

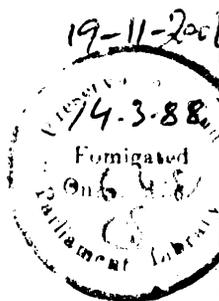
Monday, 5th April, 1937

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME I, 1937

(16th February to 8th April, 1937)

FIRST SESSION
OF THE
FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1937



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Monday, 5th April, 1937.

The Council met in the Council Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the Chairman (Sir Phiroze Sethna), in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS INTO THE INDIAN ARMY.

103. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government be pleased to state whether Government proposes to admit at least five students of the University Training Corps as permanent salaried members of the Indian Army.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. M. MAXWELL (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : No.

RECRUITS FOR THE INDIAN ARMY FROM THE DOMINIONS.

104. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : (a) Is there any proposal to obtain recruits for the Indian Army from the Dominions ? Has any correspondence on this subject passed between Government and the authorities in England ? If so, do Government propose to publish the correspondence in this connection ?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, do Government propose to consult the Central Legislature before any decision is taken in the matter ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. M. MAXWELL (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : There is no such proposal nor has there been any correspondence on the subject. The rest of the question does not therefore arise.

INDO-JAPANESE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS.

105. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Will Government be pleased to state whether it is still their policy that the Indo-Japanese trade negotiations should not be utilized for securing a portion of the carrying trade between India and Japan for non-Indian shipping ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. DOW : With your permission, Sir, I will reply to questions Nos. 105 and 106 together.

The information that Government are at present prepared to make public regarding the course of the Indo-Japanese trade negotiations is contained in the official communiques which have been issued from time to time. Copies of these will be found in the Library.

INDO-JAPANESE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS.

106. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to secure in the Indo-Japanese trade negotiations at present in progress, a portion of the carrying trade between India and Japan for Indian shipping and other advantages and facilities for Indian nationals ?

(See reply to Question No. 105.)

ENQUIRY BY THE IMPERIAL SHIPPING COMMITTEE INTO THE POSITION OF BRITISH SHIPPING IN THE FAR EAST.

107. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Will Government be pleased to state whether the Imperial Shipping Committee has been asked by the British shipping interests to enquire into the position of British shipping in the Far East in which both the Indian commercial and shipping interests are concerned ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. DOW: The enquiry referred to by the Honourable Member is being undertaken by the Imperial Shipping Committee at the request of His Majesty's Government.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN AT THE ENSUING IMPERIAL CONFERENCE FOR THE PURPOSE OF SECURING A SEAT FOR A NON-OFFICIAL INDIAN EXPERIENCED IN SHIPPING ON THE IMPERIAL SHIPPING COMMITTEE.

108. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to take steps at the ensuing Imperial Conference to secure a seat for a non-official Indian experienced in shipping on the Imperial Shipping Committee ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. DOW: The nationalist element on the Imperial Shipping Committee is secured by the nomination of official representatives of the nine principal empire Governments concerned, including India, which is represented by an Indian who is the High Commissioner for India. There are only two non-officials on the Committee who sit as direct representatives of shipping interests, and these are not selected on a national basis but as members expert in the management of shipping. The High Commissioner has already been instructed to see that any claims that an Indian has for selection on this ground are not overlooked at the time such an appointment to the Committee is made.

PALMYRA SUGAR.

109. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) the quantity of palmyra sugar produced in India during each of the last three years ;
- (b) the amount of profits, the factories producing palmyra sugar have made in the last three years ;
- (c) whether the factories producing palmyra sugar are owned by non-Indians ; and
- (d) the reasons for exempting palmyra sugar from excise duty and the amount of revenue lost to Government by such exemption ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) 12,485 tons in 1934 and 8,127 tons in 1935. The production in 1936 is estimated at 10,700 tons.

(b) Government have no information.

(c) Two of the six factories are owned by public companies but managed by European managing agents.

(d) It is apprehended that the imposition of an excise duty on palmyra-sugar might result in the extinction of the industry and throw a large number of workers out of employment. At the rate fixed for excise duty on khand-sari sugar the amount of revenue involved would be about Rs. 2,14,000.

DEATH OF RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA) : Honourable Members, before we commence the business of the day, I would like to refer to the death of Raja Sir Rampal Singh which occurred two days ago at Lucknow and of which we read in yesterday's papers. Raja Sir Rampal Singh was one of the leading figures in the United Provinces. He filled many roles of importance. He was a great business man and an educationist and took a keen interest in politics and in public life. Some of the Honourable Members may remember that as far back as 1916 he was appointed a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He filled that position till 1920 when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms came into existence and when he joined the Council of State. He was a Member of this House from 1920 down to 1933 when he had to retire owing to illness. Raja Sir Rampal Singh was a man with a very distinguished appearance, most courteous and affable and was a gentleman to the manner born. He took part in discussions on subjects of importance and was always listened to with great respect. As a former colleague, it is the duty of this House to convey to the members of his family our sorrow at his demise and I shall do so after the Honourable the Leader of the House has addressed you.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House) : Sir, on my own behalf, on behalf of the House and also on behalf of the non-official Members of the United Provinces, I wish to associate myself with what you have said about the late Raja Sir Rampal Singh. I had known him for a number of years ; he was an old friend of my family. He was one of the most prominent Talukdars of Oudh and not only did he exercise a great influence in his own class but also in the whole province. His discernment and wise counsel were of the greatest use in dealing with provincial problems and it is a matter of the greatest regret that he should have died just when the province could ill-afford to lose a man of his ripe judgment and his knowledge of public affairs. It will indeed be very difficult to fill the gap which his untimely death has left in the province.

BILLS PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON THE TABLE.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL : Sir, in pursuance of rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules, I lay on the table copies of the following Bills which

[Secretary of the Council.]

were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 3rd April, 1937, namely :

A Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, for a certain purpose ; and

A Bill to amend the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, for a certain purpose.

RESOLUTION RE CHECKING OF MALARIA BY INDIGENOUS MANUFACTURE OF QUININE—continued.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): We shall now proceed with the business of the day. The first item is the further discussion on the Resolution * moved on the last occasion by the Honourable Mr. Sapru. The Honourable Mr. Sapru.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I have finished.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): Then we have before us for discussion Mr. Sapru's Resolution. If any Honourable Member desires to speak on it, he will do so.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, the debate was postponed because on that particular day the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition had got up to speak, but unfortunately he is away today. I shall now reply to Mr. Sapru's Resolution. I am very glad that this very important question has again been brought before the House, because there is no difference of opinion that malaria is one of the worst scourges in India, that it takes a heavy toll of life and that its ill-effects are widespread throughout the population. I had stated the position when the question was discussed in Simla last year. The main problems so far as quininisation is concerned is that the price at which quinine can be obtained at present is really too high for the ordinary man to afford. And unless we are able to reduce the price at which quinine can be sold to the people, a wide extension of the use of the drug is not practicable. I think the House will probably be interested to know what the Government of India themselves have done to deal with this very difficult problem. I should like to remind the House that from the 1st of April the question of fixing the price of quinine and its distribution in the provinces is entirely a provincial matter. The Government of India have now no powers in regard to these matters. But realising that this is a question which extends beyond provincial boundaries and that the Centre cannot dissociate itself from a problem of this magnitude, in anticipation of this the Government of India decided, as Honourable Members know, to form a Central Board of Health in order to co-ordinate provincial activities. And this is one of the questions which we hope to take up when the Board meets in Simla about the end of May. This will be one of the important items which we shall place before the Board in order that we may be able to co-ordinate measures to deal with this very important question. Apart from that, Honourable Members probably know that in the year 1935 the Government of India made a free grant to the provinces of

* "This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to take steps to check malaria particularly by encouraging the indigenous manufacture of quinine and its distribution at rates within the means of the rural classes".

45,000 lbs. of quinine, that they maintain through the Research Fund Association the Malaria Survey of India at a cost of about Rs. 2 lakhs a year, the object of which, apart from research, is to train public health officers to deal with malaria. Honourable Members also probably know that the Government of India made a grant in 1936 of Rs. 10 lakhs to the Research Fund Association mainly for the purpose of the prevention and cure of malaria. Honourable Members are also probably aware that the Government of India have taken up the question of the prevention of malaria in the Delhi Province. Stringent measures were taken last year to control malaria in Old and New Delhi. We spent over Rs. 70,000 in temporary measures and the Government of India made a grant of over Rs. 14 lakhs for permanent measures to deal with malaria. Grants have also been made to the rural areas, that is to say, the villages which form part of the Province of Delhi. I hope, therefore, that Honourable Members will recognise that the Government of India are fully alive to the urgent need for dealing with this problem. They have taken active measures for controlling this problem in the Imperial Capital and its surrounding areas and a good deal has already been done in the provinces, though it is recognised that a great deal more has to be done, and when the Central Board of Health meets we propose to take up this question in consultation with the provinces with whom now rests the power of executive action. I hope, in view of what I have said, my Honourable friend will not consider it necessary to press his Resolution to a division.

*THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated: Indian Christians): Sir, I wish to make only one or two observations. It is a pity my friend, Sir Nasarvanji Choksy, who is a great authority on quinine is not here. What I suggest is this, that if the price of quinine cannot be brought down to a level which would really be within the reach of ordinary people would the Government try and find out some substitute for it? It is a common belief that *neem* or what is called *margosia religiosa*—that the sap of this tree would be a fairly good, if not an efficient, substitute. I would therefore suggest, Sir, that the Government should try its best through its research department to find out some substitute which would be cheaper than quinine but which would at the same time have the effects of quinine. *Margosia religiosa* is said to be one. I do not know whether the research department of the Government of India or the Agricultural Research Department has devoted any attention to it? I think this is a suggestion which I hope the Government will be pleased to adopt.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Sir, I am thankful to the Honourable the Leader of the House for his sympathetic reply. There is no difference of opinion between him and us on the point that malaria is one of the worst scourges in India. So far as quininisation is concerned he has pointed out that the real difficulty is that the price of quinine is too high. I am glad, Sir, that Sir David Devadoss has suggested that we should try and find out if quinine can be replaced by some other medicine. I believe, Sir, that there are substitutes for quinine.

Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the House has assured us that this question will be taken up by the Central Advisory Board of Health. I happen to be, Sir, the representative of the House on that Board and I shall have an opportunity on that Board of discussing this matter. In view, Sir, of the assurance that the Honourable the Leader of the House has given us that this

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

matter will be taken up by the Board of Health, I would beg leave of the House to withdraw this Resolution.

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

RESOLUTION RE EXCLUSION OF NON-INDIANS FROM APPOINTMENT TO COMMITTEES.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU (Madras : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in future no non-Indian except those who are in the service of the Crown in India be appointed on a committee appointed by the Government of India".

Sir, the idea of tabling a Resolution of this nature first occurred to me while I was listening to the Commerce Member's speeches in this and the other House in defence of the all-white personnel of the now famous Wedgwood Committee appointed to enquire into the working of our Railways. The impression I gathered from the arguments urged by the Commerce Member was that the sentiments or wishes of the people of India had no place whatever in the Government of India making its choice of the experts whose advice they desire to obtain on matters relating to the administration of the affairs of this country. The Government holds that it is free to bring out to India, at the Indian taxpayers' cost an expert from any part of the British Empire, not only from Great Britain but also from the dominions and colonies, no matter even if the dominion or the colony from which the expert is imported is openly pledged to a policy of evicting Indians from its territory and has nothing but contempt for India and her people. This attitude of the Government of India in determining the personnel of its committees found its most aggressive manifestation in the appointment of a South African expert on the Railway Enquiry Committee from which Indians were totally excluded—

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THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: Sir, may I explain that Mr. Cheedle is an Englishman. I understand that he went to South Africa during the South African War in the Imperial Yeomanry and actually fought against the South Africans. As far as I know, he is still an Englishman.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: I am not re-opening the question of the personnel of Wedgwood Committee. I am urging its all non-Indian character as a particular ground in support of my Resolution.

Now, Sir, the relations of that country with India, constitute the saddest commentary on the British imperialist policy towards the non-white races of the Empire. There never has been any attempt on the part of the Government of South Africa to conceal the fact that its avowed policy is to make the life of the Indian in that Dominion so intolerable as to compel him to leave that country. The other day the attention of this House was drawn to the reply which the South African Union Minister for Agriculture gave to a deputation of Indians in connection with the Marketing Bill which seriously affects the economic future of the Indian community. The Minister is reported to have said to the deputation:

"Gentlemen, you must realise that you Indians in South Africa will ever be a *tragic* community because of the temper and temperament of the people of South Africa. We have that temper and temperament because we are determined to keep this a white man's country".

Note the word "determined". It is to a country with the determination to exterminate the Indians from its soil that the Government of India goes to obtain its supply of an adviser to promote Indian interests. Can any one believe that it is an honest method of constituting committees of enquiry into matters relating to the administration of India? Railways are an important branch of the administration. Can insult to Indian temper and temperament be more deliberate or take a more aggravated form? Even if the South African in question was the best railway expert in the world, no Government which has the slightest regard for the wishes or the sentiments of the people over whom it rules, will stoop to perpetuate such an outrage on the public opinion of the country it governs. The real position is this. The India Government's "determination", to use the word of the South African Minister, to govern India not only in accordance with the wishes of the vested interests of Great Britain but with the help, guidance and even concurrence of the dominions and colonies as well. So Indians are a tragic community not only in South Africa, as the Union Minister said, but they are a tragic community in the whole of the British Empire including their own Motherland of India. This tragic fact must be patent to any casual observer of the way in which India is governed.

If the Wedgwood Committee had been a solitary instance, which is the outcome of some special circumstances or considerations, it would not have been necessary to labour the point at such length or with so much insistence. But the old policy of appointing mixed committees, with Britishers and Indians to collaborate in the investigation of matters of vital importance to India and her people, seems to have given place to a new policy of excluding Indians altogether from such committees. Some years ago, there was no attempt to exclude Indians from important committees and commissions. Take, for instance, the Inchcape Committee, the Linlithgow Commission, the Whitely Commission and the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, to name only a few. During the period when Sir Basil Blackett and Sir George Schuster held the office of the Finance Member of the Government of India, several committees to conduct important enquiries were appointed by the Government. Those committees were invariably composed of Indians in large proportions with some non-Indian experts included in them. In Sir George Schuster's time a number of committees were appointed to examine the scope for retrenchment in the several departments of the Government of India. They were mostly composed of Indians with an Indian as chairman in many cases. That policy was evidently the outcome of a desire on the part of the Government to inspire confidence in the minds of Indians in the committees and their recommendations.

That attitude and outlook of the Government of India have undergone a most regrettable change in recent years. Ever since Sir James Grigg set his foot on the soil of India, the Government, of which he became a member seem to have suddenly lost their faith in the capacity of Indians even to advise the Government on questions which had to be entrusted to committees of enquiry. Sir James and his Government seem to have exclusive faith only in white humanity and none in the black or brown variety. So they have come to disbelieve of late in the utility of including Indian experts or Indian publicists in committees as members thereof. On every conceivable subject which concerns any aspect of the life of the people of India—be it fiscal, financial, economic, scientific or educational—the Government has come to believe that the advice of a non-Indian expert from England or her dominions was indispensable and that such opinion should be obtained without the taint of that expert being associated with an Indian colleague. Instances of this nature

[Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.]

have become so numerous that it is not possible to remember them all without some amount of study and reference to records. But it will be sufficient to mention about half a dozen of them. The following experts to whom very important enquiries were entrusted were all foreigners and were not associated with Indians as colleagues to collaborate in any of their enquiries :

1. The financial expert who conducted the enquiry for the allocation of certain sources of revenue between the Centre and the provinces, —Sir Otto Neimeyer.
2. The two statistical experts who laid down how an economic enquiry in India should be conducted and how statistics should be prepared for the purpose,—Professor Robertson and Mr. Bowley.
3. The two experts who advised the Government on Indian educational problems.
4. The two experts who looked into our Income-tax system.
5. The three experts who conducted the enquiry into the working of our Railways and who have gone to England to draft their report which is awaited by expectant Indian taxpayers.
6. The two agricultural experts who are reviewing the scientific activities of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

I leave out the broadcasting expert and other miscellaneous experts.

With the exception of the statistical experts all the others were brought out to India in the calendar year 1936. What did they cost India ? According to a statement recently laid on the table of the Assembly the financial expert cost us Rs. 12,000, the two educational experts Rs. 39,000, the three railway experts Rs. 2,22,500, the two agricultural experts Rs. 80,000. The broadcasting and other miscellaneous experts perhaps a further sum of about Rs. 10,000. Figures for the cost of the income-tax experts and the two statistical experts are not available to me.

It is futile to expect any one in this country, to whatever political party he may belong, to have confidence in the investigation thus conducted solely by non-Indians or to acquiesce in the recommendations of committees from which Indians are wholly excluded. It is surprising to find that the Government of India has not benefited by the experience it had of the fate which the much advertised Simon Commission met with in this country. That Commission in which not a single Indian was included professed to have come out to this country to discharge the most altruistic mission of evolving for India a most suitable constitution which will ensure to her people genuine responsible government. But naturally no self-respecting Indian touched it with a pair of tongs, nay not even approached it. The ideology underlying the all-white-and-no-Indian type of committees is evidently this. The Indians as such have no right to determine how they should be governed or how any branch of the administration should be run. Their right ends with submitting their requests to British experts who are to recommend what is best for India and her people to the British master with whom the decision rests. This ideology of the Simon Commission had its recrudescence in the last two years, when India had been insisting on self-determination and refusing to accept the new constitution imposed on her by an external authority. It is evidently an answer and a reminder to them of the true place which Indian opinion occupy in the governance of this country.

Hitherto Indians were content to have problems affecting their country and which require solution investigated by mixed committees of Indians and non-Indians. They are no longer willing to do so. The new constitution and the recent policy of the Government of India of entrusting almost all important enquiries to foreigners has completely destroyed the faith of Indians in the impartiality and utility of investigations even by mixed committees. Hence my demand that all future enquiries should be conducted by all-Indian-and-no-white type of committees.

It will be found from the wording of my Resolution that I have made one exception in regard to inclusion of non-Indians in the committees appointed by the Government. That exception is in favour of British experts who are in the service of the Crown in India like my Honourable friends on the Treasury Bench. They have acquired experience and knowledge of Indian affairs and problems in the course of the discharge of their official duties for which they were paid by the Indian taxpayer, who has therefore the right to expect them to place such knowledge and experience at his disposal, when called upon to serve on any committee. They will be in the committee as our official experts whom we have a right to expect to keep our interests in the forefront. Their case therefore stands on a very different footing from that of the other non-Indians whether residing in India or the other parts of the British Empire. While such non-Indians will have undoubtedly the right to urge their special claims, rights and privileges on the Government and safeguard their interests where they conflict with those of Indians, they have no *locus standi* to claim the right to enquire into what is good or necessary for India. It is the business of Indians and Indians alone. After all the recommendations of most committees are only advisory. Even in that sphere of advisory functions why should not Indians have the right to ascertain by enquiries conducted by themselves what is best for them and advise the Government accordingly.

The struggle for India's political and economic struggle has reached a stage in which she is no longer in a mood to rely on foreign advice as to what is good for her and the children of her soil. In the investigation of any of her problems and in advising the Government of India in regard to the right solution of those problems Indians claim an exclusive right. An attempt to solve such problems on the advice of foreigners is an anachronism and political heresy. No one whose political and economic interests are not identical with those of Indians has a right to serve on any Committee to which any question affecting the welfare of the people of India is entrusted for enquiry and report. Committees composed of non-Indians will no longer command the confidence of Indians. We are unequivocally pledged to self-determination. I hope that my non-Indian colleagues in this House will be able to appreciate and understand the Indian view point.

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

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): A notice of amendment has been received from the Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha which does not comply with the rule which lays down that a notice of amendment should be sent in two days in advance. However, if the Government Member in charge, who in this case is the Leader of the House has no objection and if the Chair desires to waive Standing Order 64, it can do so. • In view of this, I allow the amendment and call upon the Honourable Mr. Mahtha to address the House.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. Chairman, I am very thankful to you and the Leader of the House for having waived the technical objection to which my amendment was subject on account of the very short notice I gave.

Sir, I move :

"That for all the words appearing after the words 'in future', the following be substituted, namely :

Committees appointed by the Government of India should always have a majority of non-official Indians".

The amended Resolution would read as follows :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in future committees appointed by the Government of India should always have a majority of non-official Indians".

From the scope of my amendment, I hope it is clear that it is out of no antagonism to the underlying object of the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu that I have moved my amendment. In fact, I fully sympathise with what he said to be the grievance and aspiration of Indians. I am as strong an advocate of "India for the Indians" as Mr. Ramadas Pantulu would wish me to be ; but in achieving my ideal and in adhering to it, I want to be careful and fair. Nationalism when it is overstressed takes the form of Fascism. I feel sure that none would be more sorry than the Mover of the Resolution if our nationalism and love for India narrows down into intolerance for non-Indians. Let us not be oblivious of the fact that there are non-Indians in this land who have earned a status in this country by gaining entry into the learned professions of law, medicine, engineering, etc., who have acquired a stake in the country by sinking their capital according to the prevalent laws of the land in big industries, agricultural, commercial and banking concerns. While I fully recognise that the Indian in his own land shall preponderate, that he shall dominate all other shades of interests, I do not think it is fair to demand that none except the Indian shall be heard or that the Indian, notwithstanding the complex character of our social and economic fabric, shall rule *ex parte*. I have stated above the undisputed fact that a huge amount of foreign capital has been sunk in this land. I say we are not happy at this. We are painfully sorry at having been brought under the sway of the foreign capitalist. But there it is. Then, Sir, a large number of foreigners are in the services in this unhappy land, in the army and in the civil services, and also holding posts in Indian firms and States. I do recognise that this is what the Indian economist deplores and the Indian politician wants to remedy, and rightly so. We do want to throw away our subjection to foreign capital and exploitation. But while we want to fight, we want to be unfair to none. I would not wish to see the day when the Indian politician would say to the foreigner, "Well, although you are in India, you have opened a shop here in which you have sunk your capital, or you are a skilled artisan or mechanic and want to earn a living here by fair means and in fair competition, or although you are one who has settled down here to agriculture, plantation and mining I shall not hear you, I shall not look into your viewpoints, because, pray, don't forget, you are not an Indian ; you are a Britisher, you are a Chinese, you are a Burman". I shall be very sorry to see him talk to the non-Indian in the same strain as the Union Minister of the South African Government talked to the deputation of the South African Congress recently—a talk which was the subject-matter of interpellation in this House the other day.

Therefore, Sir, I urge that whereas it is perfectly reasonable to ask that the Indian non-official element shall preponderate in the personnel of all committees appointed by the Government of India to examine our economic

and political problems and to report on them, there should be no insistence on excluding the non-Indian altogether from being taken in to serve on the committees—either as an expert or as a lay member—merely because he is a non-Indian. At a time when India is gradually gaining her nationhood, when she is preparing to untie her shackles, I would not like her to imbibe or develop on lines of exclusivism.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform which died the other day “unwept, unhonoured and unsung” and the new Government of India Act that was ushered into life in its place, both, let me point out, show at least the fairness of enfranchising non-Indians living in this country if they are otherwise qualified. A Muhammadan, if he is otherwise qualified, of whatever race or nationality he may be, can legitimately get enrolled in the Muhammadan constituencies. Similarly, others of whatever nationality or race, if they are otherwise qualified have a right to be voters in the general non-Muhammadan constituencies. The same applies to special constituencies as well, like landholders’, planting, mining, university, etc., besides there having been created constituencies exclusively for Anglo-Indians and Europeans. In my own constituency which is a general non-Muhammadan constituency, there are about 250 European and Anglo-Indian voters—everyone of whom if elected has a right to represent the constituency in the same way as I do today. I put it to you, Sir, and through you, Sir, to the House whether it would be fair to exclude such a representative from the possibility of his being chosen to work on a committee on the ground of his foreign nationality, if he is otherwise likely to prove helpful to the task before the committee. We have in this House as Members, the Honourable Mr. Parker and the Honourable Mr. Reid Kay, who are elected Members of this House, elected by the Bombay and the Bengal Chambers of Commerce. If the Resolution without my amendment is passed, then it will not be possible to appoint even such elected representatives to committees although they are the acknowledged and chosen representatives of particular interests.

When I have said all this I would not like the central fact to be lost sight of, even for a moment, *viz.*, that in this land of ours we shall not allow our interests to be subordinated to those of others. Committees are appointed to investigate and bring to light facts and factors relating to important problems which need careful shifting and weighing, and finally to offer recommendations which give the lead both to the executive authority and legislatures of the land. A work of this nature is certainly of vital consequence and deserves our fullest attention. I submit, therefore, that the personnel of the committees should always be such that its concern and outlook does not get clouded in balancing all reasonable counterclaims before it and the Indian viewpoint is not allowed unduly to be subordinated to those of any other. I suggest, therefore, that the committees should always have a majority of non-official Indians on them, who are likely to share our sympathies, needs and aspirations. I do not think I need many arguments to support my demand, for what arguments are needed after all to show that the Indian has the legitimate right to full and unfettered scope of being the arbiter in his own land. My amendment, Sir, seeks to relieve the original Resolution of its exclusiveness and to impart usefulness and workability to it. I may also point out, Sir, that if the Resolution is accepted as it is without my amendment it will prove to be our own handicap, if some day we want to appoint a foreign expert or adviser on any committee. There is nothing wrong in inviting a foreign expert or adviser if we stand to gain by his expert knowledge. Having said that to the Mover of the Resolution, I would say to Government, Sir, that in accepting the amended Resolution there need be no fear that a serious

[Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.]

jeopardy will ensue. Committees, after all, have only power to examine and report. They cannot legislate or pass executive orders. Their reports are presented to Government for action as they may deem fit to take on them. If Government have no desire to subterfuge why should they fear the appointment of committees of the type we want? We are only stating axiomatic truths when we say that no committees that have not a majority of non-official Indians on them can assess facts and report on them in a manner which would carry with it the confidence of the people.

I have dealt with the question only on its broader aspects. I do not propose to take up individual committees so far appointed and try to argue one way or the other on the strength of individual names, nor do I think, Sir, it is necessary in the present instance to do so. I have stated my case detached from personalities. I trust, Sir, that both the Mover of the Resolution and the Government will accept my viewpoint and accept the amended Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): Both the Resolution and the amendment are before the House for discussion.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIB JAGDISH PRASAD: I think it will perhaps facilitate discussion if the Honourable Mover of the Resolution will say at this stage whether he is prepared to accept the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: If the Government say it is prepared to accept the Resolution as amended, then I will say what I intend to do; not otherwise.

***THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhamadan):** Mr. President, I rise to support the amendment moved by my friend Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. Just as our Honourable colleague Mr. Ramadas Pantulu has pointed out, if the Government had given us an indication of their views, it would have much facilitated the debate. If the Government wish to keep us in the dark and be always accusing us, it does not matter. We shall proceed accordingly. The Resolution, as the Honourable Mover has shown, was moved primarily because of the exclusive nature which the Government has disclosed during recent times in appointing committees. It is in a measure a protest against the past actions of the Government. Whereas the amendment which my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha has moved lays down a general principle which should not only be acceptable but I think should have been accepted, even without moving, by the Government.

Sir, let us consider whether it is unjust of Indians to demand to have a share and to have a say in matters which concern them primarily. We all know, Sir, that the present Government of India Act has not transferred powers to us. The powers to all intents and purposes are centred in the hands of the Secretary of State. I do not blame the Government of India because they are a subordinate organisation of the British Parliamentary Secretariat. Taking that in view, what is the status of the committees that you appoint? They are merely advisory bodies. The executive function centres in an authority outside it. Therefore what we demand, Sir, as a matter of right and justice is that we should be allowed to tell you what is our

* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

opinion. At the present moment, the trouble is that the Government do not happen to know what India wants. They are more or less speculations. You have speeches from the Opposition Benches urging a certain point of view. The Government spokesman repudiates it, saying that it is not the general opinion of the country or it is not in the interests of India at large. Well, in a legislative debate you can have nothing more than this. It is only when you have committees who take evidence from all sides, who weigh questions on their merits, that you can come to a definite conclusion. Now, the idea which I wish to achieve is that the Government of India should know the true feelings of India and of its sons placed before them in a logical manner and with facts and proofs. It is not an unnatural desire that this should be the case. The only objection that the Government can raise to the other point of view is that it is not possible to have expert advice from a nation which has no experience of the management of things, a nation which has been deliberately kept in a state of minority cannot very well function as advisers to the guardians. I desire, Sir, to admit that there is force in this argument. We have been for so long excluded from every useful executive function that the Government has some right to tell us that we have not the necessary qualification. But may I ask, Sir, whether the blame lies with Indian intellect or Indian calibre, or with your own action? Is it not like a vicious circle, that you begin at one place and go on moving round and round? We think you are not prepared to assume responsibility, we will keep you in a minority administration, with the result that you can never come up to this standard. A better method for the Government would be, if they find that it is impossible to create experts inside the country, would be to have some sort of protection; and just as we are now manufacturing industrial goods because of the discriminating protection, we might also try to produce experts.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: Manufacture them!

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: I will tell you how. You have the biggest State-owned railway system in the world. No other State—barring perhaps Soviet Russia—has more railways under its control than the Government of India and its Railway Board. Now that Railway Board is not able to produce an expert. Whereas small railway systems in other countries can produce experts whose view would be entitled to great respect. Now, is it not possible to arrange for our railway officials and those non-officials who are interested in railways to go on a trip to other countries to see how the railways are being worked there and to learn whatever there is to learn? Similarly, in regard to the other activities of the Government departments. If you send your officials and those whom you think capable of acquiring knowledge to go and find out what is the system prevailing in other countries, you can manufacture, as Sir David Devadoss put it, experts in India.

Another thing, Sir, is that the committee, if they have not a predominantly Indian outlook, may miss many of the points which ought to have been urged before the Government. Well, Sir, I am not a wholesale admirer or condemner of expert committees. There are certain expert committees which have done very well. For instance, the Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell called in Mr. Pope, and he had some advisers from the Railways. He did wonderful work. We have no complaint against him. Mr. Nixon's Department appointed the Income-tax Inquiry Committee, which has done very good work. But that does not mean that every time we will be as fortunate as we were in this case. It is quite possible that our point of view may not be sufficiently urged before committees, because committees tour and get

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

evidence under the guidance of the departments concerned. Those departments being irresponsible, and sometimes irresponsive, you cannot have a guarantee that outside influences, I mean non-official opinion, will be urged with the same force before these outside committees as would be done with a committee which had a predominantly Indian majority. Because, Sir, if you had a non-official Indian majority the people on the committee would themselves know something about the matter. They will know the opinion of the people and they can, if they so desire, get the evidence from people who are supposed to know the facts of the question. If there was a commercial question, they would first of all call the evidence of the Federated Chambers of Commerce. But if it is a committee exclusively of outside experts it will know nothing about the Indian people who are capable of giving evidence. So it is in the interests of the Government itself that we should constitute committees of the nature which the amendment has suggested. The Government does not lose anything. Their liberty of action remains but at the same time they give consolation to the non-officials that their views are heard. Our complaint at the present moment is that, let alone acting according to our advice (that is a long way off), the Government do not even wish to acquaint themselves with the opinions of non-officials. Therefore, Sir, I support the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan) : Sir, I think that the question put to the Honourable the Mover by the Leader of the House, no doubt by implication shows that if the Honourable Mover would have accepted the amendment, in all probability the Government would have also accepted it. I am quite sure that the Honourable the Leader of the House cannot be so unreasonable as to ask his opponent to accept an amendment while he himself is prepared to oppose it. But, as usual, my Honourable friend the Mover attached a condition. No doubt the condition is not so impossible as

12 Noon.

some of the other conditions attached by the Congress. The answer also, by implication, admits that if the Government accept the amendment, he is also prepared to accept the amendment and move his Resolution as amended. If that is so, then there is no difficulty at all. The Honourable the Mover of the amendment, a member of my Party, has come in between the two. I think it is only fair that an amendment which is really very reasonable and fair both to Indians and non-Indians ought really to be accepted. No doubt, India, at its present stage, whether the fault is that of the Government or of the people themselves, requires the assistance of a good many foreign experts. We cannot with justification exclude foreigners from committees or institutions where expert knowledge and help is necessary. I do not like to say much, particularly in the atmosphere created by the question of the Honourable the Leader of the House. I also ask other members of my Party if they have to say anything, to say it in such a manner as not to excite the opposition of the Honourable Members on the other side, who, as the House is composed, can easily reject the Resolution and the amendment as a whole. I hope Honourable Members on the other side will see their way to vote for the amendment on its merits.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I may say at once that as between the Resolution and the amendment, I prefer the amendment, and therefore I shall support the amendment. The immediate provocation for the Resolution of the Honourable Mr. Pantulu is the composition of the Wedgwood Committee.

That Committee consisted entirely of foreign experts, and we registered our protest against it in our speeches on the Railway Budget. The Honourable Mr. Pantulu referred to the fact that one of the members of that Committee is a South African gentleman—

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU : I am corrected.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : The Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell says that in point of fact he is not a South African. Am I right in assuming that he is a South African official ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : He is an official of the South African Railways.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Are Railways State property there ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : I believe so, yes.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Therefore, Sir, I am right in saying that he is a South African official. May I take it that Sir Guthrie Russell has any hope that the South African Government, which is not very friendly to the Indian settlers in South Africa, will ever care to have the services, for any investigation there, of, say, Sir Raghavendra Rao ? I doubt whether they would care to have the services even of our esteemed Railway Commissioner, Sir Guthrie Russell. But I am positive that they will never dream of having Sir Raghavendra Rao for expert assistance in South Africa ! We have therefore to look at the question from the sentimental point of view.

I think the Honourable Mr. Pantulu was right in saying that in recent years there has been a tendency to appoint committees which are exclusively non-Indian. I may say that I am not opposed to foreign experts. I think that the foreign expert, on occasions, can bring to bear upon his task a broader outlook, a broader vision. I should be sorry if we excluded foreign experts altogether. I can give you the names of certain foreign experts who were really very, very good. There is the example of the Sadler Commission. We had as Chairman of the Sadler Commission, Sir Michael Sadler, who was one of the most distinguished educationists in England. Then, the Government of India some years ago got here Sir Arthur Salter, and he gave a most excellent report on the necessity for an Economic Advisory Council. My objection, therefore, to the Resolution is that it would exclude this class of foreign expert altogether. I think the foreign expert has a place in a country, situated as India is. I cannot approve of the language of Mr. Pantulu's Resolution. It would exclude all British professional men and British commercial men from committees appointed in India. If you are prepared to make an exception in the case of British civil servants, then you should be prepared to make an exception in the case of British professional and commercial men also. Supposing a committee was going to be constituted to enquire into the question of medical education or legal education. Would it be right to exclude eminent leaders of the medical profession or of the legal profession, who happen to be Britishers from it ? Mr. Pantulu has overlooked these facts. I am not prepared for this reason to support the Resolution in its present form. The case for the amendment has been very ably put by my Honourable friend, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. He says, "Have foreign experts by all means, but give the Indians a majority in the committees

[Mr. P. N. Saprū.]

that you constitute. If Indians are not appointed in a majority on committees, then we cannot be certain that the Indian point of view will not be ignored by the committee". Foreign experts, when they come out, easily fall victims to their surroundings. They very often are inclined to take the British point of view if they are Britishers—and they are invariably Britishers. The value of mixed committees is this, that Indians in these committees get a chance of creating an impression on their British colleagues. Indians act as a check upon the very natural tendency of British experts to attach too much importance to the official point of view. I think, having regard to the fact that the committees that you are going to set up are intended to be for the benefit of this country, it is right and proper that Indians should claim and that you should recognise that claim that Indians should be in a majority on these committees.

Sir, with these words I would support the amendment of the Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : I may at once say that I am going to be very brief in my observations. All that I wish to say is that although I am in accord with the underlying motive of this Resolution, I feel that I shall not be justified in accepting it as it is worded, and that for the reason that the language in which the Resolution is couched would seem to exclude various classes of persons whom it will be neither fair nor prudent to keep out from these committees. As has been observed by the Honourable Mover of the amendment, one of the effects of the acceptance of this suggestion would be to deny to the non-official non-Indian Members of the Legislature the right which they all have of being members of such committees and of taking part in inquiries of this kind. Besides such Members of the Legislature there might be a number of individuals in the country who might happen to be non-Indians but who despite that might have lived here long enough and acquired experience which it would not be prudent on our part to deny to such committees as are appointed for special purposes, where expert knowledge and ripe and practical experience are of such great importance. But I am sure these implications were not aimed at by the Honourable mover. I am sure nothing was further from the thoughts of the Honourable Mr. Pantulu than to exclude from such committees esteemed friends of ours like the Honourable Mr. Parker and such like. I am sure in drafting the Resolution, if there has not been such felicity of expression as there might have been and of which Honourable Mr. Pantulu is perfectly capable, it was on account of the indignation which he felt owing to the tendency manifest these last two or three years on the part of the Government in selecting the personnel of special committees. I think he had sufficient excuse for the way in which he allowed himself to be carried away by his emotions. It was certainly unfair on the part of the Government to have appointed committee after committee on which they took care to see that there was no Indian at all. One feels at a loss to know why the Government deliberately kept out Indians from such committees, when Indians have been freely admitted to such important bodies as the Round Table Conference and so forth. It might be that the Government thought that Indians had not the kind of experience that was necessary for purposes of these special committees but, even if they had not the special kind of experience required, I am sure they would have been useful in bringing to the deliberations of the committees matters of no small importance which are within the peculiar knowledge only of the people of this country.

They would have brought to light the special interests of India and of the Indian people. They would have urged on the committees the necessity of keeping always in view the interests of the country and of the children of the soil. So, for all these reasons Government would have done better if they had taken care not to keep out Indians from such committees. As has been pointed out by the Honourable Mr. Pantulu, these committees are appointed not only for the purpose of coming to some definite conclusions about the subjects of inquiry, but also to satisfy the public that everything possible is being done by the Government to advance the interests of the Indian people. And if that is the object of the Government, nothing is so important as to see that everything possible is done to inspire confidence in the minds of the Indian people, both as regards the personnel and as regards their recommendations. The recommendations of such committees are intended to be put into effect, and if they are, Government have to ensure that they are acceptable to the people at large; and for this reason alone it is very important that Indians should find a place in all such committees and that both the Indian element and Indian interests should predominate on those committees.

With these words, Sir, I support the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member): After my Honourable friend Mr. Pantulu had spoken I put a straight question to my Honourable friend and his reply was that his decision would depend on something that the Government would say to him in reply. I should have thought, Sir, that he would have judged the amendment on its merits, that he of all persons would not have based his final decision on what the Government would or would not do. And I think if he had accepted my suggestion to come to a decision immediately he would perhaps have been saved the embarrassment of all the Members sitting behind him tearing his Resolution to pieces and making my task all the easier.

As the debate has ranged over a wide field I hope the House will not consider that I am at all disrespectful if I confine myself strictly to the terms of the Resolution and to the amendment which is before us. I do not propose to discuss whether it was right or it was not right that the Simon Commission should have been constituted as it was. I may remind my Honourable friend Mr. Pantulu that the Simon Commission was not appointed, in any case, by the Government of India, and we are here concerned this morning with committees appointed by the Government of India. The same reply will cover the appointment of Sir Otto Neimeyer, who was appointed by the Secretary of State and not by the Government of India. I think Honourable Members have laid their finger on the right spot when they have said that the Honourable Mr. Pantulu was provoked into drafting this Resolution because of the personnel of the Wedgwood Committee. If that Committee had not included a servant of the South African Government, perhaps we should not have had this very interesting discussion this morning. As pointed out by the Chief Commissioner of Railways, the South African representative happens to be an Englishman. It is true that he is a servant of the South African Government, but he does not happen to be a South African. I do not think even Mr. Pantulu would in his calmer moments exclude all South Africans from assisting India, if he was certain that a particular South African was not objectionable on other grounds. I could mention for instance the name of a very eminent South African who has been of the greatest assistance to us throughout the recent delicate negotiations and I think it is wrong to say that no South African or no man of any other country should in any possible circumstances be appointed, because there you will again be laying down a racial bar against which we have

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

been struggling so hard and so insistently. We would practically be doing the same thing about which we accuse the South African Government at the present moment. Now, Sir, what is the Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Pantulu? He does not object to mixed committees, so long as the non-Indian element is in the service of the Crown. My Honourable friend Mr. Sapru has already pointed out that if you have in India an eminent non-official—he has mentioned my Honourable friend Mr. Parker—or other non-official Europeans, if they can assist us, why should we not seek their assistance? I entirely agree with Mr. Sapru and I therefore do not wish to elaborate that side of the argument any further. Though the Resolution referred only to committees, my Honourable friend included within its scope experts and he criticised the appointment of a certain number of experts in recent years. Now, Sir, I will take up the question of the educational experts. My Honourable friends are perhaps aware that a definite recommendation that educational experts should be brought out from abroad was that of that very distinguished statesman and man of public affairs, the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. His recommendation that we should take advice from people from outside in regard to the system of secondary education in India was considered by the Central Board of Education on which were represented some of the most eminent educationists, Indian, largely Indian, and European, in India; and the suggestion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was unanimously accepted by the Central Board of Education. We consulted then the Local Governments and bar one I think all Local Governments accepted the suggestion that we should have the advice of educational experts from outside. I think some Honourable Members on the other side themselves have admitted that, apart from education, in regard to other matters, seeking advice of people from outside, provided that they are experts, provided that they can give advice which is not available to us in this country, should not be barred. In India it would I think be a great misfortune if we were to lay down that in seeking advice we should not go outside this country even if we were satisfied that the advice that we would get from outside would help us in making an advance in any particular branch of administration or science. I think at this moment we should seek from all over all the best advice we can get in order to make the advance here more rapid than it is at present, that we should not shut out from ourselves the knowledge that is easily available outside India. I think that so far as the Resolution is concerned—I think I am correct in saying—that Mr. Pantulu has so far found no supporter for the Resolution as it has been placed before the House.

Now, I come to the amendment and I should like to emphasise what the amendment says. There is no question of European or Indian; the question is between official and non-official. The amendment says that on every committee there shall be a majority of non-official Indians. It does not matter what the object of the committee is, whether it is a technical committee or whether it is a committee dealing with highly scientific questions. What my Honourable friend wants is that on every committee when it comes to a question between the official and the non-official, he would prefer the non-official Indian as even against the official Indian. Now, Sir, we have recently had to appoint a certain number of committees and I should like the House to consider that if we had been bound by the terms of the amendment what would have been our position? We had recently a committee to go into the question of anti-malaria measures in Delhi. Naturally we tried to select the best experts in malaria and it so happened that they were largely officials. We had another committee to go into the question of the Delhi Sewage Disposal Enquiry and

there again a large number of officials had to be employed. We had the Quetta Reconstruction Committee, whose object was to examine and co-ordinate the requirements of the Departments of the Government of India concerned in the reconstruction of Quetta. Does my Honourable friend suggest that on a committee of that kind we could have had a majority of non-officials? Then we had other committees. The object of a committee is that it should be able—Honourable Members have already said that if the committees are advisory—the object of a committee is to be able to tender the best advice and in selecting our advisers surely there should not be any distinction as to whether the advisers are officials or non-officials? The criterion should be: who are the best advisers? If on a particular point, in regard to a particular subject, the best advisers happen to be Indian officials, I do not see why we should lay down that we should go to a non-official who knows nothing about the subject in preference to an official who is master of it and on which we want advice. I hope I have made out—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA: May I point out, Sir, that my amendment allows the Government of India to appoint all the experts and all the foreigners they want, but only insists on a majority of non-official Indians?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: I have said so. I have said that the distinction is between the non-official and the official. What my Honourable friend says is that on a question on which we want advice, it does not matter whether the non-official knows the subject or not, you must put him in a majority, and then expect the Government and the public to receive the advice of this particular committee with all—shall I say—disdain or approval which it deserves. Surely if you are going to the expense of appointing a committee, you must have some regard to the subject with which the committee is dealing and if you find in regard to that particular subject that the officials are likely to give you the best advice, I see no reason why you should insist on a non-official Indian majority on that particular committee. I think, Sir, I may say at once that naturally the Government of India would desire when they appoint a committee that they should have the best advice, that naturally they would require that non-official views, where those views have to be ascertained, should be ascertained: that there is no desire on the part of the Government of India to confine all committees purely to officials on the ground that in no circumstances can non-officials give proper advice; and to illustrate my point here I would refer to the Income-tax Committee, about which Mr. Hossain Imam said that the report was excellent, that it was a committee in which he had full confidence and on that committee we had two people from outside and a very distinguished Income-tax Commissioner, Mr. Vachha. We are constantly associating Indians with these committees—non-official Indians where they can be found, to give advice, but what I would like the House to consider is that the issue before the House at the moment is the general proposition that in all circumstances and on all committees there should be a non-official Indian majority. I hope, Sir, that I have been able to convince the House that it is not possible for Government to accept either the Resolution or the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER (Bombay Chamber of Commerce): Sir, I have this advantage that I do know what Government's view on the subject is. No previous speaker knew that and I was going to say that if Government was proposing to accept the Resolution or the amendment, I would have to vote against them. I have, of course, very much more sympathy with the amendment than with the original Resolution but there are definitely

[Mr. R. H. Parker.]

cases where you cannot expect to find non-official Indians or Indians of any kind who can deal satisfactorily with some of these points. You might, for instance, have a committee of two experts which would be ample to deal with these subjects—both of them might be Englishmen or even South Africans. Supposing then you put in three non-official Indians who knew nothing about the subject—that is not a possible way of dealing with the subject at all.

I was rather hurt by one gentleman who referred to me as a foreigner. I do not feel that I come into that category. I would far rather come into the category referred to by the Honourable the Mover of the amendment.

The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam rather suggested, I thought, that when you wanted an expert inquiry into something, you ought first to send three or four non-official Indians on a tour round the world for about five years at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs or so, and turn them into experts. I do not think that is a feasible proposition and it certainly isn't my view.

If I may say so, there has been a lot of reference to this subject of South Africa, but, if my information is correct, South Africa is one of the best countries that we could possibly study with a view to getting some idea as to what is the best method of co-ordinating road and rail problems. That, I believe, is the reason why an Englishman from South Africa came here. I think, Sir, we must be logical in these matters and not sentimental.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. Chairman, I listened with great interest to my Honourable friend Sir Jagdish Prasad when he dealt with the Resolution of Mr. Ramadas Pantulu and the amendment of Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. He eloquently pointed out the objections that could be urged both against the original Resolution and against the amendment. But he was arguing like an advocate whose business is always to present his own case. The House, I hope, will adopt a more impartial attitude and consider the question from all points of view. My Honourable friend dealt with the whole subject in a negative way. He pointed out objections against the courses urged on this side but did not say a word to indicate what the positive policy of Government would be broadly speaking in regard to the composition of committees that were non-technical. My Honourable friend who spoke so eloquently knows very well that the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Mr. Ramadas Pantulu, has been brought forward owing to the composition of the Wedgwood Committee. My Honourable friend said that he thought that, if it were not for the misapprehension that one of the members of the committee was a South African, no such Resolution would have been discussed today. How the Honourable Member got that impression I do not know for this subject has been indirectly before the House on more than one occasion. And the objection always taken to the Wedgwood Committee was more owing to the exclusion of Indians from it than to the inclusion of a South African official. We certainly did object to the appointment as a member of the committee of an official of a Government who would not choose the best man available to assist them if he were an Indian but that was not all. My Honourable friend asked us whether we would in India follow a policy which we objected to in South Africa and refuse to ask a South African official to assist us on the ground of his colour or nationality. It would be clearly desirable in our interests to do so. I am sure my Honourable friend is in no doubt regarding the character and qualifications of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. Would the South African Government agree to have the assistance even of 80

distinguished an Indian in connection with any South African question? It is obvious that it would never think of doing so. Why should we then, when the question of national self-respect is before us and not merely that of the solution of any individual question, take a line which lowers our prestige and makes others think that we can be treated as a dependent nation and that our susceptibilities might with impunity be ignored? However, Sir, I have already said that it is clear from the opinions that have been expressed in this House on more than one occasion that, even if the Wedgwood Committee had contained no South African official, this House would have protested against it owing to the exclusion of Indians from it.

How was that committee to deal with questions of policy or with purely technical questions? Its terms of reference show that it was not a purely technical committee. It was also expected to deal with those broad questions of policy that have come repeatedly before us. Was there any reason then why no Indian was appointed to that Committee? I will, however, assume, Sir, for the moment that the committee was a technical one and that it had to deal with highly complicated technical questions both on the traffic and the engineering side. Would it not have been possible for the Government of India to get a competent non-official Engineer or a retired Railway Administrator who would have been a useful member of this committee? Had the will not been wanting, I am certain that no difficulty would have been found in the appointment of an Indian to the Committee, whether you regarded it as a technical committee or as a general committee. This question was raised in the other House some time ago, and the reply of the Government to the non-official attacks was that they wanted to appoint a committee which would consider questions before them from an entirely detached standpoint. They were anxious that the consideration of railway questions should proceed on entirely non-political grounds. This reply shows the real attitude of the Government of India in deciding on the composition of the committee. The Government of India made the Wedgwood Committee all-British, fearing that if Indians were appointed to it, they would be influenced by the political sentiments which appealed to Indians. Does this not in plain terms mean that the Government of India want men who would be politically biased in their favour? If so, it is no use urging technical objections against this Resolution and the amendment.

Let my Honourable friend look at the question in a broad way, and let him answer both as an official and as an Indian whether the exclusion of Indians from important committees, whether of a general or technical kind, can be justified: Suppose this country was self-governing. How would the Government then proceed to appoint committees that it might consider necessary to advise it on important points? Is it not natural to suppose that a majority of the members would be Indians? The Government appoints a committee to receive advice. The Government of this country being called Indian should naturally be expected to constitute their committees in such a way as to place Indians in a position to receive advice from foreign experts. Let Indians be assisted by the best experts that can be had from other countries, but let them in the last resort be in a position to decide whether they would accept that advice or not. This, I am certain, is the standpoint that should be adopted by an Indian Government. If it is not adopted now, it is because the Government is not ours. The Government of India do not identify themselves with Indian interests. They think that they should look after other interests that are non-Indian. This is at the root of the policy that has been followed in regard to the appointment of members of the Wedgwood Committee. The Government of India not being responsible to the people of this country and having to be responsible to some authority are inevitably responsible to the Secretary of State,

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

or in other words, to the British Government. They have consequently to think regarding every subject not merely what would be in the best interests of the people of the country but also what would meet with the approval of their masters in England. It is against this position precisely that we protest day in and day out, and the Resolution of the Honourable Mr. Ramadas Pantulu, as amended by the Motion of which notice has been given by the Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha, once more enable us to bring forward this particular matter.

Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Jagdish Prasad, has shown himself to be a clever debater. But I am sure he recognises that the interests of his countrymen require something more than clever advocacy on behalf of the Government of India. He may be compelled because of his position to take up the cudgels on behalf of Government. He may be compelled to oppose both the Resolution and the amendment. But was there any reason why he should not make something like a positive declaration of policy which would show to Honourable Members that Government recognise the intensity of feeling on this side and that in appointing committees dealing with broad questions of general policy, they would take care in future not to flout Indian opinion? Was there anything to prevent him from saying that when general or technical committees were appointed, competent Indian assistance would not be scorned? But he has done nothing of the kind. He has taken up a purely negative attitude when he should have without the least difficulty understood the origin of my Honourable friend's Resolution and the justifiable and strong feeling that exists among the non-official members in connection with the appointment of the Wedgwood Committee.

Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Parker, who is not here, dealt lightly with the suggestion made by my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam for what he called "manufacturing experts". Is that process quite as novel as Mr. Parker supposes it to be? Is it not usual for the Governments of various countries to send Government officials and non-officials out in order to acquire experience of some problem in which they are interested? We see frequently committees and commissions sent out to foreign countries in order to study some question of importance to the country to which they belong. My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam suggested that the same course should be followed in India, and if we had a Government of our own I venture to think that this course would be normally followed. But it is our misfortune that owing to not having full control over our affairs we have to submit to the guidance of people whose point of view may naturally be expected to be different from our own and who may be devoid of all sympathy for the causes that we plead. It is against this state of things that the Resolution and the amendment meant to protest.

I personally support the amendment moved by Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. The arguments on which the amendment can be preferred to the original Resolution have been very well advanced, both by the Mover of the amendment and my Honourable friends Mr. Hossain Imam and Mr. Sapru. I will not therefore dilate on them. I am aware that neither the Resolution nor the amendment is perfect. But this objection can be urged against every course suggested by Government themselves. In a practical world where nothing is perfect, we have to take action notwithstanding the difficulties in which we might be placed, and in the situation in which we find ourselves. I think it is our duty to support the amendment brought forward by my friend Rai Bahadur Mahtha.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): The Honourable Member has exceeded his time-limit. Will he please bring his remarks to a close ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I will not therefore proceed any further but only say that if my Honourable friend, Sir Jagdish Prasad who is in charge of Education wishes to correct our misapprehensions and to educate us properly, let him give a more positive, a more helpful and, from our point of view, a more self-respecting answer than he has given so far.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru felt that I overlooked something in framing my Resolution and that I was not quite careful in my wording. I assure him that I overlooked nothing, least of all I did not overlook the fact that he and his Party would oppose me. I was not only not careless but took particular care to word my Resolution in the way in which I think it ought to be worded. I was prepared for opposition from Indian as well as non-Indian Members. I therefore overlooked nothing.

Sir, I am thankful to Sir Guthrie Russell for the correction he made that Mr. Cheedle was a Englishman and not a South African. I accept the correction with some amount of pleasure, because it relieves to some extent our sense of humiliation; but it was not so much the personnel but the non-Indian character of the Committee that I urged in support of my Resolution.

I have now to deal with a few points raised by the Mover of the amendment. I assure him that no question of racial discrimination is involved in my Resolution because, I have not excluded Britishers altogether. A section of Britishers are admitted in my Resolution, those who have become experts in matters Indian by the services they have rendered to this country and by the experience they have gained in the discharge of these duties pertaining to those services. Therefore there is no question of any racial discrimination. The main objection taken to my Resolution is that I ignored the British capitalists, the foreign industrial and commercial magnates, who have contributed a great deal to the development of this country. I should have thought that those who listened to my speech carefully could not bring such a charge against me. I fully conceded that their rights, their privileges and their claims were entitled to the greatest respect and they had every right to urge those claims and privileges on the attention of the Government. All that I said was that in the present circumstances of India there was a certain amount of political and economic conflict of interests between that class of Europeans living in this country and Indians; and when investigations have to be made and recommendations have to be made to the Government, it is best in the interests of the country that Indians should have their own say in any inquiry affecting the interests of Indians. The European capitalists and commercial men have their own right to criticise those conclusions and to say what they have got to say in support of their rights to the Government. I do not want to mix up people with conflicting interests in any inquiry. It will not lead to any satisfactory result. An Englishman thinking of his own interests, the interests of British trade and commerce and industry in this country, cannot in my opinion honestly collaborate with an Indian who is thinking of promoting the interests of his trade and commerce and industry. It helps neither the Englishman nor the Indian to so collaborate on the same committee. When there is a fundamental difference in their point of view, when there

[Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.]

is a fundamental difference in their aims and there is an unquestionable conflict of interests, it is no use mixing them up in any committee. The conclusion I have come to after reading many reports of mixed committees is that those committees should not have been so constituted. Committees may be constituted purely of British interests if the British point of view is to be ascertained, and of purely Indian interests to elicit the Indian point of view. We are now having trade negotiations between India and England, and it is best that Indians should have their own committee and the British have their own committee to express their viewpoints. That is the spirit in which I have framed my Resolution, not in any spirit of racial antagonism or with the idea of excluding anybody. I have as such respect for the Honourable Mr. Parker and Mr. Kay as I have for my friends the Honourable Mr. Sapru and Mr. Kunzru. I know they are not enemies of Indian interests, though such interests may sometimes conflict with their own, and they are as much entitled to urge their own special claims and interests as we are. That is the spirit in which I have framed this Resolution.

Then the Honourable the Leader of this House asked me whether I would exclude a South African, however eminent he may be, however helpful he may be, for the conduct of an investigation, simply because he was a South African? My answer unhesitatingly is that I would, because the policy of retaliation is an accepted policy in every country. If the South Africans would not have an Indian, I would not have a South African; my self-respect and the self-respect of the country require that he should be excluded. However eminent his services may be, I would not allow him to set foot on this soil if I had my own way.

Sir, in defence of the importation of certain foreign experts, namely, the education experts, the Honourable the Leader has said that it was done on the advice of no less an eminent Indian than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. I have every respect for the eminence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as a lawyer. I have not much respect for his politics. I think Sir Tej Bahadur's politics are very much out of date in India today and as a political guide or an adviser on political matters his advice does not count in the present-day India. If he has advised the Government of India to bring out foreign experts, I am prepared to say that it is very bad advice and advice wholly repugnant to the self-respect of Indians. Even if a more eminent man than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has given such advice or will give it in future, it will not be acceptable to nationalist India.

1 P.M.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has nowhere said that Indian experts should not be associated with foreign experts.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: If Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru did not say that, the fault of attributing it to him is not mine, but that of the Leader of the House.

Sir, there is just one other point that I would like to meet. The Honourable Mover of the amendment said that when non-Indians settle down in this country and become citizens of this land and become entitled to be put on the electoral rolls of joint electorates, why should we exclude them from participating in such enquiries? When that day comes, when India becomes a self-governing country, and when minorities cease to think of themselves in terms of minorities and agree to be included in the general electorates then India will be a different country. When such a time comes probably

the definition of "Indian" would undergo such a change that my friends the Honourable Mr. Parker and the Honourable Mr. Reid Kay will be considered to be Indians and not foreigners. That time has, however, not come and therefore the contingency contemplated by the Mover of the amendment is very very far away indeed from now and if that contingency happens, I shall certainly be most happy to look upon foreigners living in this country as citizens of India and as citizens who have contributed to the achievement of freedom by this country and they will be entitled to the same consideration as any Indian citizen in this country. Therefore that question does not arise. There is just one other point, namely, that referred to by Mr. Parker and it is this; that the South African official in question had been brought out because in South Africa the question of co-ordinating railway and road policy had received greater attention than anywhere else and that logic and not sentiment should play a part in these matters. Even if we should forego that expert advice and even if we should forego the benefit of the experience of the South African official, sentiment will continue to rule me and my countrymen. I for one am not ashamed to own that my sentiment is the determining factor and I would exclude the South African expert from this enquiry in any event. At the same time I do not think that there is such a dearth of experts in the whole world that there is no one anywhere else to tell us something about the co-ordination of railway and road except in South Africa. Even if he was the only person available still I would exclude him for the same reason that I urged in answer to the same point raised by the Leader of the House.

Therefore though my politics, and my Resolution, are out of gear in this House, not only in the non-Indian but the Indian section as well of the House, I have no alternative but to press my Resolution. I regret that the Honourable Leader of the House has not seen his way even to accept the amendment moved by the Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. The Honourable the Leader said that I should have given my answer to the amendment on its own merits and should not have based my reply on the attitude of the Government. Congressmen also are politicians, and I will remind him that our attitude will depend on the attitude of the Government as well in many matters. Therefore if I am going to regulate my attitude in accordance with the attitude of the Government in this matter, I shall be acting rightly. I should not have been asked to pronounce an opinion in advance as to how I would deal with an amendment. I will deal with it in the way which I consider right after knowing the way in which Government deal with it. The Honourable the Leader said that I would have been saved the humiliation of my Resolution being torn to pieces if I had only accepted the amendment a little earlier.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : I said embarrassment, not humiliation.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU : Probably so, but I have acted wisely, I think, in waiting to see what the discomfiture of the Progressive Party will be in having their amendment torn to pieces by the Government. The result is that both the amendment and the Resolution have been torn to pieces and both are opposed by the Government. I stick to my Resolution, which I press in the form moved.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : Sir, I now have no quarrel with my Honourable friend that he did not come to a decision. After listening to the speeches on all sides he feels that his Resolution should stand and he has now given his decision that he will oppose the amendment.

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

No new points have been made by Mr. Pantulu. I should like to say again that he cannot expect the Government to accept the proposition that all non-Indians in India who do not happen to be officials should be excluded merely on the ground of office, that if they happen to be in office then they are acceptable, if they happen to be non-officials and not under the influence of Government, however competent they may be, however able, whatever confidence they may have inspired amongst all sections of the people, in all political camps, that we should exclude them. I do not think my Honourable friend would expect me to agree to that proposition.

Now I come to the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru. He said that I had discussed this Resolution as an advocate. May I say that I fear I have to lay the same charge against him and that not only has he discussed it as an advocate but as a very experienced, a very able, and a very skillful advocate, for what has he done? He has left out of consideration the wording of the Resolution, of the amendment. He has seized on the Wedgwood Committee, knowing that when he dealt with that topic, he would have the support of all Members on that side of the House. The composition of the Committee has been discussed both in the Lower House and in this House twice, on the occasion of the Budget Discussion and when the Finance Bill was under discussion and replies have been given so far as the Government of India are concerned by the Member in charge, my Honourable friend Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan. I do not think my Honourable friend would expect me to cover the same ground again or to add any fresh reasons to what was said before. What I should like to point out to him is that his main objective is that Indian experts should also be associated with European experts. I wish to point out to him that under the Resolution of Mr. Pantulu as it stands we could have had all European official experts, and when we were discussing that Resolution I confess I did not interpret this Resolution of Mr. Pantulu—and I think Mr. Pantulu will correct me if I am wrong as meaning what Mr. Kunzru means. Under that Resolution we could have had a committee of three railway officials in India. So far as Mr. Pantulu is concerned he would have been perfectly satisfied. May I take it that he would have no objection, as the Resolution stands, as long as the three experts were three European officials.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU : If you are convinced that it is the best course to take, of course.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : That is not Mr. Kunzru's point. He says No, if you have a committee of that kind, there must be always mixed committees, but the point that I was pressing was that as the amendment stands and which Mr. Kunzru is supporting, the question is not, as he has said, that competent Indian assistance should be scorned. What the amendment says is that we should prefer the non-official Indian to the official Indian, even if the official Indian happens to be more competent in that particular regard than the non-official Indian. If the amendment is accepted, the Government of India would be driven when forming any committee, when weighing the claims of an official Indian as against a non-official Indian that the non-official Indian should be preferred even though he is quite incompetent to discharge his duties?

As regards the main point raised by Mr. Kunzru that it has been the policy recently of the Government of India to scorn competent Indian advice, I do not think that that charge holds—leaving aside the Wedgwood Committee. He has not given a single other instance—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I have referred to the contemplated appointment of an Economic Adviser.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: We are dealing with committees. In regard to no other committee has the Honourable Mr. Kunzru been able to show that competent Indian opinion has not been consulted or has not been associated. I would still ask my Honourable friend if he wants me to give a reply, to give me the name of any other committee appointed by the Government of India in regard to which Indians have not been associated or Indian opinion has been scorned. I am sure that except the Wodgwood Committee—and the whole of his argument was based on that—I do not think that he has any other committee in mind, and I can assure him that there is no desire on the part of the Government—there could be no desire to scorn Indian assistance, because after all whatever policy is determined on as the result of the recommendations of a committee has in the end to be acceptable to the Indian people. The matter has to come up before the Assembly and this House and would any Government try and constitute a committee which from the very start is likely to be regarded with suspicion and prejudice by the Legislature? I am sure that no Government would constitute a committee in regard to which there would be prejudice from the very start.

As regards the suggestion of my Honourable friend that I as Education Member should take up the task of educating him and the Honourable Members opposite, I hope I shall not be so arrogant or so imprudent as to take up a task for which I am not in any way qualified, and when I know that it is the other side who should when I go wrong point out the right path. I am sure that this duty of education I would leave in the competent hands of my Honourable friends opposite.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): Does the Honourable Mr. Mahtha wish to press his amendment?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA: Yes, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): Then I will first put the amendment to the vote. Amendment moved:

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that any future committee appointed by the Government of India should always have a majority of non-official Indians ”.

The Council divided:

AYES—9.

Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr. Kunzru, The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath.
Mahapatra, The Honourable Mr. Sitakanta.
Mahtha, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain.
Muhammad Husain, The Honourable Hajj Syed.

Muhammad Hussain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Ali Baksh.
Padshah Sahib Bahadur, The Honourable Saiyed Mohamed.
Sapru, The Honourable Mr. P. N.
Yuveraj Datta Singh, The Honourable Raja.

NOTES—37.

Akram Husain Bahadur, The Honourable Prince Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad.

Ataullah Khan, The Honourable Chaudhri.

Basu, The Honourable Mr. Bijay Kumar Bewoor, The Honourable Mr. G. V.

Bata Singh, The Honourable Sardar Clow, The Honourable Mr. A. G.

Devadoss, The Honourable Sir David.

Dow, The Honourable Mr. H.

Ghosal, The Honourable Sir Jomsa.

Haidar, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din.

Hight, The Honourable Mr. J. C.

Hissam-ud-Din Bahadur, The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Shaikh.

Ihtisham Hyder Chaudhry, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed.

Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Kunwar Sir.

Kay, The Honourable Mr. J. Reid. Khurshid Ali Khan, The Honourable Mr. Maxwell, The Honourable Mr. R. M. Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.

Nihal Singh, The Honourable Sirdar.

Nixon, The Honourable Mr. J. C.

Parker, The Honourable Mr. R. H.

Ray of Dinajpur, The Honourable Maharaja Jagadish Nath.

Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie.

Siddiqi, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shaikh Muhammad Bashir.

Singh, The Honourable Raja Devakinandan Prasad.

Todd, The Honourable Mr. A. H. A.

Williams, The Honourable Mr. A. deC.

The Motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): I will ask the Honourable Mover if he desires to press his Resolution to a vote ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: Yes, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): Then I will put to the vote the original Resolution.

The Question is :

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in future no non-Indian except those who are in the service of the Crown in India be appointed on a committee appointed by the Government of India ".

The Motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): The Council will now adjourn till 2-30 P.M. I may inform Honourable Members that because Government have given us an extra day for non-official business, and also out of consideration for the Reporters whose number is limited in this House and on whom there will be a very heavy strain in having to report the proceedings of three consecutive days of non-official work, I propose to rise at the regular hour, namely, 4 P.M., or as soon thereafter as is convenient.

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

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the Chairman (Sir Phiroze Sethna) in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): The next item on the agenda is the Resolution in the name of the Honourable Mr. Narayandas Girdhardas, but he has sent a telegram that he will not be here and will not move his Resolution. I therefore call upon the Honourable Mr. Kunzru to move his Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: May I know when the telegram was received ? The Resolution appears on the agenda and we had all prepared our speeches.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (Sir PHIROZE SETHNA) : I know ; I think it is wrong on the part of the Honourable Member not to have informed the Secretary earlier. The telegram was received only a quarter of an hour before we started work this morning.

RESOLUTION *RE* ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALL-INDIA RADIO RESEARCH BOARD.

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

" That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the great importance of radio development to India an All-India Radio Research Board be established on the lines of the Radio Research Board of the United Kingdom "

Sir, the theatre, the cinema and the radio are the three most important agencies of public recreation and education. Each of them is useful in its own sphere, but I think I may say without exaggeration that the potentialities of the radio far exceed those of the other two put together. India is far behind other countries in the matter of radio development and of broadcasting. But there is a growing interest in this country in the radio and the programmes which the listeners are provided with and there is keen disappointment if the reception is not good or the programme not up to the mark. The usefulness of the radio as a means of education requires no emphasis at my hands. It is recognised by every country that it is one of the most potent instruments of public education, of breaking down the isolation of the villager and bringing him into touch with the larger world around him. This purpose is to a small extent being served in India also, but the number of licensees must considerably increase and the service, that is the reception, must be more efficient and cheaper before the radio will be a real factor in the enlightenment of the masses and in raising the standard of their lives. Further, the Education Department and the Industries Department are not the only departments that are concerned with radio developments. Meteorology may benefit greatly by the research work carried on in connection with radio. Aeronautics also may find the results obtained by research workers of considerable use. The defence services also may find radio developments of no little interest and service to them. Perhaps it was the defence services that recognized the importance of radio developments first. Now, Sir, it is true that the services to which I have referred are not under the control of any one department of the Government of India. They are scattered between several departments ; but these departments are all departments of the Government of India and consequently their needs can be considered by Government as a whole.

Now, let us see what the condition of broadcasting in this country is as compared with England. In England I understand that about 7½ million persons possess licences for installing the receiving apparatus. In other words, one man out of seven possesses a radio set. In India on the other hand I gather from a statement made in the most popular British scientific journal called *Nature* last year that the number of listening in licences issued by the Government of India amounts to 12,000 only. Obviously then India must travel a considerable distance before it can possess a radio service which can compare in extent or efficiency with the service that the people of England now possess. Now, in order to popularise the radio and to make it efficient, several problems have to be tackled. The programmes have to be attractive. The technical side has to be efficient, that is, there ought to be capable men to deal with the purely engineering problems that arise in connection with the

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunaru.]

reception of the programmes, and finally there is the research side, which has to be tackled by academic workers. In England, or rather in the British Empire, all these three problems have received the attention of the authorities and those interested in radio development. Let us take England first. A Radio Board was established there in 1920 and one of its objects was—

“ to bring into direct relationship with the practical advances of the art of wireless signalling physicists whose main interest in radio research had lain in work on the theoretical side and to place those concerned with the development of apparatus into closer contact with men of science well versed in the physical foundations essential for the satisfactory progress of the art ”.

In other words, England recognised that the scientists and practical workers must act in close co-operation in order that the radio might develop fully and benefit the people at large. The example of England was followed many years later by the self-governing Dominions. I believe Australia was the first of the Dominions to have a Board of its own. It was followed by Canada. New Zealand which was the last of these Dominions to establish a Board of its own established one very recently. I will not go into the work done by these Boards, but I may say briefly that the Radio Boards both in England and in the self-governing Dominions are taking full advantage of the research workers in the universities. They are working in close co-operation with men engaged in the study and the solution of fundamental problems on which adequate development will ultimately depend. The example of England and the self-governing Dominions, I think, shows conclusively how useful the establishment of such a Board would be to India also. This, Sir, is not the opinion merely of a layman like me. I have no right, no qualifications, to have any opinion on such a subject. But I can cite in my favour the authority of some of the biggest men in the British Empire. Last year there was a distinguished gathering in England of scientists engaged in wireless work in the British Empire and they expressed themselves in no uncertain terms regarding the need of a Radio Board in India. I will acquaint the House with the opinion expressed by one or two of these scientists. I will first mention the opinion of Professor Appleton, who is probably the greatest worker in this line. He referred first to Great Britain and the Dominions and said :

“ Radio research work was encouraged and organised under the auspices of Government Boards and carried out with the co-operation of universities, and everyone in close touch with the subject was aware that the great progress made since 1920, when the Board was first formed, could be attributed almost wholly to official encouragement and assistance ”.

Then referring to India he said :

“ It seemed to him that the formation of an Indian Radio Research Board, in which workers in universities would be associated to encourage and extend radio investigations, was necessary to make certain that facilities were adequate ”.

Another distinguished scientist, who addressed the gathering I have spoken of, was Sir Frank Smith, Secretary of the Royal Society and also Secretary of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Privy Council, under which the Radio Research Board functions. He said referring to India :

“ If in the near future a Research Board or a committee were formed in India to solve its own local problems it would undoubtedly be of help not only to India but to the international research work now being conducted in this and other countries. The Radio Research Board welcomes co-operation and it will undoubtedly be glad to co-operate with any research organisation which might be established in India ”.

Sir Richard Gregory, Editor of *Nature*, spoke even more strongly on this subject. He said :

"From the scientific point of view as well as from the practical needs of broadcasting, it is most desirable that the valuable work already carried on at the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad should be supported and extended by the Government of India. . . . It does not seem to be realised by people in power in India that every country has its own problems in regard to satisfactory transmission and reception of broadcasting and that these can only be solved by systematic studies of conditions in different parts of the country. . . . A Radio Research Board would afford valuable guidance in the development of broadcasting at suitable centres and might be the means of preventing the waste of vast sums of public money in scientific spheres of radio propagation".

I do not think, Sir, I could quote more eminent authorities in support of my proposition. The need for academic research work seems to be recognised by the Government of India themselves. *The Indian Listener* referring to the proceedings of the gathering which I have just dealt with, in its issue of the 22nd May, 1936, said the Government of India had recently started a research section in the All-India Radio and that this research section—

"will be able to develop both its functions of practical development and academic research in co-operation with the various scientific and educational institutions, as well as the splendid band of enthusiastic individuals".

The co-operation of the universities has not been sought at all so far, but, I think, Sir, I may conclude from this quotation that the need for research work by academic workers referred to by the authorities I have cited is recognised by the Government of India themselves. What is then the obstacle that prevents the formation of an All-India Research Board? The example of England and the self-governing Dominions shows the utility of such a Board. The most eminent scientists in the British Empire have strongly urged its establishment in this country. The Government of India themselves recognise the need for academic research. I should think, therefore, that there can be no argument against the establishment of such a Board in this country. It seems, however, that in the opinion of the Government of India the research section which they have started would be adequate to carry on research work of the kind needed in India. This view, I submit, is erroneous and not shared by the important scientists engaged in wireless work. I will not quote many authorities on this point. I will content myself with the opinion expressed by *Nature* to which I referred a little while ago. That opinion was expressed in its issue of the 9th January, 1937, and it is so appropriate to the occasion that I ask for your indulgence, Sir, to read it out before the House.

"It is reported", said *Nature*, "that in the opinion of the Government, the research station attached to the All-India Radio organisation will be able to conduct all the research work required for the time being".

THE HONOURABLE MR. BIJAY KUMAR BASU : Is it in order to quote from a newspaper?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : It is not a newspaper—it is a scientific journal. Disagreeing with this view, it goes on to say :

"There is a great need for the setting up of a fully equipped Radio Research Board laboratory where more fundamental work can be conducted by experienced workers from the universities without in any way overlapping or interfering with the more applied work of the broadcasting organisation. In England"—and I would ask Honourable Members to listen carefully to this—"in England, the British Broadcasting Corporation conducts research on its own particular problems independently of the wider and more fundamental work of the Radio Research Board, arrangements are in force whereby close liaison is maintained between the two organisations as necessary, and this is found to be of mutual advantage".

{Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.}

You could not, Sir, have a clearer or stronger testimony in favour of a Radio Research Board in India, which would direct scientific work and which would be the means of bringing into close touch the theoretical and the practical sides of radio development. The British Broadcasting Corporation, as *Nature* has pointed out, has a research section of its own, yet it finds the help of academic workers highly useful. I do not see why the experience of this country should be a different one.

I hope, Sir, I have dealt with all those questions that could from the scientific or the practical point of view be held to be relevant to the issue that I have raised. I hope I have shown that the Government of India, without abating their interest in the development of the practical art of broadcasting, without in any way underrating the importance of research work in connection with the apparatus needed for proper reception, can and should devote attention to the research side of the problem that we are dealing with this afternoon. Even from the practical point of view, as the British scientists have pointed out, it would pay the Government of India to encourage research work. Some of the problems which the practical worker has to deal with may not be solved with the limited intellectual resources at his disposal. They may not be solved even by one or two scientific workers working in isolation. They may require for their solution the work of many scientists looking at them from different points of view. It will however be said that this research work will require funds and that this is the crux of the matter. The Government is in considerable financial difficulties. It does not find money for its ordinary needs. How is it then at this time to set apart a substantial sum of money for academic work in connection with radio research? Now, Sir, I do not know that Government when they set their heart on any scheme ever find any difficulty in getting together the necessary funds. If Government could realise the importance of this matter, if they could be brought to see that practical broadcasting in which they are keenly interested depends for its success on research work, I have no doubt that the objections which they might be tempted to raise now would soon disappear and that notwithstanding all the difficulties which they see in their way now they would be able to find money to make a beginning in the direction suggested by me. But I shall suppose for the time being that Government are really unable to set apart even a small sum for the encouragement of scientific research work. Even then, I submit that the establishment of a Board would be greatly to the interest of this country. At present the Department—I mean the research section of the Radio Department—is working in isolation. It is not in contact with scientific workers in India. Would it not be useful to this section if a Board were formed so that the scientists engaged in research work might be brought into association with it. The workers here and the workers at the universities may easily be of help to one another. I submit, Sir, that this may be expected to be the natural result of the establishment of an All-India Board. Again, a Board of the kind that I recommend would enable Government themselves to receive well-considered opinions on proposals which may vitally concern the development of broadcasting. I cast no reflection on any of the workers that they have engaged. But I am sure they will not deny that a Board of the kind I have suggested will be useful in settling the nature of the problems to be dealt with, in allocating the work between the workers and in giving to Government well-considered and authoritative advice which they cannot receive at the present time. Sir, the example of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research considerably strengthens my demand. I shall suppose for the time being that this Council

has not been able to fulfil all the hopes that were raised when it was first established. I suppose this only for the sake of argument, but even those who are disposed to criticise it strongly will admit that at least some of the work done by it is of considerable value. The Provincial Governments have Agricultural Departments of their own. The Government of India too have a Central Agricultural Institute. It was open, therefore, both to the Central Government and the Provincial Governments to say that as they had their own research workers and laboratories they did not see the necessity of establishing an All-India Research Council. But, happily, they did not take that line. They recognised that all the ability in the country was not monopolised by the Services and that it would be a great advantage to them to take the help of the scientific workers scattered over the whole of the country. The example of this Council shows the useful purpose that an All-India Research Board might serve in the domain of radio development.

Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House any further. I have dealt with all objections that could be raised from the scientific, practical and financial point of view. I have shown that they cannot be held to have any substance in them. I have cited the opinions of eminent British scientists who have said in no uncertain terms that the establishment of an All-India Radio Research Board in this country would be useful both to this country and to the Empire Broadcasting Service. I do not think I can urge stronger arguments in favour of my proposition. I therefore command it to the House. I have a fear that Government, who have risen above routine in the case of agricultural research, might be unwilling to follow their own experiment and to show similar enterprise in another direction. I shall listen to the arguments that they put forth with great attention. But I doubt at this stage whether they can have much force in them. The eminent scientists to whom I have repeatedly referred in my remarks would have been the last to recommend the establishment of a Research Board if they had regarded it as unnecessary or impracticable. But if they thought that notwithstanding the practical development arrived at in England, notwithstanding the theoretical problems solved in England of which we can take full advantage, there is need for the establishment of a Research Board in this country. I submit that the case for its establishment is unanswerable.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW (Industries and Labour Secretary) :
 Sir, I am grateful to my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru for saying that he will listen to my arguments with great attention, because he had just previously informed the House that he had disposed of all possible objections that could be raised to his proposal. With much of what he said at the beginning of his speech I am of course in agreement. I am in full agreement with him as to the potentialities which broadcasting offers in the educational and cultural spheres, and in bringing the villages out of the isolation in which they too often rest. Nor would I say anything, far from it, against the value of scientific research either in this or in any other sphere. I think most of us in this House recognise that research in a large number of directions offers promises of valuable results. We have, as my Honourable friend reminded the House, proved to a considerable extent the value of agricultural research. I hoped he would go on to refer to what we are doing in a smaller field, in industrial research. The days are long past when officials who had an imperfect understanding of what research was and were unable to appreciate something that did not give immediate results were apt to look askance at the demands of scientists for research work. And the field with which we are dealing this afternoon is one which has not been entirely neglected either by scientists or by Government. My Honourable friend referred to Allahabad, with which he is naturally

[Mr. A. G. Clow.]

well acquainted. But he said nothing about Bangalore, to which we are making already a substantial grant annually through the Department of my Honourable friend the Leader of the House. I must admit that I have no personal experience of what is being done there, but I have in my hand a prospectus of the Indian Institute of Science and I find that after a list of subjects which includes "Radio wave transmission, and reception theory and apparatus design, Radio wave propagation phenomena, Radio telegraph and telephone systems, Broadcasting" it goes on to say:

"For carrying out experimental work in the above subjects, the following laboratories have been fully equipped:

Radio transmission and reception,
Broadcasting, etc."

I understand that my Honourable friend and some other Members of this House have taken the opportunity to see what we are attempting in a smaller way in our little research station in Delhi, where we are engaged in perhaps what academic scientists would hardly call research. But we are engaged in investigation into the more immediately practical problems that confront us, such as devising and providing cheap village reception sets, meeting the difficulties in the way of producing a cheap domestic receiver, investigating acoustic properties of certain materials, and subjects of that kind. These are naturally confined to the more immediate practical problems before us and do not soar into the ionosphere or other rarified strata which have a particular fascination for scientists in this field of work.

At one stage of my Honourable friend's speech I thought he was advocating a Board merely for better co-ordination possibly between Government work and that being done by academic workers. He alluded to England, but if I am rightly informed, the Research Board there is not in charge of the other research work to which he referred, which is being done by the British Broadcasting Corporation. And I think he will be disposed on reflection to agree with me that if we are merely going to call a lot of distinguished gentlemen together to form a Board for co-ordinating what is being done, we would be to a large extent wasting their time. We have not yet reached a stage in this country—and indeed that was part of the complaint that my Honourable friend made—at which the work being done justifies the creation of a Board merely for co-ordination. And I agree with my Honourable friend when at another point in his speech he said that the crux of the question is that of funds.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I said it might be thought to be so. I did not say that this was my opinion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW: I understood him to say that that was the case in his opinion here.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: You will know my opinion soon.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW: If the Honourable Member is not willing to disclose his arguments until after I have spoken—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: The Honourable Member will be entitled to speak after me.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW: I think it would save the time of the House if we had it now, but I do not press the point.

Well, whatever the opinion of my Honourable friend I entirely agree that the crux of the question is that of funds. As I say, I do not believe in the creation of a Board if it is going to be left in the cold and get no money to work with. At an earlier stage of my Honourable friend's speech he quoted a very distinguished British scientist with approval as suggesting that in the case of a Board being set up it would "prevent the waste of vast sums of public money". I find it hard to believe that, for it assumes that vast sums of public money are at present or in the near future are going to be wasted. If I could see these vast sums of public money in sight no one would be more pleased. But the position as I see it is as follows. In order to get the start necessary to make a Board operative, something real and something worth having, we have to get the money. One cannot get away from that fact. Now, we have a great many demands for money. My Honourable friend suggested that if we really believed in anything we could always get the money for it. Unfortunately that is very far from being the case. We have a large number of other schemes and let us suppose that money is available. I limit myself to the very limited field of research. I have the honour to be Chairman of the Industrial Research Council, a body which is financed by the Government of India and exists both for the co-ordination of such industrial research as is being conducted by different Governments and authorities throughout India and also for carrying on original research. And if money were available for research I am afraid that, knowing what I do of the needs in various directions—I may be mistaken but if I could get hold, let us say from my Honourable friend, Mr. Nixon, of another lakh a year, and if I had to choose between a Radio Research Board and the Industrial Research Council, I am afraid I would not hesitate between the two. And my choice would not be in favour of the Radio Research Board. Even if tomorrow my Honourable friend the Finance Secretary came to me and said he had discovered that he had made a small error in his budget and there was a crore lying about loose and I could have the interest on that for radio research, I am afraid I should not be prepared to advise devoting it to a Board. Broadcasting is, and is going to be, a very big thing in this country and its needs are multifarious, but there are in my view, and in the view also of those experts who are advising us on the subject, a good many other things that must come before the formation of a Board of this kind. We have needs in all kinds of directions. We could spend a great deal more money than is now being allowed to us and could spend it profitably. And it is not because I am in any way hostile to even the particular kind of research which I think my Honourable friend has mainly in view, but because I feel that we must retain some balance and must go for what are prior and more urgent needs, that I cannot agree with him that at this moment we should set up a Radio Research Board.

*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Mr. Chairman, before I begin my remarks I should like to make a confession, that I am a listener and a listener alone and that I have no knowledge of the intricacies of radio or of the technical part of it. My interest is that we want a better service and a cheaper service and a more extensive service. These are the three things which we want, and I think the Honourable Mr. Clow would be in agreement with the fact that the demand should be met as far as the Honourable Mr. Nixon is prepared to allow him to do so. The whole question boils down to this: Where are the funds to come from? We will be accused that we are talking like irresponsible people when we say that the Government knows where to find funds, and we will be told that there are other more imperative needs which have to be financed first and that radio does not

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only come in a bad second but a bad third or a bad fourth. Sir, research in radio does not demand very extensive funds. It all depends on the way in which the Government proceeds. If they have more money with them they can be generous and donate a lakh a year and then this body would be functioning very well. But if they cannot afford to do that, is there any reason why there should be no expenditure at all under this head? There are instances even in the Government of India of big things having been started with a small initial sum. If the Government makes a beginning and we are again fortunate enough next year or the year after next to have a realized surplus, and the Honourable the Finance Member is in a generous mood, I think Mr. Clow can very well go to him and ask him for a donation for this Research Board. The trouble with us is that we have always to face the question of want of funds where nation-building matters are concerned. I have a great deal of sympathy with the Honourable Mr. Clow when he says that industrial research has a prior claim, but he will excuse me for saying that that concerns more the capitalist than the masses, and in this particular instance what we want concerns only the masses, because we desire to have cheaper sets, especially village sets. I do not deny that the All-India Radio is doing something to achieve this. I find from *The Indian Listener* that steps are being taken, work is in hand, but we have not yet succeeded in meeting the requirement. Now, if the question of funds arise, may we ask Mr. Nixon whether he is prepared to make a surcharge of say 2½ per cent. on the import duty of radio articles and devote it to this fund? You can earmark a source of income which would place the burden on the users, on the consumers, for their betterment and future advance. Then, Sir, the question may arise whether the expansion of radio will not pay the Government in another way. There will be more licences and the greater the facility offered now the greater would be the prospect of future income from licensing. It is not very long ago that licensing was in a very imperfect condition. Licences used to be very small. At the present moment those who have to live in Delhi have very great difficulty in listening to the programmes of Bombay and Calcutta in the medium wave length, because the Delhi station is so powerful that it almost annihilates the voice from other stations. The question of finding money does not loom so large in our outlook as it does in the case of the Honourable Mr. Clow, because he seems to be under the impression that Mr. Nixon would never allow him funds—

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW: He is allowing me funds. At present we are spending Rs. 66,000 on our own radio research branch.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: If he could supplement it by Rs. 33,000 for the universities, we might make a beginning and have a round lakh. It is not a very huge amount. We do not want the Government to commit themselves to large sums of money. We want them to make a beginning. When we have a beginning, we are sure that the thing will recommend itself.

Now, I come to the question of cheap village sets. Cheap village sets would be of no use unless you have a programme which will really help to uplift the village. At present the village programme is anything but perfect. The lighter side has developed, but not the serious side. Education as such of the villagers is not so much catered for as it ought to be. The Resolution is a very modest one, although the analogy may make it appear a big one; but the basic demand that there should be an All-India Research Board would only mean that they will convert the present Board and give it this name.

and they can make a beginning. The other part that the universities should be able to help is subsidiary and therefore I hope that Mr. Clow will accept the Resolution.

Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I should like to give my hearty support to the Resolution which has been moved by the Honourable Mr. Kunzru. Sir, the point of Mr. Kunzru's Resolution is that he wants a rapid development of radio research in India. Sir, he has pointed out the necessity of practical and research work going hand in hand and he has quoted certain opinions of British scientists and British scientific journals. With your permission, Sir, I will quote from *Nature* of May 23rd, 1936. In an editorial, *Nature* says:

"The time would now appear to be very opportune for considering the establishment of a similar Radio Research Board in India".

—"similar" has reference to the Board in England—

"The time would now appear to be very opportune for considering the establishment of a similar Radio Research Board in India, where fundamental research in radio communication has so far been limited to the activities of quite small bands of workers in different universities, notably those under Professor S. K. Mitra at Calcutta and under Professor M. N. Saha at Allahabad".

I would also quote the opinion of Professor Appleton, who says:

"India has its own radio problems, the solutions of which depended upon workers in India. These cannot follow from work carried out in other parts of the world. It seemed to him that the formation of an Indian Radio Research Board, in which workers in universities would be associated to encourage and extend radio investigations, was necessary to make certain that facilities were adequate. A wonderful opportunity for serving science and the community was offered to such a Board, and he felt quite sure that the opportunity would not be missed".

Again, Sir, I would quote from *Nature*. *Nature* says:

"Indeed in so far as the British Broadcasting Corporation is already providing a part of its Empire service for English-speaking residents in India, a local organisation which could investigate and give advice upon the problems of reception in India would most certainly be welcomed by the broadcasting authorities in Great Britain".

And finally, Sir, the writer in *Nature* winds up by saying:

"It is surely time that India was able to take its place in such a world-wide scheme, and it is to be hoped that those in a position to do so will foster the inauguration of a suitable Radio Research Board and provide the necessary funds to initiate its work. The research already carried out in India indicates that the universities are ready to provide a programme of problems of a fundamental nature, and even the nucleus of a staff of trained personnel, keen and enthusiastic to continue their investigations, which are at present being limited through lack of resources".

Therefore, Sir, the point is that practical and research work must go hand in hand and that practical and research work cannot go hand in hand unless university teachers are offered greater opportunities than are provided for them at present. University teachers and professors have a grievance that in the matter of Radio research they are not being given enough facilities and if a Board is established the Board would help to bring the universities and university teachers into contact with living problems of Radio problem. That, I think, Sir, is the main purpose of Mr. Kunzru's Resolution, and so far as that main object is concerned I would say that that main object can be achieved without much finance. The financial difficulty, if I may say so, has been exaggerated. What is the difficulty in having a Radio Research Board on which universities will be adequately represented? So far as the present organisation of the Radio Department is concerned, it strikes one that it is

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

wholly official. Now, what Mr. Kunzru wants is that this Department which is almost entirely official should be brought more into touch with Indian universities and Indian university teachers. There are in Indian universities men of great eminence in the world of science, men who have been very much interested in wireless broadcasting and radio development. There is in our own university a very eminent professor, Dr. Saha, who is a Fellow of the Royal Society, and he has done much work on radio and wireless lines. And I think, if I am not mistaken, he has been taking a good deal of interest in this question of a Radio Research Board. Now, these professors have been taking an interest in this Research Board because they want opportunities provided for them for research work in this radio line. The importance of radio research cannot be over-emphasised. Broadcasting is certain to lead to great development in the future. If used properly it is certain to make the life of the villager more cheerful and more happy. I am not sure, Sir, whether, if I had a choice between industrial research and Radio research, I would choose industrial research. I would select something which would benefit the villager and which would advance knowledge and which would enable India to become respected in the scientific world. I do not know exactly what the functions of the Industrial Research Board are but I imagine it is primarily concerned with industries. Well, the Radio Research Board would be primarily concerned with a subject which has possibilities so far as the common man is concerned. Therefore, if a choice had to be made between industrial research and radio research, I would give the preference to radio research.

Well, Sir, therefore, we are not convinced that Government has made out a case against the establishment of a Radio Research Board. The present position in India is that there are only about 12,000 licences in the country. Well, in Great Britain one man in seven has a radio. Why should we not also have that as our aim in this country? We do not say that that aim will be achieved immediately.

THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY: Instead of having anything to eat?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Well, I don't know about that. We all want them to eat well. I do not think Mr. Ray Chaudhury is the only person who is interested in the solution of the problem of India's poverty. We also in our own humble way stand for a right solution of the problem of Indian poverty. Patriotism is not the monopoly of any particular individual or any particular group. We all claim to be patriots.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: Will radio solve the problem?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: I do not think, Sir, that radio will solve the problem. Life is a very complicated business and if you want to have a rich and varied life you must have radio development also. In a full and varied life radio must also be able to play an important part.

THE HONOURABLE MR. BIJAY KUMAR BASU: Make them all members of the Legislature!

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: I wish, Sir, they could all be members of the Legislature. They have the vote—most of all at all events—I wish all of them had it. I stand certainly for adult franchise and I should like them all to have the vote.

Sir, I think that the Resolution which has been moved by the Honourable Mr. Kunzru deserves the serious consideration of this House and as one who is interested in the scientific development of this country, who is interested in the work that the universities are doing and that they want done, I give my cordial support to this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Mr. President, my Honourable friend Mr. Clow raised three points in dealing with my Resolution. He first of all charged me with not having given Government adequate credit for the development of research work which is being done at their expense.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : No.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Well, I understood the Honourable Member to say so and he will have an opportunity again of clearing up what he said. He said I mentioned Calcutta and Allahabad but did not refer to the work which was being done at Bangalore, the work that was being financed by Government. The other argument that he used was this. Government had not got the funds that would be needed for carrying on research work. But even if they were available, Radio research would have to compete with a good many other needs to which my Honourable friend Mr. Clow would decidedly give preference. So that even if the Finance Department were in a more generous mood than it is at present and were able to place some money at the disposal of the Industries Department, that Department would not be willing to devote any of it to Radio research work (*The Honourable Mr. A. G. Clow :* "The Radio Research Board.")—would not devote it to the establishment of a Radio Research Board. This being so, in my Honourable friend's opinion asking scientists to come together here merely to co-ordinate a work that was being done would be to waste their time. I hope I have summarised my Honourable friend's arguments correctly. Now, Sir, I shall deal with them one by one. Taking the first one, let me point out to him that it was not I who referred to the work done at Allahabad and Calcutta but Sir Richard Gregory from whom I was quoting. I took care not to mention the name of any single university where research work is being carried on at present for obvious reasons. I know that work of this kind is not confined to Allahabad and Calcutta. I have seen the pamphlet brought out by the Research Institute at Bangalore. I understand that some work has been done at Dacca and at one or two other places. If I did not refer to Bangalore, it was not because I was not aware of the work done there but because I did not wish to refer to any university or institution by name. Perhaps, my Honourable friend in making this statement meant to convey to me that I was largely under the influence of one or two men in moving this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : I never said that, nor did I mean to convey it.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I am very glad to have that assurance from the Honourable Member. I should however like to say something on this point, for there may be some Members here who might think that I had been influenced by one or two people to move this Resolution when I did not understand the scientific problems involved

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

in it. Sir, if it is a crime to go to competent men for advice, I gladly plead guilty to the heinous charge of seeking the assistance of qualified men that can be brought against me in this connection. I shall be prepared to sit at the feet of my Honourable friend Mr. Clow if he would give me as valuable material as the research workers at Allahabad and Calcutta have done to whom I am greatly indebted.

I come now to the financial argument. My Honourable friend said there was no money and that there were many schemes which were being held up for want of funds. I can easily believe him, for the Finance Committees, both in the Provinces and at the Centre, pass so many schemes every year that it is not possible to put them through even if you have unlimited funds at your disposal. But I am not prepared to follow my Honourable friend when he says that no money can at all be found at this stage for the work which the Radio Research Board might be formed to encourage. I do not know whether my Honourable friend was present when the Budget was discussed here or when the debate on the Finance Bill took place. But had he been here, he would have perhaps perceived that if only a few officers placed on special duty, who have practically no work to do, were sent away by the Government of India, they would be able to save money for very useful work needed in a good many directions. Nor can I agree with my Honourable friend when he says that radio research must come a long way behind other needs which he has in view. I do not know what he is thinking of—

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : A Radio Research Board.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Yes, it is the Radio Research Board I refer to and I think I made it clear that radio research can be carried on effectively only under the auspices of a well-organised Research Board of the kind that exists in England, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. I quoted the opinions of scientists who have a right to speak on this subject with authority that such a Board was needed at the present stage of development in India. My Honourable friend seeks to make out that radio research is something different from the activities of a Radio Research Board of the kind I have in view. I am afraid he is wholly out of court there. I cannot allow him to set his own opinion on that point against the opinions of distinguished scientists whose views in private at least he would be prepared to respect. Sir, radio research is not connected merely with the needs of a few well-to-do people. It is required in order to further mass education, and in order to quicken the interests of the villagers in what is going on outside so that they may widen their horizons and learn those methods by which they might be able to add to their exiguous incomes. Surely research which is connected with so important a subject as the needs of the masses ought not to be spoken of as lightly as was done by my Honourable friend Mr. Clow.

Now, I come to the last argument which is that in the absence of funds it would be wasting the time of scientists to call them together here merely to give advice on general problems and to co-ordinate the work that is being done now. I do not think that if Government could easily establish an Advisory Research Board, they would not be prepared to do so. There is an Advisory Committee established in connection with Broadcasting. But this Committee probably consists entirely of local men. A Committee which has to meet frequently may well be composed only of local men. But a Research

Board of the kind that I have in view need not meet every week or even every month. It will be quite enough if it met quarterly. Perhaps it would be enough, to begin with, if it met only twice a year. The Board will therefore not be very expensive and will at the same time be very helpful. I am quite certain that if in the Departments of the Government of India there were scientists who could advise them in regard to research, they would not hesitate to form a committee consisting of these men. I suppose, they would themselves like to have the opinions of many competent men instead of depending on the advice of only one or two men concerned with the present Department. They may not have scientific workers in their own departments, but is that any reason why they should not welcome the co-operation and assistance which they can receive from scientific workers at the universities? Even at the present stage, even when funds are not forthcoming, it would serve a useful purpose if the scientific investigators and the practical workers could come together, stimulate one another and define clearly the problems which each section has to tackle. Sir, I am entirely unconvinced by the arguments used by my Honourable friend Mr. Clow. I am afraid that it is only want of will that prevent the Government of India from carrying out the object of my Resolution. I therefore ask Honourable Members on this side of the House at least to give it their full support.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : Sir, I was a little surprised to hear my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru rebuking me for treating the subject lightly. I should be very sorry indeed if I gave to any Member the slightest impression that I was treating the subject lightly. There was no light remark in my previous speech at all.

If I may come to what fell from my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam, I think he suggested that one of the main things needed was an improvement in the village programmes. Well, that may or may not be the case, but I suggest for his consideration that the formation of a Radio Research Board, even if we could give it fairly wide terms of reference, would hardly extend to the substitution of heavier items for lighter items in a village programme. I think I would be going outside the sphere of the Resolution if I deal with what ought or ought not to come into village programmes, a subject on which I am very far from being an expert myself. But I suggest that there is a limit to the amount of education that you can impart and that a certain amount of jam has to be given with the powder at times.

Then my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru dealt with the needs—I think he said the grievances—of university workers. He showed a strong reluctance to use the term “money”. He said that university teachers had a grievance that they were not being given enough “facilities”. He said they wanted “opportunities”. But I gather that both those expressions are euphemisms for “money”. Well, I wish I had the money to give them. It is not because there is any lack of sympathy with scientific research that I am not in a position to do so.

But it is clear that behind this Resolution, at any rate in some Honourable Members' minds, there is agreement that a Board that merely met—as the Honourable Mr. Kunzru suggested at the end—to demarcate the field and deal with things of that kind would be practically useless, and that if a Board is going to achieve results in this important field it must be provided with funds. I do not myself believe that it is of much value to set up a Board before any one can see the available funds. He said that the Board might be called to give advice on general problems. I have a great respect for professors of Physics, as of other subjects, but I do not think a Board of

[Mr. A. G. Clow.]

distinguished physicists would be a very suitable body for giving advice on general problems as opposed to scientific ones.

Now, I think my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam said that we ought to make a small beginning. Well, I tried to say that we have done so, I find that we are spending on our own little research branch next year Rs. 66,000, and I do not think I am revealing a great secret when I say we wanted to get more than that and more could not be given to us. And the position really comes down to this, that if I were to agree that we should set up a Radio Research Board, even if we were to give only the small sum of Rs. 33,000 that Mr. Hossain Imam suggested, we should definitely be taking away from what we had available in other directions. I do not see how you can get away from that point. My judgment may be altogether mistaken, but I do see even within the broadcasting field, and I am sure other Honourable Members of this House will see too, many other things which can legitimately be regarded as having a prior claim.

As regards my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru's appeal for co-operation, I entirely agree with him. I should like to see full co-operation between scientists, practical experts on this subject and all who are interested in broadcasting. But I suggest respectfully to this House that the setting up of a Radio Research Board of the type which exists in the United Kingdom, however useful it may be in the United Kingdom or here for other purposes, would not be the most suitable means, nor is it a necessary means, of securing that co-operation.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): The Question is :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the great importance of radio development to India an All-India Radio Research Board be established on the lines of the Radio Research Board of the United Kingdom."

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF INDIAN JUDGES IN HIGH COURTS.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA) (to the Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain): Will you give me some indication as to the time you are likely to take in moving your Resolution?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: I will take some little time. If you would be pleased to take it up tomorrow I think that would be better.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): Very well. In that case you will move the proposition just now and make your speech tomorrow morning.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West: Muhammadan): I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the number of Indian Judges in the High Courts of India be increased to at least two-thirds of the total number of the Judges of that High Court."

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (SIR PHIROZE SETHNA): You will make your speech tomorrow.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 6th April, 1937.