

Thursday, 27th February, 1941

**THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES**

VOLUME I, 1941

(19th February to 4th April, 1941)

**NINTH SESSION
OF THE
FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1941**



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COUNCIL OF STATE

Thursday, 27th February, 1941.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.

32. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA** (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh) : Was there a scheme before Government for the manufacture of automobiles in India for war purposes ? Was it opposed by the military authorities ? Has the scheme materialized ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. C. PRIOR : The Honourable Member is referred to paragraph 4 of the Press Communique issued by the Department of Commerce on the 16th December, 1940. Government have nothing to add to it. Copies of the Communique are in the Library.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY LINE FROM THE PUNJAB TO SRINAGAR.

33. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA** (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh) : Are Government aware of any proposal to run a railway line from the Punjab up to Srinagar in Kashmir ? If so, what is the scheme in its broad detail, and when is it likely to be taken in hand ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON : No proposal to run a railway from the Punjab to Srinagar is under consideration.

The second part of the question does not arise.

ALL-INDIA RADIO.

34. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA** (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh) : Will Government state whether any steps have been taken by All-India Radio to evolve a simple and easily intelligible Hindi language bereft of high Persian or Urdu expressions for purposes of news bulletins ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : No, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Is the Honourable Member aware that the language used by All-India Radio is more Hindi than that of the B.B.C., the German and Rome radios ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : That is more an argument than a question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am asking for information, Sir. Does not the language used by the All-India Radio contain more Hindi words than that of the Indian broadcasts from Germany and Rome ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : If that is so obvious, then why do you ask the question ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am asking for opinion, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Asking for opinion is not allowed.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am asking for information, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Is it the suggestion of the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam that Rome and Berlin should be imitated by All-India Radio ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : As well as the B.B.C. Daventry also commits the mistake.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : No, Sir ; that is not my information.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will the Honourable Member make inquiries and find out ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I have made inquiries. It is possible that a few more words of Hindi origin are used in the All-India Radio broadcast, but the Honourable Member will realize that our attempt throughout has been to use a vocabulary in our news broadcasts which will be understood by the largest number of people who listen to them. That consideration probably does not apply to Germany or Rome.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : What about your B.B.C. ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Are Government aware that there have been complaints that All-India Radio has on many occasions used highly Persianized language ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : We have had complaints from both sides.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Is it not a fact, Sir, that All-India Radio invariably use highly Persianized language ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I am afraid I cannot concede that. I do not think that All-India Radio intentionally tries to use either more Urdu words or more Hindi words.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA : Has the Government of India received any representation from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan on this ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I cannot remember the precise representation that the Honourable Member is referring to but we have had many representations from both sides.

GRAND TRUNK ROAD.

35. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh) : Is there any proposal before Government for widening and improving the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar ? If so, when is the work likely to be taken in hand, and when is it likely to be completed, and what is the approximate cost, initial and recurring, involved in the scheme ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : There is no such proposal before Government. The removal of certain defects in the road by the strengthening or replacement of weak bridges is being carried out by certain Provincial Governments, or is under discussion with them. No reliable estimate has yet been framed of the total cost. The additional recurring expenditure will, so far as can be judged, be negligible.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, whether this is to be charged to the provincial revenues or to the Road Fund ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I have stated, Sir, that the removal of certain defects in the road is being carried out by certain Provincial Governments. The intention is that they will readjust their road programmes which are financed from the Road Fund to provide for the improvements referred to here.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Do we take it that it will come up before the Roads Committee for its approval ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Some of these proposals have been placed before the Standing Committee for Roads already, and others will be in the usual course.

AIR FORCE RESERVE TRAINING SCHEME.

36. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh) : Will Government give the main details of the aviation training scheme, with special reference to the places where such training centres have been or will be located, the number of apprentices to be taken for training, and the likely period of the training course ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : An outline of the Air Force Reserve Training Scheme will be found at pages 9—14 of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Standing Finance Committee, held on the 9th September, 1940 (Volume XVII—No. 1). Since then the scheme has undergone some modifications which are explained in a Press note issued by the Director of Civil Aviation in India on the 17th January, 1941, a copy of which is placed on the table of the House. It will be observed that the number required was not forthcoming and that steps are being taken to obtain further candidates for selection by stages, to make up the quota required.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, whether the Selection Committees are formed by the Military or the Communications Department ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : So far, only one Selection Committee has examined these candidates and that Committee was constituted of one

representative of the Civil Aviation Department, and one representative of the Air Force presided over by Sir Padamji Ginwala.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know if there was any Muslim on that Committee ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : No, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government consider the advisability of having a Muslim on the Selection Committee ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Naturally the selection has to be made from the best candidates and I do not understand how a Muslim would necessarily be able to make better selections than expert officers of the Air Force and the Civil Aviation Directorate, who are familiar with the requirements of the Air Force.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will the Honourable Member say what is the percentage of Muslims recruited as these apprentices ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I have the figures here. As it happens, the number of Muslims taken in forms a fairly good proportion of the total. Altogether, the Ginwala Committee found 129 candidates fit in all respects and of them 27 are Muslims.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I suppose you are satisfied now ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA : Let us hope so !

PRESS NOTE.

TRAINING OF PILOTS AND MECHANICS FOR AIR FORCES FIRST BATCH OF CANDIDATES POSTED TO FLYING CLUBS AND TRAINING SCHOOLS.

Plans for further recruitment.

Of the 129 candidates found fit by the Ginwala Committee, 28 have been entered direct into the Air Force Initial Training School as commissioned officers in the Indian Air Force Reserve, and with the posting of a class of trainees to Jodhpur in a few days time the first batch of 100 pilots will be under training at the 10 flying clubs in India. At most of the clubs flying training commenced immediately after Christmas.

The first consignment of training aeroplanes have been distributed to the clubs and are in course of erection. Additional hangar, workshop and store accommodation, where required, is under construction. Provisional arrangements have been made for the housing of trainees pending the completion of more permanent arrangements.

The course of instruction is a whole time course and the trainees, while remaining civilians, are kept under disciplinary control ; the day starts with physical training. Apart from flying training, which occupies on an average one hour a day, ground instruction is given in airmanship, aircraft and aero-engines, theory of flight, navigation, meteorology, signalling, English, mathematics, general physics, first aid, and short periods are allotted to workshop training.

The length of the course and the extent of flying training, which is planned on the basis of a four months' course, will depend on the demands of the Air Force. In the course as now contemplated every trainee will be expected to achieve the minimum standard of a civil pilot's "A" licence with about 25 hours' flying training. Selections will be made from these trainees for periodical entries as officer cadets or with commissioned rank into the Initial Training School.

Many candidates unsuitable.

The report of the Ginwala Committee makes it clear that, even after the vigorous weeding out which was applied before candidates were brought before them, there was still a high percentage of unsuitable candidates. Many, it was found, did not appreciate what they were applying for and were merely interested in jobs.

●

The Ginwala Committee emphasised the importance of a good standard of education including proficiency in English and good general knowledge, to enable the selected candidates to absorb the instruction to be given them. Proficiency in sport and military experience in such bodies as University Training Corps were emphasised as valuable qualifications. University degrees alone were not found to be a good guide to a candidate's suitability. In fact, the Committee found that younger boys with lower academic qualifications, having the other qualities of character, social standing and early training proved better candidates.

Another Selection Board.

The general standard of physical fitness was lamentably low and the Committee emphasised that men wearing glasses or who do not conform to the prescribed height or weight standards, should not waste time by applying. While one-third of those who were called for interview failed to appear, the Committee found only 25 per cent of the balance suitable for consideration and of these less than 60 per cent were found medically fit.

It is believed by those responsible that this by no means gives a fair cross section. Suitable types exist if they can be attracted and the percentage of suitable men will be improved if irresponsible applications can be eliminated.

The examination of several thousand new applications is in hand and a selection board will shortly be convened to interview candidates who will be required for training in the clubs about the end of February. A further recruiting campaign will shortly be launched. An endeavour will be made to attract a more suitable type of candidate than the majority of those who were available for selection by the Ginwala Committee.

Training of mechanics.

More than 38,000 applications for training under the scheme to train mechanics have been dealt with but only 2,600 were considered fit for interview and of these a number failed to appear. Six hundred trainees, constituting the first class, are now being posted to :—

- The Bengal Engineering College, Sibpore ;
- The College of Engineering, Madras ;
- The College of Engineering, Poona ;
- The Air Services of India School, Jamnagar ; and
- The Jamshedpur Technical Institute.

Training will commence early in February. The other schools selected for this training are expected to be ready shortly. All the selected candidates have been enrolled in the Indian Air Force Volunteer Reserve.

The selection of candidates up to now has been carried out by specially constituted Civil Aviation and Air Force Interview Boards at Madras, Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi. Arrangements have now been made for future recruitment to be made by the Air Force Recruiting Officers at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore. The National Service Labour Tribunals already constituted at these places have been requested to co-operate and recommend to the Air Force Recruiting Officers any candidates for war technicians' training organised by the Labour Department whom they may consider as suitable for Air Force training.

A syllabus of training has been issued by the Civil Aviation Directorate to each training centre. Comprehensive tool kits are being issued to each trainee. The course of training during the first four months will be basic training covering fitting, carpentry and elementary instruction on engines and aero-frames.

Twelve months' course.

One of the principal objectives aimed at in the course of training is to ensure that the mechanics will have the basic knowledge of engineering and workshop practice and the manual skill necessary to enable them to absorb and put into practice the more specialised training which they will receive later both in the Civil training centres and in the Air Force.

The course will start with instruction in the use of tools and will comprise the reading of machine drawings ; marking out work ; properties of metals ; engineering standards ; filing, drilling, rivetting and other workshop operations ; properties of timber ; seasoning, gluing and joining ; internal combustion engines, their construction and functioning ; construction of aircraft, wood and metal ; functions of the component parts ; principles of flight ; and handling of aircraft.

The course is planned to cover a period of twelve months' basic and advanced training. According to the requirements of the Indian Air Force, however, the course may be confined to basic training in the case of any trainees who can be absorbed by the Indian Air Force after a period of about four months.

DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA.

NEW DELHI ;

January 17, 1941.

PROVINCIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR WAR SUPPLIES.

37. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh) : (a) Is it a fact that under the directions of Government the Provincial Advisory Committee for War Supplies formed about April last year for Bengal, is to include within its jurisdiction the Provinces of Bihar, Assam and Orissa also ?

(b) Has Bihar within her borders, besides coal and other war materials the biggest steel manufacturing plant, which has been supplying the major portion of the steel and other war requirements ?

(c) Will Government state why a separate Provincial Advisory Committee for War Supply has not been established in Bihar ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) Because it was considered inadvisable to multiply the number of committees. There are six Controllers of Supplies and a Committee was appointed at the headquarters of each of them.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know who are the representatives of Bihar on this Committee in Calcutta ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : I want notice of that question, Sir.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

38. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Will Government be pleased to state :—

- (i) the strength of the present cadre of the Indian Civil Service ;
- (ii) the number of Europeans in the Indian Civil Service ;
- (iii) the number of Indians in the Indian Civil Service ;
- (iv) the proportion fixed for European recruitment ;
- (v) the proportion fixed for Indian recruitment ;
- (vi) the method of selection of European candidates followed since the war ;
- (vii) the method of selection of Indians for I.C.S. posts in India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : (i), (ii) and (iii). The actual strength of the I. C. S. on the 1st January, 1941 was 1,205 of which 585-

were Europeans, 617 Indians including 121 holders of listed posts and three unclassified officers of mixed descent but of non-Asiatic domicile.

(iv) and (v). The proportion of direct recruitment of Europeans and Indians to the I. C. S. has been fixed by the Secretary of State at 50 : 50.

(vi) Owing to the difficulties of holding an examination in England in time of war, the system of recruitment of Europeans, which was formerly partly by selection and partly by examination, has since last year been changed into one of selection only.

(vii) Indians are recruited to the I. C. S. in India partly by open competition and partly by nomination to redress communal inequalities.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, when was the last selection made in England and what were the numbers of Europeans and Indians ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : The last selection was made last year in England and 11 Europeans and six Indians were selected.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : And what was the number of Indians recruited by examination here ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : I must ask for notice of that question, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Are European candidates being trained at Dehra Dun ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : The European probationers and the Indian probationers are being trained together at Dehra Dun.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : What is the number of European probationers at Dehra Dun ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : I have already answered that question, Sir, 11 Europeans were taken last year.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Have they all come out to India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : One was delayed : I am not sure whether he is still on his way. I think he has actually arrived.

RESOLUTION *RE* PREVENTION OF PERSONS SUFFERING FROM CONTAGIOUS DISEASES TRAVELLING IN TRAINS, ETC.

THE HONOURABLE MAULVI ALI ASGAR KHAN (Assam : Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution standing in my name runs as follows :—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that adequate steps be taken forthwith to prevent, and sufficient checking be imposed by the authorities concerned upon, the travelling of lepers and persons suffering from dangerous diseases such as tuberculosis in railways, steamers and buses and also from haunting public places like hotels and restaurants so that the progress of the dangerous diseases which are eating into the vitality of the Indian nation be checked.”

[Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan.]

Sir, in bringing forward this Resolution I am voicing a long felt want which has not been tackled comprehensively as yet.

The picture of lepers, tubercular patients and persons suffering from other contagious diseases crowding our trains and other means of transport is too familiar to be stressed. How often some fell disease like cholera originated in some remote corner of the country and spread like wild fire through the unrestricted movements of infected persons.

No one can deny that this state of affairs has led to the prevalence and permanence of contagious diseases in this country. Whereas people of western countries can take steps themselves to keep away from infected persons, knowing as they do the danger that lies in a closer contact we in India are far too indifferent to take necessary steps ourselves. The bulk of the people travelling in the lowest classes of steamers, railways, motor buses, are not sufficiently aware of the danger they run, and if they are, a misguided sense of pity prevents them doing what they should.

It is for these reasons, Sir, that steps should be taken by Government to remedy the effects of indifferent benevolence. I am aware, Sir, that " Public Health " has been a provincial subject and in these days of provincial autonomy the Central Government is not in a position to step into the breach where it exists.

What I do know however is that railways which carry the bulk of passenger traffic in the country are a central subject and so is shipping. I would therefore restrict myself to these three means of transport.

I may say at the outset that it is quite possible that there may be some long-forgotten enactment in the Statute-book which might have been intended but never used for the purpose I have in view. If there is any such thing I would suggest that it should be put into effective use. If there is no such provision it is high time that stringent measures were taken to cope with this persistent evil.

It is up to the executive Government to evolve detailed measures but I would suggest that qualified doctors be employed at terminal railway stations and important intermediate stations to check passengers and to detain those suffering from contagious diseases. It may sound harsh but the greater good of the greater number demands this precaution which would be as nothing compared to quarantine regulations. In less dangerous cases travelling should be permitted in a compartment set apart for the purpose. The same procedure should apply to shipping. Rules should be framed to make the owner or driver of a motor bus punishable for carrying infected persons.

If leprosy and other infectious diseases could be eradicated from England and other European countries where once the toll of these diseases were very high why this could not be done in case of India ? I quite realize that conditions in India are quite different from those countries still, if the Government come forward to save the Indian nation from these calamities, I am quite confident that very soon India itself will be free from all fell diseases. I do not wish to take up more time but I feel sure that I would have the support of all Honourable Members in introducing this very necessary and overdue measure.

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : I am sure, Sir, that the House will view this Resolution which has been moved by my esteemed friend with sympathy. There is no

doubt that we ought to make an earnest effort to eradicate these diseases for prevention is better than cure. My Honourable friend has suggested some ways in which the problem can be tackled. For example, he says that in railway trains compartments might be specially reserved for sick people who are suffering from infectious or contagious diseases. Also it may be necessary for us to help in establishing leper asylums. The work is one which needs the co-operation both of the public and of the Government and one great difficulty here in this country is that the public has no correct appreciation of the nature of these diseases and how they spread. Sir, I would like with these words to express my deep sympathy with the object underlying the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan): Sir, there can be no doubt that it is essential that the spread of contagious diseases should be checked. The problem is indeed a difficult one. As my Honourable friend on this side said, it requires the co-operation of the public as well as the Government and it is very difficult, unless the public comes forward particularly in the case of travel on railways. Railways should make special arrangement for the travelling of people suffering from contagious diseases. Contagious diseases in this country are many in number and are equally dangerous. It is very difficult to find people who are ready to come forward and ask the Railway Department to make special arrangements for them as they are afraid of restrictions and expense. When we know that a certain person suffering from a certain disease intends to travel by train or certain people are going to visit public places and they are willing to have special arrangement made, that facility should be given to them. For instance, if patients who are suffering from such diseases give 24 hours' notice to station masters, some special arrangement should be made for them. It is very difficult to put forward before the House any definite scheme which would stop altogether contagious diseases from being spread either on the railways or in public places. Beggars who are lepers visit railway platforms and other public places and the police over there should be instructed not to allow them freely to visit these public places.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY (Communications Secretary): Sir, the Honourable Member who moved this Resolution did not appear to realize that actually we have legislation to prevent people suffering from contagious diseases from travelling in trains and public transport vehicles. The remarks that fell from the last speaker make it necessary that I should explain what the regulations on the subject are, because what he asks for are provided in existing regulations. Section 47 of the Railways Act confers powers to make rules for the purpose of preventing people suffering from contagious and infectious diseases from travelling on railways and section 71 of the Railways Act lays down that a railway administration may refuse to carry, except in accordance with conditions prescribed under section 47, a person suffering from an infectious or contagious disease, that a person suffering from such a disease shall not travel upon a railway without the special permission of the station master or other railway servant; and finally, that a railway servant giving such permission must arrange for the separation of the person suffering from the disease from other persons travelling on the railway. The rules made under section 47 provide that a person suffering from a contagious disease shall not be carried on any train unless he has engaged a reserved compartment, and all necessary arrangements have been made for the separation of the passenger

[Mr. S. N. Roy.]

and his attendants from other persons travelling on the railway. It also provides for any other special precautions considered necessary by the railway staff. These provisions do exist at the present time and on the road transport side similar provision has been made in section 68 (2) of the Motor Vehicles Act which was passed by this House two years ago. That section confers rule-making powers on Provincial Governments in respect of the conveyance in a stage and contract carriages of persons suffering from infectious diseases and the disinfection of such carriages. Although the Government of India have not the power to lay down rules—the power has been given to Provincial Governments—they took the initiative in framing certain model rules for the guidance of Provincial Governments and circulated them to Provincial Governments for adoption. These provide that no driver and no conductor of a public service vehicle shall cause or allow to enter into or to be placed or carried in the vehicle any person whom he knows or has reason to believe to be suffering from any infectious disease; the driver and conductor may allow a person suffering from such a disease to be carried in a public vehicle provided that no other person save a person or persons in attendance on the sick person shall be carried in the vehicle at the same time. There is provision also that he should report at destination immediately to the Public Health Department, so that the conveyance can be disinfected. Now although these provisions exist both on the road transport side and on the railways, it is probable that they are not strictly enforced. As I shall presently show there are a great many practical difficulties. I was rather hoping that my Honourable friend would give us some suggestions as to how they can be more effectively enforced. He suggested the employment of doctors at certain stations. Well, Sir, I remember myself many years ago when plague first came to this country such precautions were taken; trains were held up; passengers were asked to get out; they were cordoned round; doctors went round feeling their pulses and looking at their tongues. All this involved enormous delay and as far as I remember the steps taken were far from being popular. The rules laid down under section 47 of the Railways Act have defined what diseases were to be regarded as contagious. They include cerebro-spinal meningitis, chicken pox, cholera, diphtheria, leprosy, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, whooping cough, but not consumption. The reason for that quite obviously is that it is quite impossible to say whether a person is suffering from it unless he is in the last stages of it. Well, Sir, the only way of enforcing the provision on the railways would be to cordon off the passengers at every station and to have them examined. Even then, you would not be able to eliminate all the cases that are suffering from contagious diseases. It is easy enough to find out if people are suffering from chicken pox or small pox. But infectious fevers are very difficult to detect by the mere feeling of the pulse. In the case of consumption again, detection is by no means easy. But any action of that kind would mean that travellers would take a long time to get to their destinations. On the Roads side, the problem is still more difficult. You have probably a driver or a conductor who has no idea of what these diseases mean. He is accustomed to take a very tolerant view of these diseases. How is he—although the law exists—how is he to be relied upon to tell passengers suffering from contagious diseases that they are not to enter the vehicle? Is it suggested that we should carry a doctor on each vehicle? Now, Sir, the whole difficulty, as some of the Members pointed out, is that measures of this kind can only be made effective by awakening the public conscience and by effective co-operation between public servants and the public. So long as the public conscience has not been

awakened, I doubt very much if it will be possible to tighten up the rules in any way. Actually in certain matters a great deal of progress has been made, in regard for example, to epidemic diseases. Whenever melas or fairs are held, like the Kumbh Mela in the United Provinces and the Saugor mela in Bengal, railways do make special arrangements in co-operation with the public health officers of the Provincial Government to see that preventive measures are taken, that contagious cases are segregated and so on and any one who has read the latest Report of the Public Health Commissioner will realize that these measures have achieved a very considerable degree of success. Figures, I think, are given in that Report to show that in 1938, epidemics in melas and fairs, were small compared to previous years.

Everywhere public authorities have to rely on education and public co-operation to make regulations for prevention of contagious diseases from spreading, effective. In England, for example the question of infection in air raid shelters is now being widely discussed and anyone who reads the English papers or gets letters from friends will know that the public health authorities have been advising people suffering from contagious diseases to leave congested areas for the country so as to avoid the necessity of their having to go into air raid shelters. It is only by education that you can make such measures effective. Honourable Members are aware that public health authorities in India are taking steps to disseminate information on the subject of infectious diseases, the preventive measures should be taken and so forth, and one hopes that this educative propaganda is achieving a certain measure of success. But progress, specially in a country like India where so many social factors enter into the problem is bound to be slow and gradual. Although we have every sympathy with the object of the Resolution I am unable to see in what way we can in practice make the regulations which exist more effective.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan): Sir, may I ask for information on a certain subject? The Honourable Member has assured us that there is no lack of rules and regulations in the Government's code in consonance with the demand of Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan. I understand that the only trouble, which the railways are unable to remove, is the want of co-operation on the part of the public. But may we know whether he will promise that the railways will give every facility if notification is given to the railway authorities sufficiently early to provide accommodation for people suffering from these kinds of diseases?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Is this a question, Sir, or a speech?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Sir, I am asking for elucidation of the point.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Honourable Member is in the habit of making speeches on a request for information.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am asking whether, if information is sent to the authorities sufficiently early, the railways would provide the accommodation without charging extra for the reservation.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Well, Sir, all I can say is that, as I pointed out, the rules specifically lay down on this point—that no passenger suffering from an infectious or a contagious disease shall be carried on any train.

[Mr. S. N. Roy.]

unless (i) he has engaged a reserved compartment, (ii) all necessary arrangements have been made for the separation of the passenger and his attendants from other persons travelling on the railway, and (iii) any other special precautions considered necessary have been taken to prevent infection being communicated to other persons. Well, that makes it perfectly clear that if any person makes a request to the railway to provide accommodation the railway will do so.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : But at whose cost ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRIJA SHANKAR BAJPAI (Leader of the House) : I think the Resolution is aimed at imposing restrictions on the movements of people suffering from infectious or contagious diseases. The proposal is not that the railways should provide free lifts to people suffering from these diseases.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : The railways, Sir, should not spread the disease.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : But obviously it is not the railway that is spreading the disease but the individual.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution which has been moved by the Honourable Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan. The Honourable Mr. S. N. Roy's reply has not been very assuring, because he has compared India, a very big country, which sometimes is called a continent, with a small island like England where the longest journey can be finished in about eight to ten hours. Infection in about eight to ten hours cannot be so much as infection in four days' travelling. In the section which the Honourable Mr. Roy has cited there is no penal provision for the offender. There must be a provision that if any person, who is suffering from a highly infectious disease, travels in a railway compartment, he will be punished. The very fact that the Honourable Maulvi Saheb has moved this Resolution in this House shows strong public opinion for it and the request is so reasonable that some sort of remedy must be found. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam has suggested that there may be a separate compartment for people who are suffering from serious epidemic diseases. That is one way in which the difficulty can be met. Another point which I want to raise is that in stations where there is a great epidemic prevailing, whether it be of small-pox or cholera, plague or meningitis or any other disease, some sort of notice or a big placard should be placed at such station so that those who visit those stations may know that such-and-such epidemic is existing in that town and that they should take care of themselves.

Sir, the reply of the Honourable Mr. Roy does not go much to show how the railways want to tackle this question. Public opinion is getting stronger and stronger. He himself has admitted that diseases like small-pox and plague and mumps can be easily distinguished and easily found out. There must be some means adopted to stop that. I think, to start with, the suggestion of the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam is reasonable that one or two compartments may be kept for those who are suffering from highly infectious diseases and from very serious epidemics, and I also suggest that adequate provision be made that anybody who is breaking that section which you have quoted will be punished.

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

THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI : Mr. President, I wish in the first place to remove any misapprehension in the minds of Honourable Members that the Resolution which has been moved by the Honourable Member from Assam does not evoke sympathy from this side of the House. We are very sympathetic. But it has been recognized by different speakers that it is not merely a question of academic sympathy ; it is generally a question of how you are going to make that sympathy effective. It is not merely rules and regulations that will make that sympathy effective. We can multiply them as much as you like. If I may venture to say so, even rousing the public conscience by itself is not going to make these rules and regulations effective. What I think to be really necessary is that there should be co-operation between Provincial Governments who are responsible for public health within provincial limits on the one hand and those responsible for central agencies of transport on the other. One suggestion I am prepared to make for the consideration of the House is—and I hope that if it commends itself to the Honourable Mover, he will not press the Resolution, because if he does, in the form in which it stands we shall have no option but to oppose it—my suggestion is this. There is such a body as the Central Advisory Board of Public Health on which this House is represented. I am quite willing in my capacity as Education Member and as Chairman of that body to bring up the subject matter of this Resolution for consideration before the Central Advisory Board of Public Health. It will then be for the medical and public health experts on the one hand and the representatives of the railways on the other—they also find a place on the Board—to see to what extent we can carry further the existing rules and regulations for preventing the dissemination of disease by the use of means of public transport. It may not achieve all that my Honourable friend desires, but, *festina lente*, I fear, must be the motto which Government and the public alike must adopt if the object is to achieve real as distinct from purely window-dressing progress.

THE HONOURABLE MAULVI ALI ASGAR KHAN : Sir, Government have given the assurance that they will take up this matter in the Central Advisory Board of Public Health and so I do not like to press the Resolution any further and agree to withdraw it. The Government will put forward my views in that Board and the Board will find out ways and means how to eradicate these diseases. Leprosy, which was once very badly prevalent in England, has been totally eradicated from England, and if the Government takes the step which England has taken, I am sure our country also will be free from that disease.

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

RESOLUTION RE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution, namely :—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to advise the Secretary of State for India to suspend British recruitment to the Indian Civil Service during the period of the war.”

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

Sir, before I go on to develop my argument, I should like to say that I am not moving this Resolution in a spirit of hostility to the British members of the I.C.S. The I.C.S. has great traditions and both British and Indian members of the Service deservedly enjoy a very high reputation for ability, integrity, character and devotion to duty. The British section of the Service—and it was before the Montford era a more or less British Service—has given the country some men of exceptional ability like Sir John Lawrence, Lord Macdonald, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir James (now Lord) Meston and Lord Hailey. Though as a nationalist Indian I cannot say that the Service has been noted for its sympathy with Indian aspirations—bureaucrats—I hope my friends won't mind that word “bureaucrat”—bureaucrats always like to do things for the people, and they have, whether British or Indian, distrust of Government by the people—I cannot forget, Sir, that the founder of the greatest political organization in the country, the Indian National Congress, was a Britisher and that in the early days of the national movement, it supplied two Presidents to the Indian National Congress. Also, Sir, in fairness to the British members of the Service I should like to say that they have shown, and I have particularly the younger section of the Civil Service in mind, capacity to adjust themselves to changing conditions. Political opponents who found themselves in power after the inauguration of provincial autonomy found that the British members of the Service, if not always in agreement with their policies, were ready to execute those policies in a spirit of commendable loyalty. I say all this because I do not wish my Resolution to be interpreted as an attack upon the British members of the Civil Service.

The inadequate opportunities that Indians have in serving their country in higher administrative positions is a long-standing grievance of the Indians. You can trace the controversy in regard to this grievance to the Sixties and Seventies of the last century. The equality of opportunity which was promised to them by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation remained largely unfulfilled until 1918 when the Montford Act was passed and the ratio fixed for Indians in the Civil Service was 33 per cent. rising by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. yearly to 48 per cent. in 1930. That Act, as we know also, was preceded by a declaration of British policy as progressive Indianization and progressive realization of responsible government. I am not going into the past controversies which are buried in the Reports of the Acheson Commission. They will be found earlier in Lord Lytton's despatch on the statutory civil service. They will be found in the Islington Commission's Report. I am not going into all that. I will take as my starting point the Lee Commission's Report in 1924. The Lee Commission reported on the 27th March, 1924 and it pointed out that the question of Indianization had assumed a new importance after the declaration of 1917. I would like just to quote them here. They say :—

“ In the days of the Islington Commission the question was how many Indians should be admitted into the public services. It has now become what is the minimum number of Englishmen which must still be recruited ”.

They also connect the constitutional issue with the question of Indianization and at page 17 they say :—

“ Subsequent to the signature of that Report (the Islington Report) and before orders were issued on its recommendations the announcement of August, 1917, had entirely changed the constitutional outlook. In the words of the authors of the Report on Indian constitutional reforms, the success of the new policy must very largely depend on the

extent to which it is found possible to introduce Indians into every branch of the administration. Recognizing that Indianization must be a long and steady process, they recommended that recruitment of a largely increased proportion of Indians should be initiated without delay if the services are to be substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for responsible government ”.

Now, Sir, the Lee Commission reported that the proportion of 50 to 50 per cent. in the cadre of the I. C. S. should be attained without undue delay and that the present rate of recruitment should be accelerated with that object. The present position therefore is, as has been stated by the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith, that the ratio of British to Indian recruitment is 50 to 50 per cent. The 50 per cent. recruitment is obtained partly by promotions to superior posts of Provincial Service officers, but mainly by direct recruitment from two sources—a competitive examination in England which is open to Indians under certain conditions and a separate examination in India followed by nomination which is used to maintain certain communal proportions. The present strength of the Service as Mr. Conran-Smith has told us this morning is 1,205. Of these 585 are Europeans and 617 are Indians, including 121 holders of listed posts. I am not quite sure whether some of these holders of listed posts are temporary. And there are three unclassified officers of mixed descent but of non-Asiatic domicile. Perhaps Mr. Conran-Smith will tell us whether all of these 121 officers holding listed posts are permanent or not.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : Permanent.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Sir, naturally, owing to a mistaken policy followed in the past, in the higher positions, that is in the superior posts, the British element predominates. But, Sir, it cannot be argued that the Indians in the Service have not rendered a good account of themselves. The Indian members of the Civil Services have shown that in ability, in character, in initiative, in driving power, in devotion to duty, they are in no way inferior to their British comrades. It cannot be argued today in 1941 that Indians are unfit for holding responsible positions. The Leader of this House is himself a very distinguished member of the I.C.S. and who that knows him will say that he is inferior either in ability, initiative or character to the best Britisher in the I.C.S. Therefore I will take it for granted that Indians have shown themselves fit for holding civil service appointments. Indians, Sir, have given also to the service men of exceptional ability like the late

12 Noon.

Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, Sir K. G. Gupta, Sir Atul Chatterjee ; so many names can be mentioned. The Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference recommended that the recruiting authority hereafter should be the Government of India and this was the recommendation also of the signatories to the Joint Memorandum to the Joint Select Committee. The Joint Memorandum was signed by Sir Zafrulla Khan. The White Paper suggested that the recruiting authority should continue to be the Secretary of State but that there should be an inquiry into the question of the recruiting authority five years after the inauguration of the new constitution. The Joint Select Committee, however, suggest that there should be greater elasticity about this period. They said they would not like to tie themselves to any definite period but they visualized nevertheless an inquiry. These are their exact words :—

“ We endorse the principle that the whole matter should be the subject of a further inquiry at a later date ; but past experience leads us to doubt the wisdom of fixing a definite and unalterable date for the holding of an inquiry of this kind. We agree that no useful purpose would be served by an inquiry before the expiration of five years ;

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

but we think it must be left to the Government of the day, in the light of the then existing circumstances, to determine whether after that period the time has arrived for such an inquiry”.

All this is, however, ancient history. The war has changed everything. Federation has not come into existence and the declared objective of His Majesty's Government is Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety, free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations at the earliest possible time. Now, Sir, Mr. Amery has stated in a recent speech—he has been making a large number of speeches and I cannot remember exactly what speech it is—he has stated in a recent speech that there is nothing to prevent Indians provided they can agree among themselves from attaining maximum power subject to certain limitations—the word “limitation” is important, the word used is limitation; not reservation—subject to certain limitations in regard to defence and the rights of the present members of the Service and certain obligations which Britain has towards Indian States. Now, Sir, I do not agree with that declaration. I would have liked it to be much more liberal than it is. I do not like the emphasis on the communal agreement; I do not like the emphasis on British obligations. But the point I wish to emphasize is that if Mr. Amery is to be believed—and I think you must take him at his word—it is intended by Britain that India should attain Dominion Status after the war. Well, Sir, if that is the position, is it not necessary to review the situation in the light of this declared objective? The position, as I see it, is this. If you go on recruiting you go on mortgaging the future, because you will have to respect the rights of the existing members of the Service. We have admired the heroic sacrifices which British youths are making in a cause which is fundamentally just and right. We have been told that conditions in England do not permit examinations to be held. Competitive examination in England has been abandoned. Candidates are being taken there by selection. Eleven Britishers were selected last year mainly by a *viva voce* test which is not always very satisfactory. These 11 candidates are being trained along with Indian candidates at Dehra Dun. And there are shipping difficulties. The Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith said that of these 11 candidates one was not able to come out to this country because he was not able to obtain a passage.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : On a point of explanation, Sir. I think I said that I understood he had since arrived.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Now, Sir, the general impression is—Mr. Conran-Smith will correct me if I am wrong—that vacancies in superior posts are being filled up by temporary promotion of Provincial Service men; also a number of men who were due to retire—that has been suggested, I do not know how far it is a fact; the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith will be able to throw light on this point—also a number of men who were due to retire have been retained. I suggest that all this is unsatisfactory. The position therefore ought to be reviewed and it is for this reason that I am suggesting that British recruitment should be suspended. The present position is neither fair to India nor fair to the men whom you are recruiting. Sir, I may state my own personal view quite frankly. I am for the stoppage of British recruitment to the I.C.S.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Only ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : To all the services. I might next time bring a Resolution about the Indian Police Service, and so on. This does not mean, however, that the Britisher will not be welcome in many positions in the India of the future. We all hope to have industrialization on a large scale in India after the war and for that industrialization we shall need foreign experts and there is no reason why we should not give preference if we need foreign assistance to the Britisher ; *but the recruiting and controlling authority hereafter must be the Government of India.* You may either provincialize the Civil Service or you may keep it on an all-India basis. I will indicate my own preference for keeping the I.C.S. on an all-India basis. If you have the Civil Service on an all-India basis you get a wider area of recruitment. Sir, we get a good quality for the I.C.S. examination. Those who pass out—I know that the number of candidates who sit for the I.C.S. is very large—but those who pass out are men of good quality. I do not think that they compare unfavourably with products of British Universities. I have friends in the I.C.S. who have passed out from India and I know that in intellectual calibre they are not inferior to the best products of the service in England. University education has improved considerably ; we have now a number of teaching and residential universities in this country. Research facilities are greater than they were before. There is a wider diffusion of culture also in the country. It is not, therefore, necessary for Indians to go to England for education and if you stop British recruitment and if you recruit men only from India the quality will not go down. I do not think, Sir, it can be seriously argued that quality will go down if British recruitment is stopped altogether.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Why do you anticipate the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam's amendment at this stage ? You will have a right to speak on the amendment later on.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I will not say anything about Mr. Hossain Imam's amendment.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : It has not yet been moved.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Even if you stop recruitment now, the British element in the Service will continue for a long time. In the Civil Service you can serve for 35 years if you like. Therefore, it strikes me that it is undesirable to mortgage the future. This question, Sir, is connected with the larger constitutional issue. Britain must make India feel that she is liquidating her so-called obligations. Deeds, Sir, and not words, are wanted to convince India that Britain really desires her to be free and self-governing. Unfortunately, Sir, in actual policies in recent months we have had no evidence of the new spirit of which we were told by some nine eminent Members of the British Parliament, some of them rather good and trusted friends of India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Any Cabinet Ministers among them ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : No. But they were all men of importance. Unfortunately, in actual policies we have had no evidence of the new spirit which, we were told by these nine eminent Members of Parliament, permeates England today. Sir, Government ought to make some contribution to easing the political situation in this country and I suggest that

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

one way in which Government can convince reasonable public opinion in this country that it means business is by suspending British recruitment. It may be said, Sir, that the Secretary of State cannot take this step without parliamentary sanction. I will just read a few relevant passages from section 244 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which is the section dealing with recruitment by the Secretary of State. Clause (4) of this section reads :—

“ It shall be the duty of the Governor General to keep the Secretary of State informed as to the operation of this section, and he may after the expiration of such period as he thinks fit make recommendations for modification thereof.

“ In discharging his functions under this sub-section, the Governor General shall act in his discretion ”.

And clause (3) reads :—

“ The respective strengths of the said services shall be such as the Secretary of State may from time to time prescribe, and the Secretary of State shall in each year cause to be laid before each House of Parliament a statement of the appointments made thereto and the vacancies therein ”.

Clause (2) reads :—

“ Until Parliament otherwise determines, the Secretary of State may also make appointments to any service or services which at any time after the said date he may deem it necessary to establish for the purpose of securing the recruitment of suitable persons to fill civil posts in connection with the discharge of any functions of the Governor General which the Governor General is by or under this Act required to exercise in his discretion ”.

Sir, in the first place, I think that parliamentary sanction is not necessary but, assuming that parliamentary sanction is necessary, it can be obtained for the stoppage of recruitment. Even in war time we saw the Government of India Act amended whenever it suited Government. It was amended in regard to give larger powers to the Governor General. It was amended to clarify the position in regard to the Employment Tax in the United Provinces. Members who have been sent as diplomatic representatives to foreign countries are being allowed to retain their seats in Parliament and there is a Bill actually before Parliament on this point just now. Therefore, Sir, I do not think that there is any force in the observation that the Government of India Act cannot be changed. It may be said, Sir, that I am prejudicing the findings of the committee that is to be appointed five years after the inauguration of the new constitution. Well, Sir, the whole constitution now is in the melting pot. The Secretary of State has prejudged the findings already by his declaration that India shall be a Dominion and that Indians shall be allowed to frame their own constitution, provided certain conditions are fulfilled which I do not regard as reasonable. The Secretary of State has already prejudged the issue. Therefore, Sir, I think the Government of India Act of 1935 is a dead letter. We cannot take our stand on it and say, “ Oh, there will be an inquiry after five years.” How is that declaration consistent with the other declaration that Indians shall frame their own constitution, subject to certain limitations ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : In moving this Resolution are you not prejudging the issue ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRÚ : There is another question. I would have used the word “ stop ” but I have used the word “ suspend ” in order to make it easier for the Government to accept the Resolution. There

are shipping difficulties in getting these young men from England. The system is very unsatisfactory. We have also to remember now that the maintenance of law and order at any rate in four provinces is an Indian charge. Indians have shown that they are competent to maintain law and order. I cannot, Sir, admit the claim that a British element in the Services is necessary on account of communal conflicts. If you can transfer law and order, why must you have a British element in the Services? Indian officers have shown that on critical occasions they can act just as impartially and as firmly as British officers. Therefore, Sir, I can see no reason for maintaining the present position. I am moving this Resolution in the hope that Government will make a gesture and I am certain that if Government make a gesture, it will be appreciated by the public.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to move the amendment which stands in my name, namely :—

“ That the word ‘ British ’ be omitted from the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. P. N. Saprū ”.

Mr. President, when the Honourable Mr. Saprū moved his Resolution, I had expected to listen to more cogent reasons for changing a system which has been in existence for such a long time. I had expected that like a statesman he will have tried to convince the minorities that their interests will not be trampled upon, and they will not be suppressed in the manner in which they are in the Railway Service. I had thought, Sir, that he will live in a world of reality—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : If you go on exchanging these courtesies, you will soon reach your 15 minutes.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Sir, I have to justify why I wish to retain the present character of the I.C.S. and therefore it will be necessary for me to dilate a little on those subjects. Mr. President, the day before yesterday, when we walked out, the Honourable Members of the Progressive Party were giving bouquets to the Honourable the Railway Member for his impartiality and no favours, having forgotten all their old work. A Resolution was moved by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition in this House asking for reservation of posts in the railways for each community. In 1937, the Honourable Pandit Kunzru moved a Resolution asking for a greater number of posts in the Secretariat for Indians in the Civil Service. All these things showed that they were not very sure about the impartiality or that they thought that something more could be given to Indians. But “ Indian ” does not mean in the vocabulary of my friends “ Muslims ”. By “ Indian ” they simply mean “ Hindus ”, and in that sense they have been asking all along. Every opportunity which is given to my Honourable friends to call for Indianization is used with that motive.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Is all this relevant to the Resolution, Sir ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I am following his argument to see if it is relevant.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am afraid of what will happen to my community when you have the I.C.S. reserved for Indians ; as in reality it will be for the Hindus ; what is the case at the present moment ?

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

Are not my friends asking that there should be no reservation, no favours, nothing of the kind, the officers are there, they may select Muslims or they may not select Muslims. *The examiners will be Hindus, the officers will be Hindus, and the Muslims can have no place.* That is the prospect which was held out by my Honourable friends to us the day before yesterday—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Your amendment is to delete the word " British ".

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : With that, Sir, the Resolution will mean that there will be no recruitment to the I.C.S.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : That is another point.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : If the amendment is put in, the Resolution will mean that I do not wish to have any recruitment to the I.C.S. for the duration of the war. I cannot consent to the Indianization of the I.C.S. without making my own position secure, and if they have not sense enough to assure the minorities, then God help India. Even now, today, the Honourable Member said that the condition precedent laid down by Mr. Amery of composing the differences was unreasonable. Everything must be decided by the Saint of Sabarmati and Malabar Hill can have no place. These are the things which are driving us towards Pakistan. It is your own action which will be forcing us to regard ourselves not as Indians, because you do not count us as Indians. It is you who are turning us into Pakistanis.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : What do we count you as ? Moroccans ? Libyans ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : Foreigners.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Yes, foreigners to be enslaved. We are there to take the place which is being vacated by the Harijans. You are lifting them up to make room for us. I shall not dilate on this point. I have to concentrate on the main Resolution.

Sir, the composition of the I.C.S., if it is looked into deeply, will be found to contain many elements justifying stoppage of recruitment at the present moment as a temporary measure. First of all, no service in India, or for the matter of that, in the British Empire or anywhere in the world, has got a recruitment strength equal to that of the I.C.S. For every 100 posts, you were recruiting formerly 202·79 per cent. and now you are recruiting 184 per cent. For one post you recruit two men. That is the position of the I.C.S. Secondly, Sir, the rules which were framed in 1924 by the Lee Commission did not consider the effect of this new constitution of 1935. It is necessary that there should be a halt in the increase in the numbers of the I.C.S. so that there may be an easier adjustment. The position has been stated by the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith that at the moment we have 1,205 people in the Service. When I moved my Resolution in 1933, on the 11th September, the number in the Service was 1,158, with 604 superior posts. During the interval from 1933 to 1941, the Government have done one good thing. They have reduced two of the reserves which they used to maintain. The inferior posts reserve was 38·70 per cent. In my Resolution I had asked that it should be reduced to 23 per cent. But the Government have reduced it now to 26·09 per cent. There

has been an appreciable reduction in the inferior posts reserve. The leave reserve, Sir, was framed at a time when long leaves were the fashion and when the passage to England used to take a long time and when the Service consisted of nearly 70 per cent. of British personnel. At that date, Sir, the rules were framed with the result that formerly you had 41.49 per cent. as the leave reserve. And now at the present moment it is 37.72 per cent. Even now I venture to suggest that the leave reserve is excessive. If you examine the number of people on leave and the duration of the leave you will come to the conclusion that my suggestion in my past Resolutions of a 25 per cent. reserve is not small and is really based on the actualities of the situation. If you stop recruitment to the I.C.S. now the result will be that you will be saved from having so high numbers of incumbents for so small numbers of posts. At the moment you have created a certain number of extra posts for the purposes of the war for which you are engaging not only the I.C.S. but also retired personnel of other services. There is no reason why retired I.C.S. officers should not be taken and kept on in these war work posts where it may be necessary.

Secondly, Sir, there is the question of the listing of the posts. The Honourable Mr. Sapru kept silent about that aspect. As far as I remember during the time when the Simon Commission was touring India many of the Provincial Governments submitted memoranda to it and I think nearly half of the provinces suggested provincialization of the services, just as they have now provincialized the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Service of Engineers, the Indian Forest Service. No appointments to these services of Europeans are now made by the Secretary of State ; they have become provincialized. I have also a hazy recollection (I have not been able to verify it), that even in the Joint Memorandum some suggestion was made that there should be a provincialization of the I.C.S. This is the third aspect of the matter with which I am particularly concerned at the moment. When I suggest that you would be justified in stopping recruitment altogether the advantage would be that you will maintain the *status quo*. You will not be mortgaging the future of India to those whom you are going to take in today. Has the Honourable Member forgotten that the pay of the I.C.S. is altogether out of keeping with the capacity of the taxpayers, or the *per capita* income of India. Does he think that it makes a man a better man by giving a higher pay and a worse man if he gets a smaller pay ? Gokhale was getting a very small pay, but was he a small man on that account ? Pay does not make a man big or small. It is the man himself who counts. Then there is the Congress suggestion of having a maximum of Rs. 500 a month, and Congress had the control in seven provinces. So, Sir, it would be better and more in keeping with the realities of the situation if you were to leave the Civil Service in the condition in which it now is pending the inquiry which has been promised by the Government into this whole question. I do not deny that Indians, including the Muslims, have a right to serve their country and to get a greater share in the services, but that does not mean that we should marry in haste and repent at leisure, that we should go on recruiting Indians without fixing their pay, without fixing the proportion in which services are recruited, without any examination of the Government of India posts which are carried by the I.C.S. For instance, you have no need for I.C.S. officers in the Posts and Telegraphs Department. That Department has services of its own and has its own cadre. There is no necessity for retaining three I.C.S. posts for that Department. Similarly is the case of the Customs. Formerly we had no Customs Service. Now the Central Government has a Customs Service. The same is the case of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, a good service recruited on an

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

all-India basis, a fully Indianized service. Why should we have I.C.S. officers thrust in there. All these are very big questions of policy which should be inquired into and on which you cannot come to a haphazard decision. The matter must be considered fully. I also, Sir, disagree with the present policy of the Government of India by means of which they have increased the number of posts for the Government of India on the I.C.S. cadre enormously since 1934. That is the last year for which I was able to get figures, and I find that the number of officers is almost 80 per cent. higher now than 1933. I am not referring to the special posts which have now been created. I am referring to the ordinary strength. I had expected that the Wheeler Committee's Report and reorganization of the Secretariat, when the pool of officers was formed, would have resulted in a reduction of I.C.S. officers. On the contrary it has resulted in an increase of I.C.S. officers required for the Central Government.

Then, Sir, there is another aspect of the question, which though the last is not the least. I refer to those who are now entering the war services, Indians and Europeans both who have offered themselves for service in the war. Are you going to turn them out when the war is finished? During the war they are wanted; you give them pay and ask them to go and offer their lives. Do not forget what happened after the Great War. Any number of people were thrown on the markets of the world unprovided for, and there was nothing done for them. I saw only recently a speech of Sir Maurice Hallett's at Cawnpore or Lucknow in which he said that his Provincial Government had stopped recruitment to the Medical Services in order to keep those places warm for those who are entering the war services. Could we not do something on the same lines to stop recruitment for the present and after the war the people with the war services could be obtained in the I.C.S. and other services. They should be given that opportunity and it is the least that a grateful country can do, to offer them some sort of employment in the Civil Services after the war; when today they are ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the country. Mr. President, I for one would earnestly request the Government to consider the feasibility of stopping recruitment to the I.C.S. and other services for the present in order to give facilities to those who have volunteered for war services—in all services and not only in the I.C.S. in respect of which I have brought forward this amendment.

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The debate will now proceed simultaneously both on the original Motion and the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE SIR RAMUNNI MENON (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, there is a slight ambiguity in the wording of the Honourable Mr. Sapru's Resolution, but under existing conditions that ambiguity does not matter much; and it is quite easy to interpret the Resolution. Strictly interpreted, the scope of the Resolution, it seems to me, is very limited. The Honourable Mr. Sapru, by means of a question which he put earlier in the day, gave us a kind of author's preface to his Resolution.

(At this stage the Honourable the President vacated the Chair, which was taken by the Honourable Sir David Devadoss.)

As might have been expected, and as he has made perfectly clear in the course of his speech, the purpose which he has in mind and the purpose which he intends the Resolution to serve is very far-reaching. In fact it goes far beyond what the scope of the Resolution would warrant one to expect, and it is quite clear that the subject which we are discussing is not

only complicated but controversial. If further proof of my statement is required, it is amply provided by the immediate reaction to his Resolution which the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam's amendment has supplied. It seems to me, therefore, that we are really embarking upon the discussion of a very complicated and controversial subject. While that is so, I think I can claim that we should speak on the Resolution as worded and I propose to say a word on it. What does the Resolution ask us to do? It asks us to make a recommendation, or to ask the Government of India to make a recommendation, to the Secretary of State in regard to a matter in which he is the sole authority, and our recommendation presumably will be based on a knowledge of conditions on which he will be the best judge. Nobody is in a better position to appreciate the difficulties of recruitment in Great Britain today than the Secretary of State himself, and if he has not already made up his mind as to the course of action which he should pursue, I do not for a moment imagine that any advice that this Council might communicate to him would influence his action in the least. If the Government of India are prepared to recommend to the Secretary of State the line of action that is suggested in the recommendation, well and good. But if they do not do so, I do not think the Secretary of State will hesitate to take the action that he considers proper; so that as far as that simple aspect of the Resolution is concerned, I do not think we gain anything by passing the Resolution.

Now, let us come to the larger aspect of the subject, an aspect which, as I have already said, is not only complicated but highly controversial. Various points have been discussed today which show the controversial character of it and I should like to mention a further point. Quite recently a Government communique was issued fixing certain proportions or provincial quotas for the candidates from various provinces to be recruited to the I.C.S. in future. That is a controversial matter in itself and further the proposal leads to the thought why if we are prepared to fix a quota for the candidates we could not go further and fix similar quotas for the recruits also? Why cannot a province provide the number of recruits that it needs? That opens up the further question why we want an all-India service at all and that question is intimately connected with constitutional questions; so that it is quite clear to me that the subject we are debating is a highly controversial subject.

The first question which I would like to ask myself and to ask the Council is this: is this an opportune moment for discussing and disposing of this controversial subject? It seems to me it is clearly not. There are indications, very clear indications, that after the war conditions in the world at large and I hope in this country also will be totally different from what they are today. Those conditions will certainly require a fresh outlook on the part of all. They will require a new orientation of administrative policy in the Government of India and in the Provincial Governments, an orientation which will involve a reorganization, after careful examination of course, of all the public services in India. Quite apart from this consideration, constitutional changes of great moment are bound to come and those changes will automatically involve a readjustment in the relation of the services to the Government and changes in the position, composition and conditions of service of all the Indian civil services. A re-examination of the whole question is inevitable. I am mentioning this quite apart from the statutory obligation to which reference has already been made by other speakers, by which the Government of India are bound to undertake a review after an interval. The period of the interval is not precisely mentioned, but it is quite obvious that the constitution contemplates a review at not a very distant date. It seems to me that a momentous change is

[Sir Ramunni Menon.]

bound to come after the war, a change which must involve a re-examination of all these questions which are engaging our attention today ; and I have no doubt in my own mind that that is the opportune time for the examination of the highly complicated and controversial question which we are attempting to tackle today. By that time I hope many of the communal and political passions which are now at white heat will have subsided and it is my firm conviction that when the time for that inquiry comes, we shall be in a better mood and in a better position to appreciate the various points of view which are relevant to the subject and to come to a satisfactory solution.

There is one point more, Sir, to which I would like to refer. Both the original Motion and the amendment recommend suspension of recruitment. There must be vacancies to be filled up if either the amendment or the Motion is accepted. How are these vacancies going to be filled up ? My only point in raising this question is to utter a note of warning. I hope that the facile system of nomination which is so pleasant to the bureaucrats will not be adopted, because that is a system which in the public mind is always associated with nepotism, favouritism and jobbery. Whatever the Government's attitude may be in regard to the filling up of these vacancies, I hope the system of nomination will not be adopted.

On the whole, Sir, I think the best plan is for both the mover of the original Motion and the mover of the amendment to agree to the postponement of the larger consideration of this question to the time when all these questions are bound to come under review.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution and I shall give the reasons which have led to this decision. In wartime the best men ought to go to the front and therefore I consider that if recruitment goes on we shall not be getting first rate men into the Service but only those men who for some reason or other cannot qualify for active service in the field. I admit, Sir, that the I.C.S. of the past was certainly a glorious body. We had the very best men in it and even now, Sir, we remember with feelings of gratitude some of the officers who came out in those days. My friend Mr. Hossain Imam observed that the Mussalmans would be entirely cut off and he made a reflection upon what I said the other day when the Muslim League Party walked out on the Railway Budget discussion. Sir, it is a fact that owing to the communal representation in one of the most brilliant and gifted Service, the efficiency of the Service has gone down. I will give my Honourable friends an instance. In the Punjab, one of the nominated I.C.S. officers was deemed by the Judicial Department as well as by the Executive Department to be incompetent but because he was under a covenant he was allowed to serve on. That, Sir, certainly creates discontent among the public and it certainly brings down the efficiency of the Service. I do not want to mention names but my Honourable friends can take it that I am relating a fact and a bare fact which cannot be denied.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : The I.C.S. numbers 617 and you have only given one instance.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Sir, I am talking of the I.C.S. in the Punjab, and there are not 617 I.C.S. in the Punjab. If I give further details it will be very easy to spot the officer concerned and so I don't want to do that.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : But why do you judge the country on the standard of the Punjab ? The Punjab is really rotten, whether I.C.S. or non-I.C.S.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Sir, it is want of knowledge of the Punjab which makes him say so, so I will excuse him. He cannot refute what I have said because it is a fact. There may be people who should not have been so condemned by both departments but I know, Sir, that as a result of communal representation there has been a lowering in efficiency. I must say, Sir, that past experience of selection for the I.C.S. on the basis of communal representation shows that it has not resulted in any improvement in the Service but rather in its disimprovement.

The other reason for which I support my Honourable friend's Resolution is that in that Service we require really tip-top officers. With regard to his suggestion of communal proportion, this will work all right if you get equally capable and efficient men in the Service. But the selection should be made from among those persons who appeared in the competitive examination but unfortunately did not attain a sufficiently high position in the result. That is all right, Sir. After all, we should get not fourth grade men but second grade men. I do not oppose Mussalmans having their due share. But we must not take those men who will be a factor in bringing down the efficiency of a Service which has done so eminently well in the past.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend also said that he would like this suspension to apply to all Services. I think the reason which led the Honourable Mover to move this Resolution was that as in England the best intellect is required to further the cause of the war and serve in the war, India would only be getting second grade men in the Service. Therefore, Sir, I have the pleasure of supporting the Resolution of the Honourable Mr. Sapru on these grounds.

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

The Council reassembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable Sir David Devadoss in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru is of considerable importance and it was moved with a restraint and knowledge in keeping with the importance of the subject. I should hardly have thought, considering the dignity with which the Mover spoke and the scrupulous care which he took to make it clear that he was not actuated by racial or communal considerations in moving his Resolution that anybody here would accuse him of bringing forward this Resolution in order to promote the interests of any particular community or to run down any of the minorities in this country. Yet, to my amazement, the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam has, I think in a spirit of complete irresponsibility, brought a wholly unwarranted charge against him. My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam is a student of public affairs. Apart from this he was associated with this side of the House for a number of years. Yet, he has accused us of harbouring designs against the minority communities which are without any foundation in fact. I was astounded when I heard his speech which was full of mischievous, poisonous—I had almost said malicious—statements. He accused us of taking the word "Indian" to mean "Hindus" only and to

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

work in that sense for Indianization. I am sure that had my Honourable friend meant that he should be taken seriously, he would have spoken with greater regard for truth. But, as he has completely disregarded facts and indulged in wholly wild accusations merely because we supported the view of Sir Andrew Clow that promotions should not take place on communal considerations, I can only treat his remarks with contempt. I am sorry to say this about anything uttered by my Honourable friend. But the spirit in which he spoke, the wholly untrue charges that he brought against us, require that I should not mince my words and should let him understand that if he wishes to be taken more seriously, he must even when speaking on subjects which may not be to his liking observe the restraint and regard for facts which usually characterize his speeches.

Sir, let us examine my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru's Resolution in order to see whether it can directly or indirectly injure the interests of any minority community. Let us suppose that recruitment in England is completely given up. What is there in that eventuality to warrant the charge that the extra posts for which recruitment would be made in India would be made over entirely to the Hindus? Recruitment for a certain number of posts which vary from year to year is made annually in this country. In making this recruitment Government have taken steps to protect the interests of the minorities. If the number of posts is doubled or trebled or quadrupled, why should not the same method continue in operation? How can an increase in the number of posts disturb any proportion for the distribution of vacancies among the various communities that the Government of India have fixed?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Does the Party support reservation for the minorities?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: The Honourable Member is not in the slightest degree entitled to put that question. Had he any doubt on that point, he should have in a courteous manner put this question to the Mover of the Resolution. Let me say, however, that the Mover did not utter one word in his speech which could suggest even to the most suspicious person any desire on his part to do away with or reduce the representation of any minority community. My Honourable friend cannot get rid of his responsibility for the wholly unwarranted remarks that he made by putting the question that he has just done. That question has nothing whatsoever to do with this Resolution, and he knows that it is wholly irrelevant. The Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Sapru suggests no change in the method of recruitment in India. Consequently there is no room for the question put by Mr. Hossain Imam.

The step suggested by the Mover of the Resolution may seem to be a very radical one. But although he did not mention it, I think his request derives support from the steps taken by Government in respect of certain imperial services. Take the Indian Medical Service. The old method of recruitment to it has been changed. No permanent commissions are to be given during the war in England. Take again the case of the officers required for the army. The old method has been abandoned here too and emergency commissions are being given. It is not therefore too much to ask that the method of recruitment to the I.C.S. should also be changed. Now, I may be told that in the two services that I have mentioned a large number of men will have to be recruited because of the exigencies of the war and that, if the only

method of obtaining them was by offering permanent commissions it would prove quite impracticable at the present time. This is true. Government will require a much larger number of men at the present time than they will require after the war. They will be able to make a selection for the award of permanent commissions only after the war. But a change has also taken place in regard to the method of Indian recruitment, the number of Indians to be recruited and the manner in which they are to be employed. Owing to the large number of men required Indians too are being recruited in much larger numbers than before, and we ask that in this Service also a greater opportunity should be given to Indians to occupy posts of responsibility than they have had hitherto. I may be told that the cadre of the I.C.S. is not to be increased even during the war. The demand contained in the Resolution is therefore not justified. If this question is looked at from the narrow point of view of numbers alone this argument may appear to have some force. But if the matter is considered on wider grounds, if the spirit of the changes that have been already made are taken into account, if it is realized that the safety of India will depend to a much larger extent on the officers that are being recruited for the army than even on the members of the I.C.S. and it is considered that among the new officers there will be a much larger number of Indians than before, there is no reason why there should be any hesitation on the part of the Government in accepting the request made by the Honourable the Mover.

Apart from this, Sir, I think I can advance a very cogent ground for the acceptance of the Resolution. Till 1935 the I.C.S. was recruited by absolutely open competition. That is, the candidates who appeared for the examination were appointed in the strict order in which their names appeared in the competitive list. But this method was changed in 1936 and the Secretary of State announced that two important changes would be made. One was a limitation on the number of Indian candidates who would be allowed to take part in the competitive examination held in England, and the other was that in order to make up the shortage in the number of European officers which should have been appointed according to the 50 : 50 ratio recommended by the Lee Commission selection would have to be resorted to. This year I believe the method of entry by means of a competitive examination has been completely stopped. All those candidates who are recruited in England will be nominated by the authorities. Now you have recruitment by nomination in England and recruitment by means of a competitive examination in this country. I ask which of these two methods is better? I am sure that the superiority of competition over pure nomination will not be denied by at any rate any appreciable number of Members of this House. This being so it is obvious that the present method of selection gives rise to the feeling that the young men who will be nominated in England may not be of the same qualifications as the men obtained in India. Now, as there is no dearth of suitably qualified men here, as the conditions prevailing in this country do not interfere with the conduct of the I.C.S. examination in the least, are we not entitled to ask that recruitment to the I.C.S. should not be completely controlled by racial considerations during this war? Are we not entitled to ask that at any rate during the war when the British Government relies to no small extent on the support of India larger opportunities should be given to qualified Indians to enter the I.C.S. which they have always regarded as the most important service in this country. I hope that what I have said has shown that we are not making an extravagant demand in asking that the British recruitment should be put a stop to. This is desirable on political grounds also. We have to bear future constitutional changes in mind. My own view

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

is that recruitment in England should be completely stopped, that neither British nor Indian candidates should be appointed in England, because the appointment in either case would depend on nomination. In asking for the acceptance of the Resolution before the House, I should like to draw attention to the fact that it only asks for the suspension of the present method of recruitment during the war. Certain wider questions were raised this morning. We were told that this was not the proper time for a change and that if any change was made recruitment to the I.C.S. should be completely stopped and officers drafted presumably from the provincial services in order to discharge the functions now assigned to members of the I.C.S. Sir, it is precisely because of the war that the Resolution asks for a temporary change only. Were we to stop recruitment, direct recruitment to the I.C.S. altogether, we would go much further than the present exigencies warrant; and besides we might be committing ourselves before full inquiry on a crucial point. I express no opinion with regard to the form the recruitment to the I.C.S. might take in future. But it must be borne in mind at the present time that any change in the present method, that any abandonment of direct recruitment to the I.C.S. is a matter of fundamental importance and should not be resorted to without a full inquiry. That inquiry is not possible at the present time. We can therefore only make recommendations of a temporary character. The Resolution accordingly asks for a change in the method of recruitment during the war. It suggests that British recruitment should be stopped, although it could have suggested the stoppage of recruitment in England altogether and requires by inference that the vacancies in the I.C.S. should during the war be filled on the result of an open competitive examination held in this country. If it is allowed, Sir, that the past method of recruitment to the I.C.S. has proved successful, then I am sure it will have to be allowed that a competitive examination is better than pure nomination; and as an examination is not possible in England but is possible in India, there is absolutely no reason why you should, purely on racial considerations, choose a certain number of men in accordance with a method which Government themselves would not have preferred in normal circumstances. There is no practical difficulty, Sir, in the way of the acceptance of the Resolution. The only difficulty lies in the sentiments of the Government. If they can free themselves from racial considerations, I am sure they will promote the efficiency of the I.C.S. to which the greatest importance is very rightly attached and give unalloyed satisfaction to Indian sentiment in this country.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras: Muhammadan): Sir, though the Honourable Mover restricted himself to only a few points while moving the Resolution, the discussion that has taken place on the Resolution has made it abundantly clear that the matter which this Resolution has raised is one of very great importance, that it raises issues which are very complicated and far-reaching in their nature. My Honourable friends who have taken part in the debate have traversed much larger ground than what would appear to be the scope of the Resolution at first blush. In giving this Resolution a much larger scope than was given to it by the Honourable Mover, I feel that my Honourable friends who have either supported or opposed the Resolution have done the very right thing in making matters quite clear. It cannot be doubted that this is a Resolution which raises questions which are not only complicated in their nature but also highly controversial, and this would appear from the conflicting opinions held and expressed by different sections in this House. Though my Honourable

friend Pandit Kunzru who has just resumed his seat has stated that the Resolution is perfectly innocuous, that there is no necessity for anybody to be frightened at it, even though he made this remark at the outset of his speech, I am afraid he did not succeed in giving effect to what he himself enunciated as the principle which should be adhered to in discussing this Resolution. Though my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru said at the outset that there was no reason for the minorities to fear that the present system would be changed and that the interests of the minorities would not continue to be protected, in the latter part of his speech he made observations which were directly in contradiction of what he himself stated at the outset, because my Honourable friend at the close of his remarks said that the one course which he would accept for selecting people for such high posts as the I.C.S. should be only an open competition, competition pure and simple ! That went to show that the system of nomination is allowed to go by the board. Then again the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam was found fault with for importing communal matters into the discussion. I feel, Sir, that the responsibility lies not with my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam, but possibly with the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution who in one of his remarks that he made unwittingly gave some room for this section of the House to feel—

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : What was that ?

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR : The Honourable Mr. Sapru while dealing with the speeches made by Mr. Amery said that the conditions precedent that the Secretary of State for India laid down for the country to attain full Dominion Status of the Westminster variety were not to his liking, that those conditions appeared to him as being unreasonable, and he also made it clear that the one thing which particularly made it unreasonable was the insistence that the Secretary of State laid on communal agreement. So, Sir, those remarks go to show the undercurrent which was working in and influencing these matters, the ultimate idea which seems to haunt the minds of some of my Honourable friends in this country, both inside the House and outside, and which are the very reasons which make the minorities suspicious.

And again, Sir, while my friend Pandit Kunzru was very much against
 3 P.M. any communal colour being given to such matters, it is a pity that the Honourable the Leader of his Party indulged to a great extent in it, and that he not only said a lot about this aspect of the question but even went to the length of giving some instances as to the inefficiency of certain individuals in his own province. The question of efficiency and inefficiency is a matter which is of a very doubtful nature. It all depends upon who is to judge the efficiency.

After all, candidates who are nominated to the I.C.S. are such as have already qualified themselves by getting the prescribed percentage in the written part of the examination. So, Sir, the selection is made only out of such persons who have already given proof of their intellectual calibre. However, Sir, I also wish with my friend Pandit Kunzru that the occasions may become fewer and fewer when these communal controversies are raised in this House and communal trickeries are indulged in. I wish, Sir, that the outlook of my friends who belong to the larger community in the country would change so that those who are not quite as strong as themselves numerically might have no ground to be apprehensive about their rights and liberties.

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

Now again, Sir, just one word about what was said by my Honourable friend Sir Ramunni Menon. I support the view he has expressed that, when there is a limitation as to the number of candidates from any province, there should also be a limitation in the number of recruits from that province. It has been our experience that in the matter of nominations, the nominations have very frequently been from certain favoured provinces—

THE HONOURABLE SIR RAMMUNNI MENON : On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I did not express it as a deliberate conclusion to which I had come. I only raised the issue.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR : I say that, like you, I recommend that there should be a limitation to recruits from certain provinces. I think that this thing should be insisted upon because this would go to prevent a large number of nominations going to one or two favoured provinces in the country. When there are nominations, the nominations should be evenly distributed. The nominations are made after all from among those candidates who qualify themselves at a test and when you have such candidates before you you will have to make your field of nomination a little wider and give the benefit to provinces which have never or seldom been favoured. Sir, I oppose the Resolution and do so because it seeks to prejudice the issue which can be settled only after a thorough and comprehensive inquiry is made into the whole question of services, and such an inquiry cannot be launched upon while the war is on.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB (Nominated Non-Official) : Mr. Chairman, at a time like this, when the fate of the whole world is hanging in the balance, when Might is ruthlessly trampling over Right, when minorities are being relentlessly crushed by the majorities and the tyrant Dictators in Europe, at a time like this, when not only the Hindus and Mussalmans but all the people living in India, Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs and Europeans, should all consolidate themselves, when we should all close our ranks, when we should all concentrate all our energies and attention to meet the common misery, at a time like this, I say it is extremely unfortunate that a Resolution of this nature should have been moved this morning ; and particularly it was couched in a language which was extremely improper and unseasonable for the conditions in which it has been moved.

Mr. Chairman, the fate, as I said, of the whole world is now in the melting pot and it seems to me that the next few months will be pregnant with events abnormal in the history of the world, and full of events which cannot be paralleled in the history of any country up to this time. At a time like this, to ask the Englishman, who is being incessantly bombed day and night by the ruthless armies of Hitler, and whose courage, patience, fortitude and patriotism has astonished the whole world, at a time like this to ask that the English youth should be deprived of recruitment to a highly remunerative Service is, I think, contrary to the Eastern ideas of culture and Eastern feelings of politeness and good-breeding. The Resolution itself was rather limited in its wording. The Mover asked that recruitment should be suspended during the war. But he has not given any reason why recruitment should be suspended during the war. On the other hand, in his very eloquent written speech he repeated the old arguments of the Congress about the proportion of Englishmen in the Services in India. Therefore I say it was very wrong to have moved this Resolution in the language in which it was moved.

Mr. Chairman, my friend the Honourable Pandit Kunzru blamed my friend the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam for importing communalism into the discussion of this Resolution but in making his attack I think he imported more vehement and more bitter communalism than was disclosed by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. Probably, the only difference was—

Ástín meṅ dashná pinhaṅ háth meṅ khanjar khulá.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Please translate. I do not understand this language.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss) : Order, order.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : An Englishman may not understand my language, but I am surprised—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss) : Order, order. Please address the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : Mr. Chairman, I am really surprised that a man who has some connection with our veteran leader, the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who commands the confidence and respect of all the communities in India, should not understand my language. However, I say that Pandit Kunzru imported bitter communalism than was imported by Mr. Hossain Imam, and I earnestly appeal to both my friends that at a time like this, when we do not know what would be the result of the war, when we do not know what would be the fate of India after a few months, when we do not know whether the fabric of the civilization, which has been built up in India during the last two hundred years, will stand as it is or will be shattered to pieces, it is futile altogether to move a Resolution like the one which has been moved today. I think it is time that we should all unite ourselves and we should avoid bringing forward any Resolution or doing anything which is bound to embitter feelings. Whoever may be to blame, whether my Honourable friend the mover of the Resolution and his supporters or the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam and his supporters, the result is that feelings have been embittered. While we want that in these days our feelings should not be embittered. I appeal my friends to close our ranks, and suppress all our communal feelings, we should unite for the prosecution of the war ; what is the use of moving a Resolution like this ? What is the good if a few Englishmen are not recruited during the continuance of the war ? How will it change the fate of India ? It shows that we have got no breadth of vision, that we lack in statesmanship and that we have lost our sense of toleration. Therefore, Sir, it was highly improper that this Resolution was moved at this time and I cannot but oppose it.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I just want to take two or three minutes of your time. I am rather sorry at the unfortunate turn the debate has taken. I will take up just two points, one raised by the Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon and the other by some of my Mussalman friends. I shall not enter into any criticism of the latter. I shall only ask them one question. I shall start with the remarks of the Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon. He started by entering into an analysis of the wording of the Resolution and came to the

[Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.]

very natural conclusion that it is the intention of the mover to make a recommendation to the Secretary of State to stop recruitment to the I.C.S. in England. After reaching this very correct conclusion from the wording of the Resolution, he came to his arguments. When he developed his arguments, he told us that the Secretary of State is the best person to know what the difficulties of recruitment are, and that there is no use making a recommendation to him. That, I consider, a very funny argument, because, Sir Ramunni Menon and the other speakers who consider the subject to be very complicated, must always remember that the Secretary of State has already realized the difficulties of recruitment in England. He has already stopped the examination and he is by means of a very perfunctory test—what you call the *viva voce* test—nominating all the candidates who are now-a-days being recruited to the Service. Our point of view is that the system followed at present in England is very unsatisfactory and should be given up. Can this House consider merely a *viva voce* test a sufficient test for recruitment to such an important Service? That is the first point that I wanted to make.

The second point which I want to make is this. The Honourable Saiyed Mohamed Padshah and—unfortunately, I was not here when the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam was speaking, but I gather from others—that they both expressed the view that the interests of the Mussalmans would suffer if recruitment in England were stopped. I cannot understand how this can be so? What are the special facilities which the Mussalmans have in England? Have they any better facilities in England than in India? Before they attacked the Resolution they should have adduced at least one ground to show how and why they consider they have better facilities if recruitment is done in England and lesser facilities if it is done in India. There are many Mussalmans, as there may be many Hindus and members of other communities, who may not find their purses sufficient to enable them to go to England and I cannot see how this Resolution can at all be attacked from the point of view of convenience or equity. As to lack of facilities in India and better facilities in England, I really wish somebody had thrown some light, because that has been the principal line of attack, and I am rather sorry that not one single Muslim Member has put forward any reason to show that there are better facilities for recruitment of Mussalmans in England and lesser facilities in India.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. President, I rise to oppose the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. Sir, I was surprised to find that a Resolution of this nature was tabled by an Honourable Member who has always advocated the test of superb efficiency in recruitment to the public services. If my memory is not short, it was only 48 hours ago that my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru was vehement in his condemnation of any slackness in the choosing of efficient men to all the different branches of the public service. Sir, the I.C.S. is admittedly the highest and most responsible administrative service in India and there is no gainsaying or disputing the fact that the Britishers who come out to India to that Service and also those Indians who receive their education in England and compete there in the general competition are very much more efficient than many of the recruits selected and appointed in India. Proof of the above assertion has come out in the speeches of my Honourable friends Mr. Sapru and Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das. Mr. Sapru has paid—and rightly so—glowing tributes

to the work of many of the British members of the I.C.S. and Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das has quoted an instance from his own province of an inefficient member of the I.C.S. recruited in India.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Recruited by nomination.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER : It may be nomination or competition, I do not know. You did not say that, when you quoted the instance. The Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith has in answer to a question of the Honourable Mr. Sapru informed us that 11 Britishers were recruited last year to the I.C.S. by selection. He has not however told us anything about their fitness and qualifications. But I have every reason to think that these 11 selected young men are men of merit and of high academic qualifications.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : What are their qualifications ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER : That has not been stated, but I presume that they must be men of merit, talent and high university qualification.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May I state that they are graduates of English Universities. That is a condition precedent to selection there.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER : I can quote from my personal experience. I have known Britishers who have come by selection and I have known them to be superior to many of the recruits taken in India either by selection or by competition. I am not going to name them because I do not think it would be proper for me to do so. It may be argued by the Mover of the Resolution that the recommendation contained in his Resolution has a limited scope, but, Sir, as long as efficient recruits answering the proportion fixed can come from England in spite of the war, why should efficiency be sacrificed and why should my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru of all others press it. Nobody can predict the duration of the war. No doubt every right-thinking and sane person not only wishes but devoutly prays for its early termination and for a glorious victory of Great Britain and her friends.

There is another good reason, Sir, why such a suspension is undesirable. In no country every young man is meant for military service or a business line, and there may be hundreds of young men in the United Kingdom with meritorious academic qualifications who may be looking forward to a career in the civil services. To suspend their recruitment for any period will not only cause disappointment but a real hardship.

Sir, I also oppose the amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam because he has not made it clear what concrete suggestion he has to offer for the recruitment to fill up vacancies that may be caused during the period of the war.

Sir, I oppose.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : On a point of personal explanation, Sir. May I say that I intimated that the training reserve and the leave reserve *plus* the listed posts may be utilized.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH (Home Secretary): Mr. Chairman, the debate in this House today on the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend opposite has followed a somewhat erratic course and I have found considerable difficulty in keeping track of it or in isolating the points which I am required to answer. I noticed a certain lack of unanimity on the part of the main champions of the Resolution, that is to say, as regards the ultimate intention underlying the Resolution. Whatever justification there may be for the ultimate intention of the Resolution, I think I am not doing an injustice when I say that none of the speeches, or only one of the speeches, of those who were supporting the Resolution, made out any case in its favour. I do not myself propose to follow some of the devious paths into which the debate has strayed. In particular I do not propose to stray into the communal field where the debate followed a somewhat explosive course. As regards the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam I shall have something to say, at a later stage in my remarks. I will only say now that—except in respect of one point in regard to which I have much in common with Mr. Hossain Imam—I find it difficult to follow either his arguments or his arithmetic. As regards his main argument, if I have understood him correctly, he wished to make the position with which the future authorities in this country after the war will be confronted as difficult as possible by leaving them a thoroughly depleted permanent civil service. His object in doing that was—again I speak subject to correction—to protect his community against oppression. I hope I have not libelled him and that he will correct me if I am wrong. But I do suggest to him that he has not given sufficient thought to the difficulties with which he would confront the authorities in India after the war.

If I have understood the Honourable Mover of the main Resolution correctly, he has taken his stand on the constitutional changes to take place after the war, on the ground of which he would urge that the recruitment of Europeans to the I.C.S. should be stopped for the period of the war. His contention, I think, is that since changes are impending which may affect the constitution and composition of the permanent civil services of this country it is undesirable to continue recruitment on existing lines and thus confront those who hereafter will be responsible for administration out here with services composed in a fashion which may not suit their requirements. He made it clear that he had nothing to say against the Europeans as such, but he himself did not need their services in India. I think I was right in understanding his concluding remarks to be to that effect. Although therefore his Resolution mentions only temporary suspension of recruitment of Europeans he gave us to understand that he intended this suspension to be permanent. My Honourable friend Dr. Kunzru, who spoke more strictly to the terms of the Resolution, gave me the impression that he—very wisely if I may say so—was prepared to leave the question of the future constitution of the I.C.S. to be settled after the war. He wished for the moment to reduce recruitment to the I.C.S. with a view to increasing Indianization. The Honourable the Leader of the Opposition on the other hand took a narrower point. He desired to stop recruitment during the war because he anticipated that the level of the recruits during the war would fall, and he apprehended that there would therefore be deterioration in the level of the Service. That, Sir, is a very brief summary of the main lines which I think the debate has taken and I will endeavour as far as I can to answer those various lines of argument.

Let me say, to begin with, that I appreciate the declaration made by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru that he had no racial bias and I agree that his tone throughout was very restrained. I also acknowledge, on behalf of the Service, the bouquets which he very kindly threw to the I.C.S. as a whole and also to the European members of it. I cannot take exception to the gentle tones in which he used the expression "bureaucrat", especially as he omitted the usual epithet "sun-dried". But as he has used the expression "bureaucrat", perhaps the House will forgive me if I stray for a moment and reminisce in a manner in which perhaps I ought not to, because what I am going to say reflects credit on the Service to which I belong. An eminent American professor visited India not many years ago. He had come to study conditions in India on the spot for his own personal information. When he got back he wrote a book and I was the recipient of a copy. When I opened it I found he had dedicated it to the "two most human men I have ever met" and he proceeded then to mention the names of two European I.C.S. officers. I hope the House will pardon me for telling that story merely to suggest that all members of the I.C.S. are not bureaucrats—not sun-dried ones anyhow. May I say before I leave Mr. Sapru's opening remarks that I trust I shall also be judged to have approached the subject-matter of this Resolution without bias or favour.

I would take first the actual question of European recruitment during the war with particular reference to the observations made by my Honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition and several others. As I have said, he is apprehensive lest there should be a deterioration in the quality of those recruited in England during the war. I should like to assure both him and others who share his fears that so far as I am aware there is no real ground for such an apprehension. I am glad to have an opportunity of saying something on the subject of the method of selection which is being followed at present because circumstances of the war do not permit an examination to be held. In the first place, I think the House should know that European candidates to be qualified for selection to the I.C.S. must have joined, or be preparing to join, the Defence Forces without the expectation of avoiding combatant service, and they must be only those whom the Defence Services are willing to spare in the interests of administration. I noticed in an article in the columns of a Delhi paper this morning a reference to rather similar apprehensions. That journal expressed the hope that Government would make a statement calculated to remove the apprehension that in order to maintain the 50 per cent. proportion of Europeans in the Service not only now but during the period after the war also they propose to keep superannuated people in the Service and nominate all and sundry. I should like to take the opportunity to correct the suggestion that either Government is proposing to retain superannuated people as a general practice or that the Secretary of State will nominate all and sundry. Only candidates who possess the minimum educational qualifications are taken. Moreover they have to be found suitable by a selection committee who adopt the same standards of suitability as are insisted on in normal circumstances. There is therefore no reason to apprehend any deterioration of quality in the recruits taken during the period of the war. I know it is possible to hold two opinions as regards the comparative merits and demerits of selection by examination and by nomination. But I would like to assure the House that we have no reason to apprehend that candidates taken by the Secretary of State in the circumstances which I have described are likely to fall below the level hitherto maintained.

[Mr. E. Conran-Smith.]

I come now to the main point made by my Honourable friend the Mover of the Resolution and the purpose which I have set before me in dealing with it is a simple one. It is to put the case as Government sees it from the practical point of view and from the point of view of the consequences of accepting the Honourable Member's Motion. The intention underlying the existing constitution is that the I.C.S. should be composed of recruits of the highest quality available both in England and in India. The Honourable Member asks that at this juncture recruitment of Europeans should be stopped for the duration of the war. I can assure the Honourable Member that from the point of view of practical administration,—leaving aside altogether the question whether in the circumstances of the war European man-power can be spared from war service,—from the point of view of practical administration, the conditions provided by the war do not provide an argument for tinkering with service problems. On the other hand, at present, more than at any other time, the need is imperative for keeping the organization of the services, especially the security services, intact and unimpaired. The Honourable Member does not perhaps altogether realize the implications of his proposal. In the first place, as has been observed already, no one can foresee how long this war will last. If we agreed to accept the Honourable Member's proposal and to stop the recruitment of Europeans, what would be the effect? Unless the vacancies are filled, I think it is clear that before very long day-to-day administration would suffer and there would definitely be difficulty in meeting demands for staff during the war. On the other hand, if the vacancies which would have been given to Europeans are filled by Indians, then the effect would be that we should be going back on the intention underlying the existing composition of the Service.

And this brings me to my general argument. My Honourable friend has suggested that it would not be proper to prejudge the case for those who after the war will have to settle India's problems—I am not using his exact words but I take it that is what he meant. I suggest to him that that is exactly what he himself is proposing to do. I know he has already met that argument in advance by a mere assertion to the contrary, but nevertheless he has not shown that he is not himself taking the question out of the hands of those whose duty it would be to make a decision hereafter. He talked about mortgaging the future—I think there I quote his words correctly. I would ask the Honourable Member whether he is justified in assuming, as he apparently does, that the authorities who will consider and settle the future constitution of India will necessarily reach the conclusion that at any rate for some years to come a European element in the Service will not be required. That is the decision which the Honourable Member has himself taken and he proposes to ask us here and now to impose that decision hereafter on the authorities who will be responsible for taking the final decision. I suggest that it is for them to take it and not for us. I believe that our duty at present is to transmit to our successors a service machinery in efficient working order—that I believe is our main duty. I submit therefore to this House that where so much is difficult and complex, it would be wrong for us to endeavour to tie in advance the hands of those on whom the responsibility will rest for coming to a decision in this matter and that the path of wisdom lies in leaving things alone for the present to be adjusted according to the exigencies arising hereafter.

I have not very much more to say. I would like to meet, if I can, the point that there is already a sufficiency of Europeans in the I.C.S. to meet

the requirements of post-war years. The House is probably aware that European recruitment last year fell to half the normal and this year we are not likely to recruit more than that number—if the exigencies of war allow even that small number of young Englishmen to be spared. It may be appropriate for me to stress a fact which was revealed by my answer to a question this morning that the 50 : 50 proportion as between Indians and Europeans in the I.C.S. has already been more than attained. The figures at the beginning of this year were respectively 617 Indians and 585 Europeans. The process of Indianization is in the circumstances likely to continue and may, if the war goes on, be accelerated. If this process were to be still further accelerated in the manner recommended by my Honourable friend, the precise effect would be that 10 or 12 years hence officers of a certain seniority would all be Indians and so far as age groups of those years are concerned the process of Indianization would be complete. I am not saying anything either for or against the policy of Indianization. I only mention that point as germane to my general argument that if the principle recommended by my Honourable friend were accepted, we should be prejudging the matter for the authorities whose duty it will be one day to consider it.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Will the Honourable Member allow me to put a question? Will the number of vacancies offered in India for the competitive examination continue to depend on the difference between the number of European and Indian candidates appointed by the Secretary of State for India as at present?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : I wish I could answer my Honourable friend's question, but I am afraid I cannot. It lies in the limbo of the future. It is a hypothetical question the answer to which depends on the progress of events.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : May I make it clear? I am anxious to find out that the recruitment of Indians will not be reduced during the war simply because the Secretary of State cannot get the requisite number of Europeans in the present circumstances.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : I am sorry I misunderstood the Honourable Member. So far as I know there is not the slightest suggestion of doing that. The danger of depleting the cadre of the I.C.S. is obvious and there is no reason to suppose that there will be any proposal to deplete it further by reducing recruitment in India. But I speak without authority. The ultimate authority is the Secretary of State.

I have made it plain I think that Government could not accept my Honourable friend's Resolution as it stands or in the terms in which it is couched, but I am prepared to give an assurance that steps will be taken to bring the terms of the Resolution and the substance of the observations made thereon in this House to the notice of the Secretary of State and I trust that this assurance will satisfy my Honourable friend.

Before I sit down, there are a few observations I would like to make on the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam. I am not going to struggle with his arithmetic. His figures were right and his percentages were wrong. The increase in the strength of the I.C.S. since 1933 is 47. That increase is due largely to excess recruitment in one or two years to make up for a deficiency in recruitment in preceding years. I want now to devote the concluding portion of my remarks to what I regard as an

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important object of the amendment moved by Mr. Hossain Imam and one, I may say at once, with which I have every sympathy. The problem with which my Honourable friend is partly concerned—an entirely different one from that with which the original Resolution is concerned—is how to safeguard the interests of those who now take up emergency commissions, and how to remove the obstacle which may seem at present to stand in the way of a free flow of applicants of the best class for emergency commissions. That obstacle is, in brief, the counter-attraction of civil appointments with their guarantee of a settled career as compared with temporary commissions the acceptance of which may, as matters now stand, appear to preclude the possibility of obtaining permanent employment under Government. I may say at once that Government are fully seized of that problem, and have been in communication with Provincial Governments and the Secretary of State as regards the best way of meeting it. It may be found that an acceptable solution will be to leave a percentage of vacancies occurring during the war unfilled, that is to say, to fill them temporarily only for the period of the war ; with a view to their being available to be filled permanently after the war by candidates with war service. I am aware that some Provincial Governments have already taken certain steps in this direction. Reference was made this morning to at least one Government that has done so, and the urgency of the matter is fully appreciated by the Government of India. I suggest, however, to my Honourable friend that it would not be desirable to stop all recruitment as his amendment proposes, even for the laudable object he has in view. Suppose that the war lasts three years. The effect of Mr. Hossain Imam's amendment would be to deplete the I.C.S. at the rate of 40 per annum with a resultant decline in administrative standards due to a depleted cadre as well as to war staleness on the part of serving officers who will have had no leave. Moreover, serious under-recruitment during the war followed by over-recruitment immediately afterwards produces maladjustment of cadres and overloading of the age groups belonging to the war years.

Finally, I would suggest to my Honourable friend that he is perhaps overlooking the increasing demand for officers both at the centre and in the provinces to meet the requirements of an increasing war effort. If my Honourable friend has any anxiety lest a reservation of a certain percentage of vacancies only might not have the desired effect so far as prospective candidates for commissions are concerned, I would ask him to remember that candidates for war service will have to face a very limited field of competition compared with those who compete in an open examination.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Indian officers be selected for war service ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : I am referring now to Indian candidates in India for whom, it is hoped, these vacancies occurring during the war will be available after the war. While, therefore, my Honourable friend will see that immediate consideration is being given by Government to the best means of reaching the object which he himself has in view, he will realize that in view of the considerations which I have stated, Government would not feel justified in accepting his proposal that they should recommend complete stoppage of all recruitment to the I.C.S. during the war.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Mr. Chairman, when I gave notice of this Resolution, I thought it was a fairly simple one and I had very good

reason to believe that the Leader of the Muslim League in this House, the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam, would support this Resolution. But Mr. Hossain Imam's ways these days are inscrutable. He has developed a new phobia called the communal phobia, and I think he needs to be psycho-analyzed because, if this phobia develops, I do not know if it might not develop into dementia one day—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): I think you had better avoid personalities.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: This will lead to partition and division, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB: It also seems to be contagious.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: I think Rip van Winkles also find diseases contagious. I can claim for myself that I have no communal outlook. I have no racial outlook. I try to approach every question from the point of view of an Indian who is interested in the welfare of his country. I have no prejudice against the Muhammadan community. I claim to have a large number of friends among the Mussalmans, and I try to be fair and just to the minorities. But I am certainly not going to allow myself to be black-mailed, if I may use that word, by the minorities. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam has told us that in our view "Indians" mean Hindus. I certainly think that in the India of the future there will be place for the Hindu, for the Mussalman, for the Christian, for the Parsi and for the Britisher also if he identifies himself with this country. But such is the communal phobia that he has developed that he has made a statement which I consider unfortunate. He has suggested that Hindu examiners are not fair to Mussalman candidates. I do not think that he has ever been an examiner in his life. But I happen to have experience as an examiner. I have been an examiner for many years. I happen to have acted as an examiner for in practically all the Northern India Universities and also for certain other bodies, and I can tell him from my experience that the examiners do not know whether the candidate is a Hindu or a Mussalman or a Christian or a Parsi or an Anglo-Indian. Names are not supplied to examiners by Universities. The Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon, who is a very distinguished Vice-Chancellor, will be able to verify me in that statement. The Aligarh University appoints Hindu examiners. The Benares Hindu University appoints Mussalman examiners. I am sorry that Mr. Hossain Imam should have made a statement reflecting upon a class of men who do their duty honestly and conscientiously—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Are there not black sheep ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: There are black sheep, but the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam made a very general statement reflecting upon the Public Service Commission—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: No.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU—reflecting upon the Universities who appoint these examiners, and reflecting also upon his own University of Aligarh, which sometimes appoints Hindu examiners. I have been an

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examiner in that University myself. Mr. Hossain Imam told us that everything must be decided by the Saint of Sabarmati. I am not a follower of the Saint of Sabarmati. But we live in this country under two dictators, and everything so far as Mr. Hossain Imam is concerned must be decided by the Barrister of Bombay.

I shall pass on to my respected friend Sir Ramunni Menon. He made a speech in which he pointed out that the Resolution was limited in scope, but doubted if this was the proper time for discussing it. He says that the war will change everything and we should be in a better position to take decisions after the war. Well, I do not happen to agree with him there. I understand that point of view, but I do not agree with that point of view. I will explain why when I deal with the speech of the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith. There is, however, one observation from which I must indicate my dissent. The Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon stated that the Secretary of State is the best judge as to whether he is getting the proper type of recruit or not. Well, I do not consider any man to be infallible. We have the assurance of the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith that they are trying their very best to get the best men available. But there is, when all is said and done, a difference between competition and nomination. You want—I have not appeared at a Civil Service competitive examination, but the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith will correct me if I am wrong—you want for that Service a good all-rounder. A man may be very good. He may take first class in Greats. He may take a first class in History. But that does not make him good all round. He may be a good specialist. The merit of the competitive system for the Civil Service is that it helps you to select men who are not specialists but who are good all-rounders. That sort of thing you can only get through a competitive examination. In my opening speech I raised no question of ratio so far as India is concerned. I do not see how Mussalman representation would have been affected if the Civil Service examination had been held in India. I did not say that I wanted the present policy of reserving a certain number of vacancies for the Muslim community revised. I did not make any such statement.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : The Leader of the Opposition made that suggestion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam spoke before the Leader of the Progressive Party and I do not know he could divine what the Leader of the Progressive Party was going
4 P. M. to say. Sir, I never made that statement. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam could have taken the line "I want the interests of my community to be protected. I do not want these communal ratios to be disturbed ; but subject to these qualifications and conditions I am in favour of the Resolution." He did nothing of the kind. He simply wanted to abuse the Hindu politicians, and he has done it. All I can say is that two can play at that game.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : We have been at this game, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Now, I will not deal with the speeches of the Honourable Pandit Kunzru and Lala Ram, Saran Das. I do not think there is any fundamental difference between me and Pandit

Kunzru or Lala Ram Saran Das in regard to what we want. We all visualize a free India after the war ; we all visualize a state of affairs in which it will be possible for us to do away with future recruitment in England. We want the recruiting and controlling authority to be in India. Self-government will have no meaning if the recruiting and controlling authority continues to be the Secretary of State. As I read Mr. Amery's statement, it really comes to this—protection will be provided for the existing members of the services. There will be a maximum transfer of power subject to certain obligations, and one obligation he has referred to is in regard to the present members of the services. Mr. Amery himself visualizes the step I have suggested. This may be news to our Rip van Winkle Knight from Moradabad. Mr. Amery himself—

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : I am a friend of your father's, and we are both Rip van Winkles.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I recognize no friendship in political life. You may be my friend in private life, but here we are opponents and I recognize no loyalties in political life excepting to my creed. So it may be news to him that Mr. Amery contemplates a more sweeping transfer of power than may be palatable to him—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : With a proviso.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Yes, with a proviso and we hope we shall be able to get rid of that proviso also.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : It is a big proviso.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I will come to the speech of my friend the Honourable Mr. Padshah. He has spoken moderately and I would only like to tell him that it is not only the outlook of the Hindus that should change. It is also the outlook of his community that should change. The outlook of everybody should change before we can have a real good India,

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Yakub has told us that the fate of the world is in the melting pot ? Why move this Resolution then ? Well, Sir, big questions are being decided today by the British Government. They find themselves able and strong enough to decide big questions. Franco-British Union was proposed at a time when France was collapsing. An Anglo-American Union is within the realms of possibility. There is a Minister in charge of post-war problems, the problem of reconstruction for instance, and he is doing hard thinking on these matters. Big decisions have been taken. It is not only I who say you must deal with some of these fundamental questions during the war. I was reading the other day an article by Viscount Samuel. He is not an irresponsible politician ; he has been Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons and he wrote an article in the *Contemporary Review* in which he said that Government must discuss the constitutional issue with India during the war. It must do something to convince India that Britain is sincere. I can name men of the first rank in British politics who have been taking the line that I have taken. It is no use saying or insinuating that by moving this Resolution we are somehow hampering the Government at this difficult time or trying to place them in a difficult position. That was the insinuation of Sir Muhammad Yakub and also of the Persian couplet he quoted. Well, Sir, Sir Muhammad Yakub's conceptions of

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loyalty are quite different from our conceptions of loyalty. We are loyal to an ideology, and we are not servilely loyal as he has probably been all his life.

Sir, from these gentlemen I turn to my respected friend the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith. I would first of all like to assure him that I did not use the word "bureaucrat" in any bad sense. If he likes he can call me a demagogue or anything, I won't mind that. But the compliment I paid to his Service was a very sincere compliment and I would like to assure him that we want to be absolutely fair, if we have power, to the men who are in the Service. But the point of view which I stressed was that it is not fair to the men whom you are recruiting that you should go on recruiting them now. Conditions are likely to change after the war. You yourself are contemplating a sweeping transfer of power. Well, I am looking at it from the point of view of the Britisher. It is not fair to British young men that you should go on recruiting them, because they will come under certain expectations that you may not be able to fulfil. It is not fair also to this country that you should continue this recruitment because if you continue it new vested interests arise.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : May I say, Sir, that new recruits enter with their eyes open and that the future is as uncertain for them as it is for any of us in these days.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRÚ : I am glad to have that assurance. But our difficulty has been this, that whenever there has been any advance—there was a declaration made in 1917 that self-government was the goal of British policy; yet in the Government of India Act of 1935 protection was given not only to the men who joined the Service after 1917 but also to men who joined the Service before 1917. That is what I mean by saying that you are mortgaging the future by continuing British recruitment. It may be that the body which will decide the Indian constitution may come to the conclusion that it is desirable in the interests of Indian to continue British recruitment for some time. But these are matters which will be decided by the body which will be set up after the war to frame the Indian constitution. We have been given some indication of what British obligations are. If I read Mr. Amery's statement correctly, it will be primarily a question for the body which will be set up after the war to decide what the future of the services should be. You have good material in this country? Why not use this good material in this country?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : May I ask the Honourable Member if he is sticking to the terms of his Resolution which recommends temporary stoppage during the war or is he, as I gather from what he is now saying, urging the permanent stoppage of European recruitment?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRÚ : I am sticking to the terms of my Resolution, though I have indicated in the course of my speech what my view is as regards the future. I have been perfectly frank with the House. I thought I owed it to the House, to the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith and to the Government to be perfectly frank. I have said what my own personal view is, but I am sticking to the terms of my Resolution which have been deliberately framed in such a form as to make it possible for Government to accept it. That is my position.

Now, Sir, you cannot say that if you stop recruitment in England and you recruit in India there will be a deterioration in quality. We are getting a very good class of men in the I.C.S. from the Indian examination. I was amused to hear from a gentleman who has spent all his life in the provincial service in Bihar and therefore has imbibed the atmosphere of the provincial service that Indians who are getting through the competition in India are inferior to Indians who get through the competition in England. I may tell him—and I venture to make that assertion with some confidence and with some knowledge—I may tell him that the Indian examination is as a matter of fact harder today than the British examination. I have known young men who have sat twice for the examination in India fail in this country and pass in England. It is easier for an Indian to pass the examination in England than it is for him to pass the examination in India.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER : Was it not a matter of chance ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : No, no. These are not matters of chance. This is a matter of common knowledge that many young men go to England because they think that if they appear in England they will have a better chance.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER : You forget that it was the third time, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I think it is a libel to suggest that the Indian recruited in India under the competitive system is in any way inferior to the Indian, or for the matter of that to the European, recruited in England. I hope, Sir, that the Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith who is a very fair and impartial man will agree with me that his friends have placed him in an awkward situation. In order to show their loyalty to him they have cast reflections upon—

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDER : I only quoted you when you talked of efficiency and you admitted that Britishers were more efficient than Indians who were recruited here.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I never made any such statement. I have a very high regard for the efficiency of the Britisher, but I have also some national pride and I also know that I am not inefficient. I am not suffering from any inferiority complex such as one develops after serving in a particular service for a number of years.

The Honourable Mr. Conran-Smith has pointed out what the present position of the Civil Service is. He has told us that the process of Indianization will continue. All that is perfectly true, but I will repeat my main argument again. He says I am prejudging the issue ; I say he is prejudging the issue and therefore we will agree to differ on that point. I am glad to have his assurance that he will communicate this debate to the Secretary of State who is the proper authority to deal with this question ; and in view of that assurance I shall not press this Resolution to a division.

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

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss);
The amendment falls to the ground.

The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam was not present to move the
Motion against his name.)

The Council then adjourned till Half Past Five of the Clock on Friday,
the 28th February, 1941.
