the other hand said that India would, if the full facts became known, regret her dissociation from the Dollar Pool. Now, one of the reasons which he mentioned in favour of his view was that while India had been able to contribute to the Dollar Pool during the war she might find very soon that she was selling goods of less value to the United States than the good that she was receiving from there.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES** : No, Sir, not that she will find very soon, but that she is finding it now, and that she has been finding it for the last 18 months or so.

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : My Hon. friend corrects me and says that the situation has already arisen not merely that, but that it has been in existence for about 18 months. He further said that the Dollar Pool had been in existence for about 100 years and had proved very useful to all the countries concerned. I do not know what exactly he meant by that, for surely till the war broke out the arrangement seemed to the agricultural, the raw material producing, countries to be one-sided. It was frequently the subject of strong criticism in India that the arrangement was to the advantage of the industrialised countries, of the countries that were trying to quicken the pace of their industrialisation and build up a strong industrial economy. Now, India certainly was not in that position. England alone was in that position. But if the association of India with the Dollar Pool has so far benefited the United Kingdom, it certainly entitles India to claim, that she should be in a less favourable position in regard to the accrual of dollars than she was about a year and a half ago. The Pool that has been helped by her so far should help her out of her difficulties which we hope will be temporary. In any case, the Dollar Pool will be maintained, not if it is wholly useful to the United Kingdom or wholly useful to India, but only if it is useful to both the countries. If India could make no contribution to the Dollar Pool, I doubt whether her membership of it would be welcomed by the other members of the Pool.

Besides, there is one point in this connection which I should like my Hon. friend opposite to clarify. I should like to know whether it is not the desire of His Majesty's Government themselves, under Article 7 of the Anglo-American Agreement, to dissolve the Pool, or at any rate to withdraw from it.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES** : It will eventually be unnecessary.

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** If they withdraw from the Pool, naturally the Pool will be dissolved. If it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to withdraw from the Pool, it will automatically come to an end.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES :** Might I explain ? I am afraid I must have been a little defective in my explanation. The Pool, as people talk of it now, is nothing more than the ordinary sterling area arrangement subjected to the operation of war-time exchange controls. Before the war, and for many, many years before the war, all India's earnings of dollars went into the Pool, *viz.*, the central Empire reserves in London ; India put them in voluntarily, because she knew she could take them out whenever she wanted, to any extent she liked, and in any form required. That was the working of the pre-war sterling area. But during the war, because currencies became scarce, there had to be a rationing system by common consent, by agreement among the countries who kept their reserves in London, so that scarce currencies were used only for war and other essential purposes. It is hoped that before very long, as a result in particular of the Anglo-American Agreement, the time will come when all the countries' dollar requirements for their current transactions, whatever they may be,—and their current transactions include import of capital goods—will be met to any extent necessary. Therefore it is hoped that we are working to a stage, which should not now be so very far distant—we hope one year after the effective date of the Anglo-American Agreement—when this so-called pooling will be unnecessary, simply because the countries will continue to put their earnings from other countries into the London clearing house, as was the pre-war position, and that they will be able to take out freely whatever they may require; that is, the " Pool " as now understood will become no longer necessary, and there will be no question of maintaining the Pool or withdrawing from the Pool, but the sterling area system will revert to its original position before the war.

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** The explanation now given by the Finance Secretary shows that he took the words " dissociation from the Empire Dollar Pool " to mean dissociation from the sterling bloc. I do not know what action a self-governing India will take in regard to that matter, but that certainly was not raised either by my Hon. friend Mr. Govindlal's Resolution or by his speech. That is a separate matter altogether which will have to be decided by India when it has a national Government. I should however like to say that India put her earnings voluntarily in the Central Empire reserves in London. While Indians wanted the Gold earned by them to come to this country they were deprived of it by the British Government which took it away to London.

I should like to ask one other question with regard to the position which India occupies at present, according to the statement made by the Finance Secretary, in connection with the accrual of dollars. According to a reply given by the Commerce Secretary this morning, we are receiving a large quantity of toilet goods from outside ; and these goods are coming not only from England but also from the United States of America. If the imports into this country are controlled by the Government of India, may I ask, why these goods, which are not essential, are allowed to come to our country from a country with whom we would like to maintain a favourable trade balance ? Surely in view of the position disclosed by the Finance Secretary it is of the utmost importance that all the Departments of the Government of India concerned with this matter should give it their serious consideration and see that India's trade is so regulated that she is in a position, within reasonable limits, to get the currencies that she desires, particularly dollars.

Sir, I do not want to prolong this debate, and perhaps my time is already up, but I should like to make just one or two points briefly before I sit down. My Hon. friend the Finance Secretary referred in the course of his speech to the use made of the Dollar Pool for maintaining the civil economy of the countries concerned. I was rather surprised to hear him make such a remark with regard to the civil economy of India. It is well-known that the purchases made by His Majesty's Government, by creating tremendous inflation, utterly disorganised the civil economy of this country. How the Finance Secretary can in the face of those facts claim that the

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Dollar Pool was used to maintain the civil economy of India passes my comprehension. It might have been so used in other countries ; it might have been so used in the United Kingdom ; but it certainly was not used in this manner so far as India was concerned.

There is just one other remark, Sir, which I should like to make with regard to the total amount of India's contribution to the Dollar Pool and the portion that would be released for our benefit within a year of the conclusion of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement. My Hon. friend the Finance Secretary said that the Finance Member was having a statement prepared showing the contributions of the different countries to the Empire Pool, the benefits that they have derived from it and the amounts now standing to their credit. We shall be very glad to have this information when it is available and we hope with the Finance Secretary that it will soon be made public. But he did not tell us whether any negotiations have at present taken place with regard to the proportion of the Dollar balances to the credit of India which would be released after the conclusion of the Anglo-American loan agreement in order to enable India to purchase the capital goods that she requires abroad. Has this matter received consideration or not ? It is true that the Finance Member proposes to take up the discussion of this question at an early date with the help of the representatives of the major parties in the Indian Legislature. It is nevertheless a matter of great interest to know whether the question has occupied the attention of the Government of India since the loan was negotiated and if so what proportion of our Dollar balances we may expect to be released soon after the ratification of the loan. These are the two questions, Sir, that were raised by my Hon. friend, Mr. Govind Lal. They are questions of great interest. The Finance Secretary's speech was conciliatory and in so far as he assured us that information with regard to the total contribution of India to the Dollar Pool would be available very soon, the information which he gave was welcome. But I hope that he will, in his closing speech, be able to throw a little more light on the subject than he has done and be able to assure us that India may expect to get the maximum help possible from the United Kingdom in connection with her claims for the all round building up of her economy.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW (Madras : Non-Muhammadan) : I do not want to take up much of the time of the House except to raise a few points that have struck me on hearing the Finance Secretary's speech. Last year, when a question was put in the other House to the then Finance Member asking him to reveal the amount of Dollar exchange we have got in the United Kingdom, he said that for reasons of security he could not reveal the amount we had got to India's credit, and now the Hon. Member, in his speech, denies any knowledge of the present assets in the Dollar pool, if I heard him aright. I do not know how the Finance Department is operating the financial affairs of this country without knowing the exact assets we have in the Dollar Pool that is being accumulated in England—for what purpose, every financier who has got the good of this country at heart knows. With regard to the balance of trade, India is not able to buy goods from America. Whenever any big business man wants to place an order for capital goods, he is at the mercy of the Dollar Pool and the Government of India which must make available the dollars necessary for the purchase of those goods. Everybody is aware that there is much heart burnings, even in American business circles, that Britain is taking an unfair advantage of her position as master of the Empire to block the free flow of Indo-American trade. In fact, the question was sought to be raised in the American Senate by some important members of that body. How can we have a balance of trade in India's favour when India is unable to buy from America ? If you are not supplied with the necessary dollars to buy goods from America, America is not interested in buying goods from India, and an adverse balance of trade is brought about by this sort of blocking of the free flow of trade from India to America. If I heard him aright, the Hon. Member said that international trade is to be cleared through the clearing house in London even after the dissolution of this Dollar Pool.

THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES : I did not say that.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** That means that he envisages that even after all these impediments and trammels are removed, and India is a free country, he hopes for a day when India and America should not have direct trade relations but that that channel should pass through London.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES :** I did not say so.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW :** There is a strong feeling in the country that this Dollar Pool is not being utilised in the interests of the country. With regard to the sterling balances, various opinions have been expressed in England with regard to their moral obligation, and with regard to inflated prices at which goods were purchased for British war purposes and therefore the sterling balance represented a fictitiously high figure. In fact, Lord Keynes had to enter into an agreement to see that the British Empire's liabilities are reduced in order to enhance the credit of the British in negotiating the Anglo-American monetary agreement. We have got grave misgivings in this respect and the sooner the world knows that this Dollar Pool is not going to help India in any way unless we are entirely free to do as we like in the best interests of the country the better.

**THE HON. MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Sir, the speech of the Hon. Member was conciliatory in tone, but in substance he did not concede anything to India. He referred to the fact that the Dollar Pool has existed for about 100 years and what he meant to say, I assume, is that in practice it worked out that for 100 years there has been a Dollar Pool in existence. But I am sure he would not say that this has been the arrangement for 100 years. He is aware that in those days there was free convertibility of sterling with the dollar. The position that he now makes is this. During these 100 years free convertibility of currency has existed. I think it is not quite correct to say that there was a Dollar Pool for all these 100 years, for when there is a free convertibility, you can offer your money in any currency. Sterling was on parity with gold but that parity has been snatched away and, therefore, it is a peculiar character which the Dollar Pool is now occupying. He said the Dollar Pool has gone materially to the winning of the war. If it has gone materially to the winning of the war—I have taken down his words—then it must have been a very large amount. It could not have been a small amount like one-tenth of what has been estimated by the people of this country. He first opposed the second part of the Resolution, but at the end of his speech he really conceded both the first and the second parts of the Resolution. He said from India will be going a deputation to England for making arrangements with regard to the Dollar Pool and with regard to the payment he hoped that the question would be raised. Figures were being prepared and this delegation might ask for withdrawal from the Dollar Pool and for repayment. They might ask for the ending of the Dollar Pool. In fact, he has really supported my Resolution by saying that. He himself realises the necessity of the ending of the Dollar Pool. It is between partners, it is true. But one is a dominant partner and the other is a subservient partner and it is the voice of the dominant partner that is now prevailing. Then this Washington Agreement has been entered into which is still subject to ratification. It provides for release of dollar resources for the payment of current transactions. What these current transactions mean are defined in the Monetary Agreement. I am not quite sure that these current transactions will also imply the entire payment of the dollar resources. This Agreement is also subject to various qualifying clauses and those clauses enable His Majesty's Government in England to extend the time for ending the Dollar Pool. At one time, therefore, this has to come to an end. But Government will leave this to the sweet will of the United Kingdom Government. They therefore do not think this is an opportune time. But I say it is the opportune time. The balance of trade has for some time been running against India. It must run against India, because if you want to buy goods and if you have got balances, India does not want to enter into I. O. U's. You have got your balances and you must pay by your balances. We surely do want the 500 crores which we have got there; we want to get machinery, we want to get materials, consumers goods also. It is no argument to say that because there is an unfavourable balance of trade during the last few months, therefore you must not now ask for the dissolution of the Dollar Pool, or for withdrawal from it. I think, Sir, we require these goods and, therefore, we must now press for it.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES :** Sir, I do not think I have very much to add to what I have already said. I would however like to remove a misconception or two which the debate subsequent to my speech has revealed. I had tried to be clear as to what this Dollar Pool is. I was a little disappointed therefore that the Hon. Pandit Kunzru, after what I had said, raised the question of the proportion of dollar balances standing to the credit of India. I tried to show that this—

**THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** What I asked was what proportion of the dollar balances would be released.

**THE HON. SIR CYRIL JONES :** What proportion of the dollar balances standing to the credit of India in the Dollar Pool would be released? It is the phraseology which I think shows that in this very technical subject misapprehension still exists. The Dollar Pool is a colloquial name for a central reserve of various currencies which are not divided into sections standing to the credit of one country or another. It is a central balance of reserves such as has existed for years. The only earmarking in London of foreign balances held by London is in respect of the Post-war Dollar Fund for India—the earmarking of 20 million dollars or so which has been allotted as a special case in India's peculiar circumstances and for India alone. Apart from that special earmarking, everything that is in that Pool stands unearmarked in the Pool. As I have said, it was contributed to by countries according to their ability and it is drawn on by countries according to their needs; none of that amount is earmarked. It is therefore beside the point to talk about the dollar balances in the pool which stand to the credit of India. As to what will be released, Sir, the question is how much of India's Sterling balances can be released immediately as a result of the sterling balances discussions. What will be released then will be spendable in London, New York or anywhere in the world. It will be released in a multilaterally convertible form and it does not matter whether what is released comes from the so-called India's credit in the Dollar Pool or anything else. There will be a release of the sterling balances owned by India, usable in any part of the world. How much sterling will be released—I tried to explain in my first speech—will be a matter for negotiation with His Majesty's Government. We may perhaps stake out an initial claim based on what we estimate India may require to spend, whether in the United Kingdom or the United States or anywhere else in the world, for the first period of 5 years, and that can be our initial "asking price". It will then be for H. M. G. to establish their case if they find that we, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt and other members of the Sterling area, are between them asking for too much. Then His Majesty's Government will have to place their cards on the table and convince the Indian delegation and the delegations from the other countries that the total demands are beyond the capacity of the United Kingdom to meet having regard to their present and prospective dollar resources.

I do not think I need take up the time of the House in going into detail in regard to the working of exchange control in the present circumstances. It is a fact that at the present time dollars are scarce; they still continue critically scarce. America is aware of it. The fact also remains that the Anglo-American Agreement has not yet been ratified, and therefore the inevitable corollary is that India, in common with other countries, must maintain, whether she remains in the Pool or withdraws from it, for the time being, a fairly rigid exchange control.

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT :** Resolution moved :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the restoration to India of her contribution to the Empire Dollar Pool and her dissociation from it."

**Question put :** the Council divided :

AYES—14.

Askuran, Hon. Sir Shantidas.  
 Buta Singh, Hon. Sir.  
 Dalal, Hon. Mr. M. N.  
 Das, Hon. Mr. N. K.  
 Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.  
 Kalikar, Hon. Mr. V. V.  
 Kunzru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.  
 Mitha, Hon. Sir Suleman Cassum Haji.  
 Motilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.  
 Row, Hon. Mr. Thirumala.  
 Roy Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Susil Kumar.  
 Rup Chand, Flt. Lieut., the Hon.  
 Surput Singh, Hon. Mr.  
 Yuveraj Datta Singh, Hon. Raja.

NOES—22.

Assadulla Khan Raisani, Hon. Sardar Bahadur  
 Nawab.  
 Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.  
 Chinoy, Hon. Sir Rahimtoola.  
 Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the.  
 Das, Hon. Mr. M. L.  
 Devadoss, Hon. Sir David.  
 Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.  
 Gibbons, Hon. Mr. J. M. B.  
 Griffin, Hon. Sir Arthur.  
 Hissamuddin Bahadur, Brig. the Hon. Sir.  
 Hutton, Lt.-Genl. Hon. Sir Thomas.  
 Jones, Hon. Sir Cyril.  
 Khare, Hon. Dr. N. B.  
 Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.  
 Lal, Hon. Mr. Shavax A.  
 Mahomed Usman, Hon. Sir.  
 Menon, Hon. Sir Ramunni.  
 Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.  
 Pillai, Hon. Mr. N. R.  
 Prior, Hon. Mr. H. C.  
 Sobha Singh, Hon. Sir.  
 Yoatts, Hon. Mr. M. M. H.

The Motion was negatived.

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

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock, the Hon. the President in the Chair.

(The Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú was not present in the House when the Resolution standing in his name was called.)

RESOLUTION *RE* RELEASE OF OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE INDIAN  
 NATIONAL ARMY.

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

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the pending trials of the ' Indian National Army ' Officers be withdrawn and the Officers and men of the ' Indian National Army ' be unconditionally released. "

Before I deal with my Resolution, I want to offer my heartiest congratulations to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on remitting the sentences passed by the First Court Martial on Messrs. Shah Nawaz, Dhillon and Sehgal. On other occasions I had an opportunity to speak on certain matters and then I expressed my views about the Commander-in-Chief, that I find in the person of the Commander-in-Chief a very sympathetic gentleman, and I called him our Lord Munster for the Indian Army in India. Lord Munster was very keen on looking after the grievances of British troops in India, and I can state before this House that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is also very sympathetic, and very keen on removing whatever grievances there may be amongst the Indian troops. I hope, Sir, that he will deal sympathetically with the subject that is before the House today.

I propose to give in brief the history of the circumstances that existed when the Indian National Army was formed. The House knows that in December 1941, Japan declared war against the Allies, and thereafter, country after country was overrun by the enemy, and the inhabitants of those countries felt that something ought to be done to save their lives, their property and their honour, because they thought that they would not be spared from the depredations of the Japanese. The only power to which they had looked, namely, the British power, had disappeared altogether. At that time the Indian National Army was formed. It was formed in September, 1942, because the civilians as well as the troops who had been handed

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over to the Japanese by Colonel Hunt thought that some attempt must be made to protect the people of those countries which had been over-run by the Japanese. Their intention was also to make some organised attempt to free India from the foreign yoke.

It has been stated in many quarters that the first Indian National Army under Captain Mohan Singh was in league with the Japanese, but from what has appeared in the Press, and from the evidence that was produced in the first trial, people think that the Indian National Army was not in league with Japan and the Provisional Government which the people of those countries formed was not a puppet Government. The original intention of forming the Provisional Government was to protect the people and make an organised attempt to free India.

Sir, the House knows that after the fall of Singapore about 45,000 Indian troops were handed over to the Japanese. Major Fujiwara took over those troops and handed over charge of those troops to Captain Mohan Singh. When the troops were surrendered, and when Major Fujiwara took charge of them, Col. Hunt said :—

“The British and Indian forces in Singapore have surrendered to the Japanese Imperial Army and we are all prisoners. I on behalf of the Crown am handing you all over to Major Fujiwara, the Japanese representative. From now on you belong to the Japanese Army and you will obey their orders as you have been obeying our orders.”

That implies that if those who did not want to obey the orders of the Japanese officer would be liable to punishment. I am driving at the reason why this I. N. A. was formed. These are my personal conclusions. The I. N. A. officers during the trial took the definite stand that they organised this army for freeing India from British domination. I agree with them so far. But I think there were certain other causes which led to the formation of this Army. I hold to some extent the Government of India responsible for increasing the strength of this Army. The Government of India, by broadcast and leaflets, instructed these people who were surrendered to join the I. N. A. in order to escape from the tortures and cruelties of the Japanese. Their view was that if they joined this Army, they may perhaps find an opportunity of escaping and they would give some valuable information to us so that we may be able to sabotage their efforts. This was unknown at that time. But the *Times of India*, in its article, dated the 23rd August, 1945—

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: Please do not read from a newspaper.

THE HON. MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I am not reading from a newspaper. I have made a note. I have been for a long time a Member of this House and I know your ruling. The *Times of India* then published a leading article giving out the news that it was Delhi that was to some extent responsible. Then, on the 28th August, 1945, the Government of India published a Communique confirming the news that was given by the *Times of India* in its leading article. I shall read a portion which is relevant:

“Naturally, those who joined the enemy in response to directions from Delhi by radio and air-dropped pamphlets, with the sole object of escaping to our lines or of sabotaging the movement from within will be regarded as recovered POWs, retained in the Army and treated with the special consideration to which their initiative, courage and loyalty entitle them.”

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: So you have read it.

THE HON. MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I have read the Government of India Communique, Sir, not from the newspaper. It is a Government Communique. So, it is not a question of attributing blame to one side in this matter. I submit that the Government of India are to some extent responsible directly or indirectly. I say indirectly because they asked their own people who were surrendered to join the I. N. A. The question is whether the Government of India has a case for prosecuting these I. N. A. men. If the Government of India gave instructions by broadcast and leaflets to the people who were surrendered, it is rather risky to say that only a hundred or two hundred people joined on account of these instructions and the others joined because they were desperate or of their own free will. You cannot say that A and B only heard the broadcast or read the leaflets. A broadcast is meant for all who care to listen and a leaflet is meant for all who care to read. So, my point

is that the Government of India have no case, when they had issued this Communiquo and admitted that they had given instructions to the Indian troops to join the I. N. A. to prosecute the main officers of the I. N. A. for waging war or for committing acts of brutality and so on. Let us consider the situation in which these people were left. The troops were handed over to Fujiwara with an instruction that they must obey that officer's orders. He handed them over to Captain Mohan Singh and the Japanese told them that if they wanted to start or establish a free State for looking after the interests of the Indians in Malaya and other places, as well as for making an organised attempt to free India, the Japanese would help them. There may be difference of opinion over the action taken by these I. N. A. men. The difference of opinion may be very honest. But it is quite natural for these troops who joined the I. N. A. that they should organise and make an attempt to free India from British domination. After all, Sir, they were fighting and shedding their blood and it is just natural that a question should arise in their mind, "For whom are we fighting? if freedom is denied to us by Britain, why should we not take this opportunity of making India free from British domination?" As I have just now said, there are differences of opinion over the action they have taken. Even Mahatma Gandhi does not believe in the action taken by these I. N. A. men. But you have to judge their conduct, situated as they were, and then you have to come to a conclusion whether these men really deserved to be hauled up. Sir, in the last Communiquo which was issued two or three days ago, Government has made its position clear by stating that acts of brutality and acts offending against canons of civilised behaviour will be taken into consideration in dealing with these people. You have decided—and rightly decided—that these people should not be dealt with for the main offence of waging war against the King, and if that decision is there, there is no logical basis for prosecuting these men under the Indian Army Act. I am one of those who abhor brutality. I do not think there is any sane person in India who will sympathise with these brutal acts. But it is very difficult in these circumstances to scan the evidence and come to a definite conclusion that these brutal acts were committed by these people. I do not want to refer to individual cases. But in the Communiquo Mr. Abdul Rashid's case has been referred to and I think that case has created a lot of trouble in India. I will have to refer to some of the cases already decided. I am not going to refer to those cases which are in court. I may just make a general observation.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: Do not mention names.

THE HON. MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Abdul Rashid's name has been mentioned in the Communiquo.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: That case is now over. It is no longer *sub judice*.

THE HON. MR. V. V. KALIKAR: And therefore I will mention it. Sir, you have to take into consideration that these men acted under the orders of their superior officers. You have to take into consideration that these men were carrying out the duties which were enjoined on them under an Act which was practically a copy of your Act. These men were serving under a Government. You may recognise that Government or may not recognise that Government. But I believe under international law that Government can be recognised, because that Government had territories, because that Government had an organised army, because that Government had financial resources at its disposal; and these men acted under the orders of their Government. The punishment of flogging is one of the punishments mentioned in their Act. In our Acts too, there is a whipping punishment. I do not say that they have not exceeded their limit. Some men might have exceeded their limit. But my submission is you have to take into consideration the situation under which they carried out those orders. It was stated in the first trial that the punishment of flogging was given to men who were deserters, to men who indulged in theft, to those people who wanted to misbehave amongst the citizens of those countries. Therefore, Sir, one has to judge whether we can apply the law in a fixed standard or judge their conduct from that point of view. You have made charges against them. In your court martial in two cases you have proved the charges against them. But the whole country, the whole of India, is stirred with emotion about

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these cases. Nobody in India nor outside India thinks that the Government of India has taken a right decision in prosecuting these people. The cases that are going on now and the cases that may be put up before courts in course of time, instead of creating goodwill and confidence in the country, will unnecessarily make the position more bitter. I stand here not as a defender of the alleged cruelties; I stand here for the peace and tranquillity of my country. I stand here to see that the atmosphere in India is such that if the British Government really want to have a political settlement in India they should find out ways to see that there is no impediment to enable them to settle the political issue more smoothly. We find that almost all the political and social parties in India, all the commercial organisations in India, the students' organisations in India, have raised a voice of protest against these trials. Even papers like the *Statesman* say "Please stop this show". So the Government is left without any friend in India at this time. Three British M.P.s Messrs. William Dobbie, W. C. Cove and S. O. Davies and Wing Commander Millington, have also demanded abandonment of these trials.

They say

" We submit, therefore, that the Government of India should be advised from here to drop the prosecution or at least to postpone it for the time being. We venture to submit further that the Indian Government, as it is constituted today, is neither democratic nor representative of the people's will. It has no support in the country and consequently it does not possess any prestige and authority. Any decisions taken by such a Government which are not in keeping with the popular will are sure to be reviewed and altered by a Government more representative of the Indian people. The proper authority to prosecute these men will be the National Government of India which must come into being in the new year".

Mr. Fenner Brockway also stated that the Government of India has committed a stupid blunder in starting these trials.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: I will give you five minutes more. You have already exceeded your time.

THE HON. MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I am so sorry, Sir. So my submission is that in the interest of maintaining peace and tranquillity in this country you should revise your decision and should not attach much importance to prestige. You make allegations of brutal actions; the other party makes also allegations of brutal actions against you. Mr. Sehgal in his statement which appeared in the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 14th August stated that in addition to the two officers who committed suicide year before last there are two other cases of suicide. Subedar Jowand Singh committed suicide in the Red Fort of Delhi in January 1945. Another committed suicide in Multan. Mr. Sehgal says he heard with his own ears Lieut. Warran beating a man in the adjacent barrack.

News appeared also in the Press that seven cadet officers who were transferred to India were treated inhumanly by British officers or British troops who were in their charge. My submission is that we should let the dead past bury its dead. Instead of indulging in these allegations and counter-allegations of brutal actions we should adopt the course of forget and forgive. We should try our level best to heal these wounds and see that a very calm atmosphere is maintained in India by adopting measures which will help the British Government to settle the political issues. The result of these trials has caused the death of about 100 innocent people in Calcutta. Public property and private property have been destroyed. I, therefore, submit that instead of your attaching much importance to prestige and hauling up these men if you adopt the course of clemency—if you release these people unconditionally—you will certainly help the highest authority, the British Government to effect a successful political settlement in India. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should impress on the Government of India to revise its policy and see that these people are unconditionally released.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT (to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief): I think Your Excellency would like to speak at this stage. It will expedite matters.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Sir, before I say what I have got to say, I would like to thank the Hon. the Mover of the Resolution for what he said about myself, and I would also like to record my appreciation of

what the Hon. the Mover has done to help me in the past in various problems. I greatly appreciate his assistance.

Before I say anything more I would like to refer to one point which the Hon. the Mover mentioned and that is this matter of the so-called handing over of the Indian troops, prisoners of war, to the Japanese. I do not accept the Hon. the Mover's version of what Col. Hunt is alleged to have said, because I do not think it is correct. I do not accuse the Hon. the Mover of stating anything but what he believes to be true or though personally I do not believe it to be true—I have other information—and the position is this in regard to that particular point. Any officer, it does not matter what his rank, who becomes a prisoner of war with his men and has been separated from his men by his captors as happened in this case—where all British officers were separated from their men—has as his business—in fact it is his duty—he is taught that it is his business—to say to his men “From now on you must obey any orders that are given you by your captors”. That is simply to protect his men from doing anything which would compel their captors to either shoot them or torture them. That is an acknowledged fact and I think it is embodied in the Geneva Convention. It certainly is a practice in all civilised armies. It is his business to advise them to do nothing to enrage or irritate their captors. They must obey all reasonable orders. That is a very different interpretation to what has been put on what Col. Hunt is supposed to have said, and I think Hon. Members will agree with me that we must look at it from the wider point of view.

Well, Sir, this Resolution seeks to recommend that the pending trials of those who joined the so-called Indian National Army should be withdrawn and the men unconditionally released. I do not wish to enter into a detailed discussion of this very controversial question. It has already been discussed in another place and I propose to confine myself to the terms of the Resolution.

Now, the first point is the suggestion that the pending trials should be withdrawn. Well, I would like to ask this House to consider what this really means and why these men are being brought to trial. When we announced on the 30th of November that we would try only those men who were guilty of brutality we meant that literally. We spoke in the communique which was issued by the Government of India of acts of gross brutality and acts offending against the canons of civilised behaviour. It is acts of this kind which we are now trying and only those acts. There is very clear, definite evidence that during one period in particular systematic brutality of a very shocking kind was used against those who did not wish to join the so-called Indian National Army, and we are trying only those who are alleged to be guilty of such brutality. I have listened very carefully to the speech of the Hon. Mover of the Resolution, but I am still in doubt as to what he had in mind when he put forward the Resolution. Perhaps he thinks that the crimes were not actually committed—but I do not think he does. Then, does he think that the motive excuses the crime? I do not know. In any case, I do not think either view can be upheld for one minute. If the evidence against the accused is not sufficient for conviction, the accused will get off. And I would like to stress again what I have said before, that a court-martial under our rules is probably the fairest form of trial that any man could have; and I speak from very considerable experience. The accused in a court-martial is given the fullest benefit of doubt so far as the evidence is concerned. It is a form of trial under which a guilty man may sometimes escape punishment, but an innocent man is practically never convicted. Again I speak from experience,

If, on the other hand, it is suggested that the motives of these men justified their behaving as they did, it seems to me that this is a very dangerous argument, and one which would justify any crime committed from a political motive. It would mean that every jailor and every policeman would have a free hand to ill-treat his prisoners. I do not believe myself that it is an argument that the Hon. Mover would seriously put forward. It certainly is not an argument to which I can subscribe.

I am sure the Hon. Mover will believe me when I tell him that I have given this matter very careful thought. In fact it has been ever present in my

[H. E. the C-in-C.]

mind for the last six months, and the more I think of it, the more I consider it, the more convinced I am that it will be quite wrong and unfair to those who suffered while in their charge that these others who committed acts of brutality should be treated by any standards different from those which we should apply, had they behaved in this manner while serving in the Indian Army. And I would remind the House that these men did belong to the Indian Army, and in fact still do belong to the Indian Army. There is no provision in the Indian Army Act for whipping a combatant soldier, and if we found that any officer had beaten a soldier, we should punish him very severely. Now, can it be argued that because these men had thrown off their allegiance they should be treated more leniently than they would be while actually serving in the Indian Army?

It has been said that the cases of these men are similar to that of Shah Nawaz. Shah Nawaz was convicted of abetment of murder as well as waging war against the King. But I put it to you that the case of Shah Nawaz was very different. He had joined the Indian National Army and was doing his best to help the enemy. But we had decided, for reasons which I need not repeat—I think they are well known to you all—that we would extend clemency to those proved guilty of these offences, of these offences only and no other. Well, it is clear that, if clemency is to be extended to those who joined the Indian National Army, it follows that anything done in consequence of having joined the Indian National Army and which would have been legal had the Indian National Army been an internationally recognised body must be included in the act of clemency. If you are not going to impose a severe sentence for waging war, you must extend your clemency to cover war-like acts committed by members of the Indian National Army. In Shah Nawaz's particular case, he received general directions from his superiors in the Indian National Army that deserters were to be treated severely and a death sentence inflicted. Now, although during the recent war we did not inflict death sentences for desertion in the British Army nor in the Indian Army, except in one aggravated case, this infliction of the death sentence for desertion is in accordance with the practice of civilized nations. The death sentence passed by Shah Nawaz could not therefore, in these particular circumstances—I say in these particular circumstances—be described either as an act of personal brutality or as a violation of the canons of civilized behaviour.

The case of Rashid was very different. He was guilty of personal brutality on proved occasions, sometimes to his fellow-Muslims, and the punishment he inflicted went far beyond anything that could be regarded as civilized, and far beyond the provisions of the Act drawn up by the Indian National Army themselves and by which that Army professed to regulate its conduct. I may add that this Act was much more severe than the Indian Army Act. The persons towards whom he behaved in this way were not members of the Indian National Army and could not have subjected themselves to the Act by which he professed, I suppose, to be authorised.

I hope I have said enough to make clear the difference between the offences for which we are prosecuting a very small number of the I.N.A. and those who were accused in the first trial and were not given sentences of imprisonment. I will now turn to the second part of the Resolution which suggests that the officers and men of the Indian National Army should be unconditionally released. Well, Sir, except for those charged with brutality, it is our policy to release them. And all releases are unconditional, that is to say, there is no condition attached that they should behave in any particular way. But we are making a distinction between those who seemed merely to be misled and those who actively helped the enemy. The former, that is, those who were misled, are discharged, and this carries no stigma with it, and they are given leave with pay. The latter, that is, those who actively helped the enemy, are dismissed and are subjected to forfeiture of pay. It would be impossible to let every one go immediately—which I gather to be the intention of the Resolution—without abandoning this distinction, which seems to me, in my position, to be a very important one. If we are to make the distinction

in a fair and just way, we must examine each case. And that is what we are doing at present. It has been announced elsewhere that of a total of about 20,000 Indian Army men who joined the Indian National Army, about 11,000 have already been released; about 5,000 are still undergoing interrogation and examination; there are about 3,000 still expected from overseas; and the remainder are untraced. We had hoped to complete the examination and release the remainder during the next six weeks, that is to say, by the end of March. We had hoped to do this, but for various reasons, one of which is the obstinate attitude of some of the prisoners, it will probably now take more than six weeks, and instead of having released them all by the 1st of April, as I had hoped, the most I can say is that there will be very few—I hope none—by the 1st of May. But I think this further delay must be accepted in the interests of justice and fairplay, as I have already tried to explain.

As I have said before, I do not wish to enter into a general discussion, but I would like to repeat with all seriousness the warning which has been given elsewhere regarding the future of the Army, namely, that it is discipline that makes the difference between an army and a mob. Discipline has been the backbone of every army which has fought well in the past, and no changes in methods of warfare or scientific developments have yet made any difference to this truth, and in my opinion they never will. Our policy has been to prove the principle that it is not open to a soldier to change his allegiance on account of his political views. But, having proved that principle, Government decided, in view of the circumstances, to extend mercy to those convicted of this offence and of no other, and to limit their punishment to cashiering or dismissal, with forfeiture of certain pay and allowances. To go further and condone acts of gross brutality would, in my opinion, be utterly wrong in itself and would besides be most unfair to those men who suffered so cruelly at the hands of those who are to be tried. Sir, I can assure you that no one could be more sorry than I am that this affair should have come about and that the fair name and fame of the Indian Army, which I have served so long, should have been brought before the world in this way. But I would ask the House to remember that a Commander-in-Chief is responsible for the welfare and contentment of the whole Army and that in this case includes those who remained steadfast to their allegiance under great provocation and pressure, and no Commander, of whatever rank he may be, can carry out those duties efficiently unless he has the full confidence and trust of those under his command. He cannot hope to retain this confidence and ensure the maintenance of discipline unless he is prepared to protect his men against wrong.

Sir, I hope that in view of what I have said, the Hon. Mover will agree on reconsideration to withdraw his Resolution.

THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW (Madras: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President, I have listened to the reply of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with great attention and I feel grateful for the very sympathetic and courteous manner in which he has tried to explain the position of the Government. But I want this House to remember that this is not a mere legal issue, concerned with the brutalities of a certain number of officers who have gone over from the Indian Army to the Indian National Army. I want members opposite, and particularly the Commander-in-Chief, who is supposed to be the Chief Officer of the Indian Army whom representatives on this side have treated all along as an army of occupation in this country, to remember that there is a second side to the picture. Unfortunately, India is one of the biggest countries in the world that lies at the heel of British Imperialism. She has made strenuous efforts to get out of that and establish her own independence. International law, Sir, has developed itself on the histories of the white nations and that law, during the last century, has had little to do with the development of the freedom movement or the constitutional development of the coloured races. Whether it was Dicey or some such other authority, they have always dealt with the constitutional aspect of the acts perpetrated by the white nations in the pursuit of their political ambitions in subjugating the coloured races. After so many years of thralldom, this country has come to realise that it is time to get complete independence and it has got a Leader who could enthuse and unite the various elements in the country under one banner and try to extract the utmost sacrifices from the nationals in the

[Mr. M. Thirumala Row.]

establishment of its independence. Take the history of this country. The Indian National Congress, with non-violence as its ideal and constitutional action as its method, is one of the arms of the pincer movement for the establishment of Indian independence and after such a long time, after nearly 2½ centuries of foreign domination, an opportunity presented itself to the patriotic young men of India to take full advantage of the situation created by World War No. II and form an independent National Government with all the attributes of a Government. Sir, you will wonder whether this country is capable of such great organisation, of creating great enthusiasm for sacrifice in the cause of freedom, until you heard the details of the organisation of the Indian National Army and the Indian National Government formed in Singapore. I request the authorities to view the matter from that point of view. In view of the protestations that have been made all along that the last stage of the British Government has been reached in India and that they are going to relinquish their power into the hands of a National Government, is it wrong, judged by any canons of constitutional propriety or law, that a nation that has been under the heel of a foreign yoke, should make a genuine attempt to throw off that yoke and establish its own independence? One arm of the pincer movement for the establishment of Indian independence is led by Ghandhiji and the Indian National Congress on non-violent lines and the other was led by Netaji Subhashchandra Bose on violent lines. There may not be any correspondence, any compatibility, any co-ordination between these two arms, but I may tell you once for all, Sir, that the great work done by national institutions in this country—

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT:** I do not wish to disturb you, but you are digressing altogether from the terms of the Resolution.

**THE HON. MR. M. THIRUMALA ROW:** My point is that the Indian National Army is an army of an Indian National Government and it should have been treated as such. It has worked for the welfare and independence of India. Therefore, the ordinary canons and rules of procedure, which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has taken great pains to explain to us, do not apply to it. In that way I beg to submit that I am quite relevant in dealing with this aspect of the question. If Roosevelts and Churchills and Stalins are the destroyers of Fascism in the West; Gandhis, Nehrus, Boses and Sackarnos are the destroyers of Imperialism in the East. Please remember the signs of the times, which the hand of time is writing on the wall, and deal with these people in a very generous manner. It does not mean that I do not recognise the generosity which the Commander-in-Chief and His Excellency the Viceroy of India have shown in contrast to the previous regimes. They have been receptive enough to take a lesson from the history that is being moulded before their eyes. It is not a question of mere brutality. Army training is training in brutality and nothing else. You must be seeing blood on your own arm. You will be trained to kill your own kith and kin when ranged opposite. After all, humanity is trained to make such distinctions between one nation and another, between one country and another. What about the brutalities that have been perpetrated in this country under the civil Government during the movement of 1942? I want to remind Hon. Members of Chimur and Ashti, where women have been raped by British officers and soldiers. They have been for given and forgotten by the Indian people. I say that under certain circumstances, many brutalities have been perpetrated which have not seen the light of day. Do not try to exaggerate things. Do not try to grow suddenly judicial minded and say that you are doing justice. You are not doing justice to this nation. I do not know who is responsible for this, but gossip and rumour goes about that the military authorities were against it but the civilian sun-dried bureaucrat, who still wants to intrigue and wanted to keep power in his hands, wanted to rehabilitate his lost prestige by bringing all these men to trial and teaching a lesson to the Indian Army also. But if they have not learnt this lesson they will learn it very soon. Not only has the trial of these people made them heroes in the eyes of the nation but it has created such a stir in every nook and corner of the country that women, children, students, younger section and older section of the population, have been moved to their very marrow in favour of complete Indian

independence. It is that, Sir, that has created those riots in Bombay, riots in Calcutta and elsewhere, and I am sure that Government of India have taken proper note of the sign of the times. The whole country is behind the I. N. A. Even the Communist Party, which is behind the British Government in suppressing the Indian nationalist movement, has deserted the British Government in supporting the I. N. A. and collecting funds for it. Even the Indian troops, on whose loyalty His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief laid so much stress, have collected funds and have openly given money to the I. N. A. defence. I want you to remember this and leave this country to itself intact and let it form its own defence and national army and its own National Government which will be in a position to understand the spirit, the aspirations and the particular circumstances in which the men of the Indian National Army have acted. The I. N. A. deserve not only complete release but honour from the people. I want the Government of India to be more graceful than what the Commander-in-Chief seems to have shown in the matter and completely release them, withdraw all these cases and earn parting gratitude from the people and leave this country gracefully.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President, my Hon. friend Mr. Kalikar paid a tribute to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for his attitude in connection with the I. N. A. trials which was well deserved.

4 P.M.

I think all those who are acquainted with the facts will realise that the part which His Excellency has played in the framing of the policy which was announced some time ago has been a notable one. Had His Excellency asked for a stronger policy, I do not think that anyone either here in or England would have said 'No' to him. But with a high-mindedness which is as pleasing as it is rare in these days of turmoil and strife, he took the totality of circumstances into account. He took into consideration circumstances leading to the fall of Singapore, the complaints of Indians with regard to being left in the lurch, indeed with having been treated in a treacherous manner in Penang and Singapore, the sudden and complete cessation of British authority and the occupation of Singapore for 3½ years by a totalitarian and ruthless power and decided to look at the whole matter from a point of view which was as far removed from being legal as any attitude could be. I think we can all say that his attitude has not been one of legalism. It has been inspired by broadmindedness and wisdom. The fact that no member of the I. N. A. is to be prosecuted for what I might call political offences is a testimony to His Excellency's statesmanship and large-heartedness. I know that this policy has not pleased certain influential British sections in the Army. I doubt whether it has pleased even His Excellency's principal advisers. It would be no exaggeration to say that the opponents of his policy would be glad if his tenure of office in India could be shortened. We, however, know that this would not be in the interests of India. I think it would be a great advantage to us from the national point of view that His Excellency should be permitted to remain here long enough to establish the Indianisation of the Army on a firm footing and to give valuable help to the National Government which we hope will soon be established in maintaining a national army. We must in this connection also express our gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy, for it was owing to the co-operation between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief that His Majesty's Government could bring themselves to accept the policy that was so clearly announced in November last.

The basis of the policy can be easily understood. But things have happened since the trials were started which I think require the serious consideration of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and His Majesty's Government. The Commander-in-Chief went almost as far as he could a few months ago when he announced not merely that no man would be prosecuted for waging war against the King but that the number of the trials would be kept down as much as possible. He assured us that there would not be more than 50 trials, and that their number might be as low as 20. One cannot therefore say that his policy has been either vindictive or unfair. But the circumstances in the country are such as to require a reconsideration of the issues to which His Excellency undoubtedly gave his serious consideration months ago. I believe that I am in a position to say that even before any public agitation arose over this question His Excellency had come to the conclusion that it should be dealt with in a spirit of understanding and statesmanship and that adherence to legal technicalities would lead to serious injustice and create a situation in

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

this country which would be neither in the interests of India nor of England. But, as I have said, there are certain new facts which ought to be taken into consideration by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government. The recent communiqué issued by the Government explaining the difference between the cases of the men involved in the first I. N. A. trial and that of Abdul Rashid has not made matters easy. I certainly understand the basis of the distinction that has been drawn by Government between these two cases but it is not one that would be understood by the man in the street or would be appreciated by anybody in the present political situation. It has not appealed even to a influential British paper in this country. It has gone so far as to call the continuance of the trials on the grounds given in the recent communiqué as a "vexatious irrelevance". I mention this only in order to show that the Government communiqué appears to be lacking in force and consistency not merely to Indian politicians but also to persons who might be supposed to be much more solicitous of British interests than Indians can be.

The next point that should be earnestly considered is that what has taken place has given rise to further communal tension. I am sure that when the policy that we are dealing with was announced no one thought that it could give exacerbate communal feelings, but as a matter of fact the point of view of the Government in dealing with cases belonging to different categories has undoubtedly been criticised on the ground that it is not fair to a particular community. Whether this criticism is justified or not it is pertinent to point out that in the present situation in the country the justification offered by the Government has carried conviction to nobody.

Now, let us consider, Sir, the effect of the trials on the Indian Army. It was, I think, believed when it was decided to proceed with the trial of those men who were believed to have been guilty of acts of brutality that this was necessary for the contentment and loyalty of the Indian Army. I am very doubtful whether the purpose which the Government had in view has been achieved. So far as the information that I have received goes it shows that the discontinuance of the trials would be welcomed by Indian soldiers themselves. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has undoubtedly more knowledge on this question than I can pretend to have, but I doubt whether he will be disposed on this occasion to challenge the accuracy of the information that has reached me.

Let us now, Sir, look at the question so far as it affects the Indian Army from another point of view also. If we want that the Indian Army should remain contented we also want that it should be a disciplined force, impervious to all those unfortunate differences which disfigure our public life at the present time, but I fear that the effect of the agitation that is going on and the communal tension that has been created will be to create bitterness in the Indian Army and to introduce communal tension there. This is not an imaginary fear.

THE HON. THE PRESIDENT: Please try to finish now as there are other speakers also.

THE HON. PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I will finish very soon.

This is not an imaginary fear. I think that it is based on considerations which would weigh with anybody who is seriously concerned with the present situation.

Lastly, Sir, with your permission I should like to say that the present policy, as was explained by Mr. Mason in the other House, was laid down in order to increase the chances of a political settlement between India and England. It was announced yesterday that it was likely that the Secretary of State for India and one or two Members of the Cabinet might visit India in the near future. I think that this information is not baseless. We might expect an authoritative announcement on it in a few days. Is it not desirable at the present time that nothing should be done which would prevent the ambassadors of the British Government from doing their best to bring about a settlement of those questions which have caused serious friction between England and India during the last few years? What is more desirable at the present time than that no communal tension should be allowed to be created and that nothing should be done which would draw the attention of the people away from those political and constitutional issues which affect their future.

I hope, Sir, that in view of what I have said His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would be disposed to reconsider the matter. I am not at all disposed to say that his case is on the merits a weak one. I recognise the cogency of what he has said. But there are higher considerations than those that were taken account of a few months ago which require that further thought should be given to the matter and that the Government should be prepared to advance on its previous decision. I do not condone any of the brutalities of which any officer or man belonging to the Indian Army has been guilty. But what is the use of acting in accordance with the law or claiming that your conduct is based on the canons of civilized behaviour when your policy and actions lead to a result the very opposite of that desired by you ?

With these remarks, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by my Hon. friend Mr. Kalikar.

\*THE HON. MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Kalikar is very modest. He has asked only that the trials of the I.N.A. officers should be dropped and that they should be released unconditionally. I would have been glad if my Hon. friend had said that they should be given a public reception, because, after all, what was the aim of the Indian National Army ? Their aim was the liberation of their motherland from alien domination. They are all patriots of the highest degree and are held in the greatest esteem by all sections of their countrymen ; and I am not exaggerating in the least when I say that. I wish His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was in Calcutta on the 23rd January last to witness the mile-long procession of men, women and children of all communities with the portrait of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Leader of the Indian National Army, and the illuminations that took place that evening, the evening of the birth-day of the idol of the people. It would have opened His Excellency's eyes, as it would have opened anybody's eyes, to see how the people of this country look upon the Indian National Army, its officers and its Leader. If a nation can pay homage to the portrait of this Leader in such a manner, just think how he will be received by his countrymen if he ever appears before them in flesh and blood, as we all hope and pray that he may be still alive and will soon be with us to lead an independent India.

BRIGADIER THE HON. SIR HISSAMUDDIN BAHADUR (Nominated Non-Official) : Mr. President, Sir, I was listening to the speeches of the Hon. Members with great interest on the so called I. N. A. Before I go any further I would like to assure the House that I am an Indian and my country is so dear to me, and whatever I say now is without prejudice. I speak for the good of the country and my Indian brothers and for my comrades. May I ask whether this war was the world war or not ? It is obvious the reply will be 'yes', so the powers who joined this war, joined for three reasons. To save and protect their country, their people, their children, their buildings, their trades, their churches, etc., etc., from the enemy. Secondly for the peace of the World. Thirdly to extend their country and power and wealth as much as possible. The question of nation or religion does not arise. For example China joined this War for the above purposes with the Allies. Japan joined Germany for the same purposes. There was no connection of nation or religion. India and East Africa fought in foreign countries and helped the Allies with money, men and other possible resources, to protect their country from the aggression of Japan on India, which was at one time inevitable. Russia joined the Allies for the same purposes and did not attack Japan till the end of War taking into consideration the circumstances at that time.

Now I turn towards the I. N. A. The I. N. A. in comparison to the 2½ million of Indian Army is a handful of men, which separated and joined the enemy who was ready to attack India against their comrades and against their own country. If Japan had succeeded, they would have been the Ruler of India and not this small batch of I. N. A. Moreover the I. N. A. when they joined the Army took the Oath of Allegiance that they will be loyal and faithful to their King and the Army and their comrades.

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\*Not corrected by the Hon. Member.

[Sir Hissamuddin Bahadur]

In my humble opinion the reason for their joining the enemy was to save their lives and nothing else, and they gave a bad name to their country and the Indian Army in the eyes of the world. Now I like to say a few words for those Hon. Members who have not been to a battle-field and cannot consider the seriousness of the battle-field and the subsequent effects of a total war. As human nature does not like to part with its soul even at the death bed, and we ask the help of doctors to save our lives, so without any reason they do not like to go and face the seriousness of battle, if it were not for strict discipline in the Army. Secondly, to save their country, their children, their property from the enemy, they sacrifice their lives. But if they learn by experience that if they by joining the enemy or leaving the battle-field cowardly run away by surrendering themselves and become heroes garlanded by the people, without any punishment, I, with my 47 years experience in the Army, assure you, Sir, in future you cannot be assured of your Army and cannot trust the loyalty of your Army or any victory on your enemy. To-day we are sowing the seeds for the future of the Army, we have to harvest it some time later. Therefore I request humbly the House that they should judge and put themselves in the place of the present authorities and consider what they would have done with these people. In my humble opinion, what has been done cannot be undone. Government have been very generous towards the persons who were involved in such a serious and dangerous crime, and I urge upon the leaders of political parties to stop this political stunt and save the lives of so many innocent and ignorant masses and poor students who are being led into this treacherous game and political riots.

\*THE HON. SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras Muhammadan): Sir, I join in the tribute which has been paid to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the attitude which His Excellency took in November last as regards the treatment of I. N. A. personnel. But for the generous attitude which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief adopted then, things in the country would have been much worse than what they are to-day. We are really grateful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and also to His Excellency the Viceroy for the very right thing that they did at the outset in trying to see things as practical politicians, and I am glad, Sir, that it has had a very wholesome effect in the country. But, Sir, the one thing which disappoints us is that having once taken up that attitude the authorities failed to appreciate the situation as it developed from day to day. Having once taken up that attitude, for reasons much higher than legal reasons, with a view to bring about a smooth and calm atmosphere in the country for paving the way for political settlement in the land, they would have been very well advised if they had continued to keep this noble point of view in their mind and tried to adjust their conduct according to the circumstances which developed in this country. Sir, in trying to support the Resolution which is now under the consideration of this House, I do not in any way try to exaggerate the case of the I. N. A. personnel. I am not one of those who would like to hold them up as heroes, whose conduct has got to be emulated by the armies in the future. I support this Resolution because I feel that in the circumstances in which these I. N. A. officers and men found themselves, there was a compelling necessity which did not give them any other option. It is but fair that those people should be treated with clemency, that they should not be judged as ordinary deserters from the Army and that their conduct should not be subjected to the same penalty as the conduct of those who had turned out to be deserters in different circumstances. Sir, the extraordinary conditions under which these desertions took place and under which this I. N. A. was formed, have been very clearly and at length explained by the Hon. Mover of the Resolution and I am glad, Sir, that in bringing this Resolution, he has used very just moderation. He has proved that to some extent even the Government of India was responsible for making the personnel of the I. N. A. take the course which they adopted. He was right also in saying that you could not make any distinction between one section of the I. N. A. personnel and another section, the section which might have been influenced by the leaflets and the broadcast which were meant for them, and the other section which joined of their own ordinary desire to see that India was free. Whatever the motive

\*Not corrected by the Hon. Member.

with which they joined the I. N. A., the circumstances under which they did so were extraordinary and call for a special treatment, and all the clemency that was shown to them was very well deserved.

As to the course events have taken after the trials had begun, as I said at the outset, Government were really very wise in trying to take up an attitude of clemency. But, Sir, they did make some sort of distinction between those who, they thought, were entitled to clemency completely, and others who, they supposed, could not be considered entitled to it on grounds which would do injustice to considerations of humanity and canons of civilised life. As my Hon. friend, Pandit Kunzru has just remarked, the Communiqué which was issued about a few days ago is supposed to have a legal basis. There is really some ground for distinction between acts of brutality and other acts which could not be brought under that category. But, Sir, this is a distinction which, to the layman, to the man in the street, is a distinction without a difference. It might be alright that such considerations might have to be weighed in normal conditions, and in cases where the issues are ordinary issues. But, where higher issues like the peace of a vast country like India, and the chances of a political settlement in this country which has been seething with discontent and all sorts of agitation for ever so many years are involved, it is not mere considerations of legality that should weigh with the authorities. As my Hon. friend Dr. Kunzru has just stated, even to a section of the British public this kind of distinction does not seem to carry conviction. Therefore, Sir, I humbly submit that Government should try to see things in a practical spirit, in a realistic spirit, in the spirit which they evinced at the outset, in the spirit which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief evinced in November last. That is, they should see things as they are. This is not the time when you should try to think of meting out any deterrent punishment for the purpose of maintaining reliability and the dignity of future organisations. You have got a more immediate and urgent problem to solve. You have got to try and create an atmosphere in this country which will pave the way for calm consideration of very important issues that are now facing the country. But is this what is being done? For the mere purpose of punishing brutality, of maintaining the honour of the code of civilised life, is it practical politics that you should give occasion for revolts, for agitation, for occurrences in this country which have cost until now more than 100 lives in various parts of the country? There is no assurance that this agitation is going to stop. From the way in which this distinction has been attempted to be made in meting out treatment to the I. N. A. people, it looks, as Mr. Jinnah remarked in another place, as though Rashid is only victim No. 1 to this kind of deterrent punishment which has been meted out for the sake of maintaining discipline in the future Indian Army. The authorities are not going to stop with this; besides Abdul Rashid there will be a number of other people who will be made scapegoats. There might be a legal basis for making a distinction; but higher considerations, considerations of peace and stability in the country, considerations of bringing about a calm atmosphere in which higher important issues which are now confronting the country may have to be considered, these considerations ought to weigh much more with the authorities than any legal distinctions like actions which could be considered as brutal and those which could not. Once I. N. A. personnel have been condoned for joining the army, everything that arises in consequence of that action and the discharge of the duties which are enjoined upon the personnel of that army should also be condoned. If desertion from the Indian Army has been condoned, anything else that goes from it as a consequence needs also to be condoned. With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HON. MR. SURPUT SINGH (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to support the Resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Kalikar. It is now patent that the I. N. A. trials have brought to the Government and the country more evils than benefits. Very ugly things about the British military since the collapse of the British arms in Malaya and Singapore have come to light in those trials. A good deal of the so-called prestige of the British Government has also suffered in the course of the trials. While, on the one hand, the men who were put on trial have been lionised on the other hand cleavage of feeling between the Government and the people has

[Mr. Surput Singh]

taken place. Such being the case, the holding of the trials of the I. N. A. men has not fulfilled any useful purpose besides waste of energy and money. An alien Government has distinctly gone against the universal Indian public opinion in launching the trials. It is not yet too late for the Government to accept the Resolution of the Hon. Member by withdrawing immediately the trials that are still going on. It will indeed be both prudent and expedient to do so. With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

**THE HON. SIB N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR (Madras : Non-Muhammadian) :**  
Mr. President, Sir, I propose to say only a very few words on this Resolution. I wish in the first place to join in the tribute which has been paid to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the high-minded statesmanship with which he has acted in connection with this affair from the very beginning. I wish, however, to place before him and His Majesty's Government only one or two considerations which I think will tilt the opinion which they now hold in connection with this matter in favour of the substance of this Resolution. I gather that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the first part of this Resolution, took up the position, one which he has taken up from the very beginning, that while he and the Government are not in favour of prosecuting members of the I.N.A. for waging war against the King, they could not condone acts of theirs which amounted to brutality or to offences against the canons of civilised behaviour. There may be some people—for example some of the newspapers to which reference has been made already—there may be some people who take the view that perhaps nothing can be more heinous as a crime than waging war against the King ; but that is not the point at issue now. Offences have been committed. Nobody takes exception to the legality of the prosecutions that were instituted. The question we are now considering is a question of statesmanship, not of legality ; and it has been conceded that, where the offence is one of waging war against the King, statesmanship at the present day requires that you should not launch these prosecutions in the present atmosphere of the country. The only thing that remains is whether you should launch prosecutions in the case of offences which involve brutality and offences against the canons of civilised behaviour. If the object of statesmanship is to produce an atmosphere of goodwill in the country and for that purpose you are willing to withdraw prosecutions for offences of waging war against the King, does not that same argument apply to offences which are merely offences of brutality ? Every administrator knows that in his own small sphere he has been confronted with this problem very frequently. Two communities come to blows, break their heads, men are killed, others are caused grievous hurt ; and yet at the end of it all if the administrator thinks that, for the purpose of restoring an amicable atmosphere, an atmosphere of goodwill in which the two communities can make up their quarrels and live at peace, Governments have acted in the way that this Resolution suggests, namely, they have withdrawn all the prosecutions against either party and given them a chance to live at peace and goodwill. This Resolution, I take it, asks for nothing more than that. Let us assume that these people were really guilty of acts of brutality, that they were guilty of acts offending against canons of civilised behaviour ; we desire nevertheless that at the present moment we should not give any cause for the continuance of an atmosphere which will prevent goodwill being established on the one side between Government and the people and on the other side between the communal groups in the country. From that standpoint, Sir, I appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government to take another big step forward in statesmanship and withdraw these prosecutions. Some point I think was made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as regards the latter part of this Resolution. I think he laid rather undue stress on the words "be unconditionally released." I do not think that the Honourable Mover was pressing any case that these men who are still being interrogated and whose cases are still pending should all be released as well as reinstated in the Army. What, I think, he really meant was that their cases should be so disposed of that they are not placed before the courts of law and punished as criminals. I do not think he will object to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief classifying them into the two categories which he himself mentioned : those who were misled according to him in joining the Indian National Army and those who joined it for considerations which could not perhaps

pass muster with the military authorities. Let him by all means release those in the first category and give them leave with pay and so on. Let him dismiss those in the other category and I do not think the Hon. the Mover, Mr. Kalikar, will object to that distinction being made in the releases that he has asked for.

There is only one other thing that I wish to say on this question of brutality and that is this. If brutality was committed by a person as an Army officer under orders which he either misconstrued or which he believed were binding upon him, his case is one which deserves much more generous consideration than a person who inflicted brutality in pursuance of personal revenge or for private considerations. I do not think that any of the people who were being put on trial in connection with the Indian National Army could be held guilty of the latter category of misconduct. I, therefore, think, Sir, that if they were guilty of brutality only because, being officers of the Indian National Army, they felt themselves bound to carry out such directions or instructions as they believed were binding or which they misconstrued then their case is as much a matter for clemency and generous treatment as the other cases which the Commander-in-Chief has already dealt with. I am therefore supporting this Resolution.

**THE HON. MR. V. V. KALIKAR :** I have nothing to state further because the points that have been made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have been ably replied by my Honourable friend, Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar. I have just to say one word and that is about discipline, to which my Hon. friend, Pandit Kunzru, has already referred. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief must consider the situation as it exists today in the country and the situation as it exists in the Indian Defence Forces. He must have read that officers in the Indian Army, Navy and the Air Force subscribed for the defence of these Indian National Army people. I have come into contact with some people, some young men, who have been released now though they had not joined the Indian National Army, and they are of the opinion that these trials are creating unnecessary bitterness in the country and not only in the country but amongst their ranks too. I, therefore, can give assurance to His Excellency that the discipline of the Army will not in any way be impaired if these trials are withdrawn. If these trials are withdrawn you will be helping, as I said at the beginning of my speech, to create a very good atmosphere, an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill, and you will help the British statesmen in England, if they really and sincerely desire to settle the political issues in India, to find out ways to settle those political issues. Do not attach any more importance to your prestige. You are feeling that you have taken a decision once and therefore it is wrong to revise that decision. You should take into consideration the situation in the country as it is and reconsider that decision. If you do not reconsider that decision then in my opinion—as was expressed in the other House and a reference was made by my friend, Mr. Padshah,—you will be accused of introducing communal differences in the Defence Forces which is a very serious affair. If you withdraw these cases all things will be settled and you will be helping the cause of India's freedom.

Sir, I have to make one more request. If His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief still feels that he is not in a position to review the decision then at least he should ask the Nominated Members not to vote on this Resolution. Sir, I move the Resolution.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** Mr. President, Sir, I won't detain the House for more than a minute or two as I would like only to make one or two remarks.

I would like to express my deep appreciation of the statesmanlike remarks of my friend, the Hon. Pandit Kunzru. This is not the first time by any means that I have had the benefit of his advice which I always consider very valuable. I realise, I think, as well as anybody in this House the state of feeling throughout the country on this matter, how deeply emotion has been stirred and how widespread that emotion is. In fact, I am not sure that we are not in danger of allowing emotion to submerge our sense of oral value.

Well, Sir, nobody again would be more desirous, and can be more desirous, than myself of creating an atmosphere in which the coming negotiations, as a result of which we hope to see India with an autonomous and independent Government of

[H. E. the C.-in-C.]

her own, could take place. Nobody could wish more than I do to see a suitable atmosphere for those negotiations, in which they can take place without bitterness and with co-operation from all sides.

The communal aspect of this question has been mentioned and in fact it has been said not in this House—I do not think—but outside it that I have been influenced by communal motives in regard to the second trial, of Abdul Rashid. Well, Sir, I think Hon. Members will believe me when I say that for many years past it has been one of my primary objects to prevent communalism in the Armed Forces of India, both amongst officers and men, and I have always used all the influence which I can command to ensure that the Indian Army shall be a National Army, that is to say in the real sense of the word representative of the whole of India and I need hardly say, I think, that no communal considerations will weigh with me.

As regards the release of these unfortunate men—and I say that advisedly—I think I have explained that the Government's policy is to release unconditionally and as quickly as possible on the conditions, which I have stated all those who are not guilty of brutality. Again, I say that there is no one who would sooner see an end of this sorry chapter than myself, but, Sir, I am sorry that in spite of these feelings I am unable to accept the Hon. the Mover's request that I should accept his Resolution and the reasons I am unable to accept it I have already explained. If I did accept it I should be failing in my duty and responsibility as Commander-in-Chief to the men under my Command :

**THE HON. THE PRESIDENT :** Resolution moved :—

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the pending trials of the ' Indian National Army ' Officers be withdrawn and the Officers and men of the ' Indian National Army ' be unconditionally released. "

Question put : the Council divided :

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AYES—13.

Ayyangar, Hon. Sir Gopalaawami.  
Buta Singh, Hon. Sir.  
Das, Hon. Mr. N. K.  
Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.  
Kalikar, Hon. Mr. V. V.  
Kunzru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.  
Motilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.  
Padahah Sahib Bahadur, Hon. Saiyed Mohamed.  
Row, Hon. Mr. Thirumals.  
Roy Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Susil Kumar.  
Rup Chand, Ft.-Lieut., the Hon.  
Surput Singh, Hon. Mr.  
Yuveraj Datta Singh, Hon. Raja.

NOES—23.

Assadulla Khan Raisani, Hon. Sardar Bahadur Nawab.  
Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.  
Chinoy, Hon. Sir Rahimtoola.  
Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the.  
Das, Hon. Mr. M. L.  
Devadoss, Hon. Sir David.  
Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.  
Gibbons, Hon. Mr. J. M. B.  
Griffin, Hon. Sir Arthur.  
Hissamuddin Bahadur, Brig. the Hon. Sir.  
Hutton, Lt.-Genl. Hon. Sir Thomas.  
Jones, Hon. Sir Cyril.  
Khare, Hon. Dr. N. B.  
Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.  
Lal, Hon. Mr. Shavax A.  
Mahomed Usman, Hon. Sir.  
Menon, Hon. Sir Ramunni.  
Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.  
Pillai, Hon. Mr. N. R.  
Porter, Hon. Mr. A. E.  
Prior, Hon. Mr. H. C.  
Sobha Singh, Hon. Sardar Bahadur, Sir.  
Yeatts, Hon. Mr. M. W. M.

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The motion was negatived.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 21st February 1946.