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Volume II, 1939

(11th September to 27th September, 1939)

SIXTH SESSION

OF THE

OURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1939





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CORRIGENDA Council of State Debates, Vol. II, 1989

Date.	Page.	Question No.	Corrections.
18-9-39	51	3	In line 5 from the bottom, for "granted" read "recruited for".
18-9-39	51	8	In line 4 from the bottom, delete the semi-colon and the words "have been recruited".
18:9:39	51	3	In line 3 from the bottom, delete "yet".
18-9-39	51	3	In last line of the page, for "s" read "is".
. 18-9-39	112	••	In line 18 from the top, for "thought" read "though".
20-9-39	138	••	In line 14 from the bottom, for "rom" read "from".
20-9-39	141	••	In line 19 from the top, insert " of " after " both ".
20-9-39	149	••	In line 15 from the top, for "carreer" read "career".
20-9-39	155	••	In line 12 from the top, for "them" read "then".

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Tuesday, 26th September, 1939.

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

MEMBER SWORN:

The Honourable Mr. Shavax Ardeshir Lal (Nominated Official).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Indian Officers who have served in the Defence Department.

- 38. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: (a) How many Indian officers have served as secretary, deputy secretary and under secretary in the Defence Department during the last five years and for how long?
 - (b) Is there any Indian serving as such in the Defence Department now?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: (a) One Indian officer has served as under secretary for about nine months.

(b) None.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: When did this Indian cease to be under secretary?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: A few days ago. The officer was reverted to his province at the request of the Provincial Government.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Is it intended to appoint another Indian officer in his place?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: A British officer has been at the moment appointed in his place.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Is the British officer going to be permanent or is it only a temporary arrangement?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: I cannot say whether it is a temporary or permanent arrangement. At the moment a British officer has been appointed.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Why was no Indian appointed in place of this Indian officer who has reverted?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: Presumably, Sir, the efficer appointed was the best qualified officer available at the moment.

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THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Are there not equally qualified Indian officers of the same standing available?

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD Are, they available?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Are they not available? If Government want them, why should they not be available?

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD: One has just been called away.

THE HONOUALBLE PANDIT HERDAY NATH KUNZRU: Are there not other Indian officers of equal qualifications available? The Honourable Member has not answered my question.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT SUIT Cannot compel any Honourable Member to answer any question.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: That is what I wanted to know.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Will you please go on with the next question.

STATUS OF HEADMASTERS OF INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS MAINTAINED BY THE E. I. R.

39. The Honourable Pandit HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: (a) With reference to the answer given by Government to question No. 295 put by me on the 17th April, 1939, excluding the Kindergarten section and classes I and II was the enrolment in the Oak Grove School and the Indian high schools maintained by the E.I.R. as follows on the 31st March, 1939:

Oak Grove School for European and Anglo-Indian boys					
High School, Asansol	615				
High School, Jamalpur	321				
High School, Khagaul	401				
High School, Tundla	355				

(b) Did the Chief Commissioner for Railways say on the 23rd March, 1939 during the debate on my Resolution asking for an increase in the recruitment of Indians of pure descent to senior subordinate services on the Railways that if the Indian schools were of the same size as the Oak Grove School their headmasters would belong to the superior service? If so, do Government in view of the above mentioned figures propose to make the headmasters of the Indian high schools gazetted officers and to place them on a footing of equality with the headmaster of the Oak Grove School?

THE HONOURABLE Mr. J. D. TYSON: (a) Yes, except as regards Jamalpur and Khagaul, the figures for which are 356 and 420, respectively.

(b) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the latter part the matter is under consideration.

Increase and Reservation for Anglo-Indians in the Cadrellor Telegraphists from 20 to 40 per cent.

- 40. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: (a) Has the reservation for Anglo-Indians in the Telegraphists' grade been raised from 20 to 40 per cent.? If so, what will be the reservation for (i) Hindus, (ii) Muslims and other minorities in future?
- (b) What are the circumstances which necessitated a change in the old rules framed under section 242 of the Government of India Act, 1935, under which there was a reservation of 5 per cent. in the clerical grades and 20 per cent. in the Telegraphists' grade for Anglo-Indians?
- (c) Was the change made in consequence of any inquiry made by the Government of India into the operation of the rules referred to in (b) or was it due to directions received from the Secretary of State for India?
- THE HONOUABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: (a) The reservation for Anglo-Indians in the Telegraphists' cadre in the Posts and Telegraphs Department has been increased from 20 per cent. to 40 per cent. The reservations for Muslims and the other minority communities are 25 and 33\frac{1}{3} per cent., respectively. There is no reservation for Hindus but it is open to them to compete for the unreserved vacancies.
- (b) and (c). The old orders were not framed under section 242 of the Government of India Act, 1935, but in pursuance of the provisions of the Home Department Resolution No. F. 14/17-B/33-Ests., dated the 4th July, 1934. The justification for the change is explained in the Home Department Resolution No. 14/5/38-Ests. (S.), dated the 1st May, 1939.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Would I be correct in concluding from the Honourable Member's answer that only about 30 per cent. of the posts in the Telegraphists' grade would be open to members of the majority community?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: I think the Honourable Member's arithmetic is correct, but I would draw his attention to what is stated in the Resolution of the Home Department, namely, that the increased reservation for Anglo-Indians would be so distributed among the circles as to secure, after taking into account reservations for other minority communities, a reasonable number of vacancies in each circle for open competition.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: But the total percentage of such vacancies would only be about 30 ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: As I have already observed, the Honourable Member's arithmetic is I think correct, but he has to bear in mind the reason for this increase in reservation which is the past association of the Anglo-Indian community with this particular cadre of the Department concerned.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Was any inquiry made to find out whether the old rules were causing any hardship?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: Yes, Sir. An inquiry was held.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Has the result of that inquiry been published?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: No, Sir. It was a departmental inquiry.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Do Government propose to publish it now in order to let the public know the grounds on which they acted?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: No, Sir. I think it is unnecessary, because, as I have already explained, the Resolution of the Government of India gave a very full and fair account of the reasons which have actuated Government in making this increased reservation.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Were any directions received from the Secretary of State for India on the subject?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: No, Sir. But the approval of the Secretary of State was secured to the issue of the new order.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: My question was, "Was the initiative in the matter of fixing the present remuneration and the percentage taken by the Secretary of State or by the Government of India?"

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: I have already answered that question, Sir. It was not done under direction from the Secretary of State, but his approval was taken to the new order.

Fixation of the minimum Remuneration for Anglo-Indians in the Railways at Rs. 55 per mensem.

- 41. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: (a) Has the minimum remuneration of Anglo-Indians in the Railways been fixed at Rs. 55 a month in view of their liability to service in the Indian Auxiliary Force?
- (b) Is there any other Department in which the liability of an employee to military service is taken into account in fixing his remuneration?
- (c) Will Government in future be under an obligation to maintain the minimum remuneration now granted to Anglo-Indians whatever the condition of the railway finances may be and however drastically the scales of salary applicable to employees of other classes may be revised?
- (d) Will the minimum pay for all employees in the Telegraphists' grade whether Anglo-Indians or Indians be the same? If so, do Government propose to follow the same principle in the case of railway employees?
- (e) Was the minimum remuneration of Rs. 55 a month fixed by Government on their own initiative or in obedience to orders received from the Secretary of State for India?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: (a) Yes.

- (b) Yes.
- (c) All scales of remuneration are liable to revision if circumstances alter

- (d) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative and to the second in the negative.
 - (e) By the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of State.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: With regard to the Honourable Member's answer to part (b), may I know what are the other departments in which the liability of an employee to military service is taken into account in fixing his remuneration?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: Yes, there are certain civilian employees under the control of the Defence Department who have a Mability to service in the field and their rates of pay have been fixed taking this Mability into account. The employees are those in the Military Accounts Department and in the Indian Wing of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Is this liability taken into account in any Civil Department of the Government of India?

THE HOMOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: Not that I am aware of

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Not even in the Posts and Telegraphs Department, Sir?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: That is all clearly stated in the Resolution of the Government of India.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: But is it taken into account in connection with any other community, say, with regard to Indians who are members of the Indian Territorial Force?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: Not that I am aware of, für.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Why should there be this differentiation between employees of one community and of another?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: I don't quite understand the Honourable Member's point. I have explained that there is no differentiation. In the case of civilian employees in other branches of a Government Department who have a liability for service in the field, their rates of pay have been fixed taking this fact into account. The principle applies both to the persons I have referred to and to Anglo-Indians in the Railway Department.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Does not differentiation arise because the Indian members of the I.T.F. employed in any department are not entitled to receive higher remuneration?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: That seems to be a matter of opinion.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Is that so ! Will the Honourable Member tell me why the principle of equality of pay for persons doing the same work which has been observed in the case of the Telegraph Department been discarded in the Railway Department ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: The Honourable Member will find a full and very lucid explanation of that in the Resolution to which I have referred, which I presume he has perused.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: May I say that I have read that Resolution more than once and I have put this question to the Honourable Member because I have been unable to get the information I want from it myself.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: Well, Sir, I regret I cannot give any more information than is contained in that Resolution. It is stated therein that in adopting this course the Government of India have been influenced mainly by a desire to avoid a discrimination which is not based on any differential obligation but they have also taken into account the fact that the number of men affected in the telegraph cadre is comparatively small and the fact that the scales of pay of this cadre were subjected to particularly heavy reductions. That seems to be an adequate explanation.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: But is it not a fact that there was a heavy reduction in the scales of pay of the subordinate railway employees also?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: I understand it was not so heavy as in the case of the telegraphists.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: In case Indians offer themselves for service in the Army in the same manner as the Anglo-Indians do. will they get the same allowance?

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

RIGHT OF REPLY IN MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT.

The Honourable the PRESIDENT: Honourable Members, before we proceed with today's work, I wish to bring one matter to your notice. The other day, when Pandit Kunzru brought his Motion for Adjournment on the unsatisfactory nature of the announcement made in connection with the Chatfield Committee, he came to me and asked me whether he had the right of reply. I recalled a previous ruling of mine in 1934 which I remember to have given when Mr. Hossain Imam moved a Motion for Adjournment and I requested the Honourable Pandit Kunzru not to make a reply. Since he has asked me to make a statement I have promised him that I shall consider the whole question at a later stage. I am very sorry I have no time this session to go into the question. We have followed for many years a decision given by that distinguished President of this Council, Sir Alexander Muddiman, in 1925, but I wish to reconsider the whole question again, and I shall consider it at length at the next Delhi session.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Will you permit me, Sir, to supplement your statement by informing you that you allowed me to reply in connection with my Adjournment Motion regarding the reorganization of the Indian Medical Service in 1937.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I do not remember that. You did not bring it to my notice.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Yes, Sir, I mentioned it to you.

RESOLUTION RE PROTECTION TO THE STARCH INDUSTRY.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take measures to protect the Indian starch industry from uneconomic foreign competition."

The issue involved in this Resolution seems to me, Sir, a non-controversial and innocent one. The Indian starch industry has applied to the Government of India for protection against the uneconomic and heavy competition by the Before I proceed, Sir, I propose to give a short foreign manufacturers. history of the starch manufacture in India and will try to make out a case how far the grievances of the industry are reasonable for asking protection from the Government. Commercial starch is produced from maize and also from rice, potatoes and wheat. This starch is used in several industries, it is used in the textile industries, it is used in the soap industries, and in the paper industries. It is used as an adhesive in the biscuit industry. So, I may say that it is practically used in all essential industries and therefore the starch industry can be called a subsidiary industry or the basic industry because its produce is used as the raw material of numerous other industries. We have got in India about four factories and one factory in Rangoon. One big factory is under construction at Ahmedabad. The total amount of production of these factories is about 10,000 tons of starch which amount to about 20 per cent. of the aggregate Indian consumption. I understand that we import about 45,000 tons of starch for which we have to pay about Rs. 50 lakhs. Before these factories were started, the foreign manufacturers used to charge very heavy prices for their produce. After the start of the factories in India, they reduced the price of starch from Rs. 10-4-0 per cwt. to Rs. 6-12-0 per cwt. They reduced this price deliberately with a view I may say to kill the starch industry in India so that this industry may be ousted from the field and the foreign manufacturer may be able to get into the field and then fix his monopoly price. This cut-throat competition had very adverse effects on the indigenous industry, though the indigenous industry tried its level best by using economic methods to cut down their expenditure and to produce the manufacture at a competitive price so as to compete fairly with the foreign produce. The effect of it has been that some of the factories have to curtail their production by working shorter hours. I understand that one factory had to produce only converted starch while other factories have been working for four days out of six. The foreign manufacturers have adopted these methods in selling the manufactured starch at a lower price to gain a good market in India as well as to oust the Indian industry from the field. The Indian industry demands the imposition of an antidumping duty of Rs. 2 per cwt. on imported starch over and above the ad valorem duty of 15 per cent. They think that if this duty is imposed, they will be able to manufacture starch and will be able to run their factories economically and compete with the foreign manufacturer.

Sir, in order to obtain protection, we must see how far the industry which desires protection can satisfy the three conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission. The first is that there must be abundant supply of raw material,

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

sufficient labour and a large home market. The second is that the industry mast be such as cannot develop in its infancy without protection, and is not likely to develop rapidly as is desirable in the interests of the country. The third is that the industry must be such as will eventually face the world competition within a short period, if protection is given. Sir, so far as rew material is concerned, the figures I have got from non-official sources show clearly that we have an abundant supply of raw material, i.e., maise, which we require for the manufacture of starch. In the United Provinces, Bihar, and some other provinces, maize is grown in two seasons. The total acreage of land under entitivation for maize is, I am told, about 6.6 million acres, which produce nearly two million tons of maize. We require about 100,000 tons of maise to meet our entire demand for the manufacture of starch. Our exports of maise are very insignificant. The average annual export comes to about 8,400 tons enly—not even 1 per cent, of our total production—and the rest is used for home consumption. Most of the produce is utilized as a food crop for the poor and fodder for animals. There are two kinds of bye-product crops. One is maire cake and the other is maire oil. Maire cake is used as fodder for animals and maize oil is used for certain industrial processes. Thus, nearly 85 per cent. of our total maize production is grown in the provinces where the factories are located. We have got a large home market, because we find that the demand for starch is increasing gradually. In 1933-34, we imported about 5,55,635 ewts, of starch which cost us about Rs. 33 lakhs, while in 1937-38 we imported 8.41,762 cwts. which cost us about Rs. 55.5 lakhs. Moreover, India has got the hand-loom industry—cottage industries and infant industries. The starch which we require is not the starch which we get from the manufacturing factories but a crude sort of starch which we call kanyi. So, that starch is not as good as the manufactured starch. If we are able to set up factories, we will be able to supply that sort of starch which is necessary and which will replace the crude starch now used in the hand-loom industry. As regards sufficient supply of labour, the House knows that people from many villages flock to the cities to get employment in mills and other factories. India being an agricultural country, and the majority of the population being dependent on it, many of the poor people do not find employment in villages and therefore they migrate to cities to find further employment there. Another point about the starting of these factories is the getting of cheap power. If these are started in cities, there will be no difficulty about generating electricity. With the advent of responsible Government in the provinces, I am sure that if you start new factories, you will be able to get electricity at a cheap rate on the recommendation of the Provincial Governments. So, when we find that the starch industry is not able to maintain itself as against foreign competition, it is the duty of the State to give some protection to this nascent industry in order that it may be able to maintain its own against foreign competition. There are signs of dumping by foreign manufacturers in India. The figures that I have got from unofficial sources show that a large amount of starch is being dumped in India at a very, very low price. I understand that the present selling price, which is Rs. 6-12-0 per cwt. does not cover even the cost of production, the cost of transport, the commissions and other expenses incurred by the foreign manufacturers in producing and sending this product to India. The price of duty-free starch, including commission, termsport charges and other expenses and excluding the ad valorem duty, comes to about Rs. 5-13-0. Now, I understand that the present selling price of maize is the foreign market is Rs. 2-12-0 per cwt. and as two cwts. of maize are sequired to manufacture one cwt. of starch, it comes to about Rs. 5-12-0 only. Hence if the foreign manufacturers have to sell the starch in this country they must undergo a very heavy loss. Their only intention in doing this is that they should be able to sell their product so that our industry should not flourish or he able to compete with them, and then after ousting our industry they would be able to fix a monopoly price, very much higher than it is now.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Which country is dumping in-

THE HONOURABLE Mr. V. V. KALIKAR: My information is that it is Germany and the United States.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member): Not Germany now.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: When I tabled this Resolution the war was not on, and now I think if we cannot get any manufactures from Germany we shall be able to help our industry if the Government comes in and gives protection against America.

Now, Sir, I shall submit the figures that I have got about the production cost of Indian starch. The present price of maize in India is Rs. 3-2-0 per cwt. So far manufacturing one cwt. of starch we require maize worth Rs. 6-4-0. Then the average cost of manufacture of starch comes to about Rs. 2 per cwt., and about Re. 1 for depreciation, commission and other factory expenses. So the total comes to Rs. 9-4-0 per cwt. On the bye-products the industry gets about 12 annas per cwt. Hence the reasonable selling price should be at least Rs. 8-8-0 per cwt., whereas they have to sell it at Rs. 6-12-0, which means a loss of Rs. 1-12-0 per cwt. and if an anti-dumping duty of that amount were puton they would be just able to make both ends meet. My point is, if we want this industry to flourish and if the figures that I have got are correct, then I submit that the industry has got a very good case for assistance from the I am more afraid of my Honourable friend on the left, Government. Mr. Hossain Imam, because he is always against protection to any industry. But I want to assure him that if he supports me in this demand all the agriculturists will be able to get a reasonable price for their agricultural products and we shall be able to meet their reasonable grievance. They have rightly been complaining that they have not for the last seven or eight years been able to get good prices for their products. I believe the industry has got a good case, because I have no reason to doubt the correctness of the figures which I have given. This is a very non-controversial Resolution and in the interests of the agriculturists and in the interests of the starch industry I hope the whole House will unanimously support my demand. I therefore move the Resolution for theacceptance of the House.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Kon-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. The Honourable-the Leader of the House observed that in view of the war the question of German

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

competition does not now arise. That may be so for the time being but we are out to make India self-contained. I know that in the Punjab, the province from which I come, there are two starch factories, one situated at Batala in the Gurdaspur district and another at Jagadhri in the Ambala district. I find that their product has a good demand if the price be good, and I also find that due to the dumping of starch from other countries those factories are not doing so well as they ought to. There are two kinds of starch which are used in the textile mills, one is wheat starch and the other maize starch. This proposition does not necessitate any great reasoning because it is evident. Even when the prices of maize and wheat are low it is neither paying to the agriculturist nor to the manufacturer. The manufacturer naturally will pay a bigger price for his produce in case he can get a bigger price for his product. But because he cannot get a good price, the result is that the zemindar suffers, and India is not being made self-contained. If protection is granted now when dumping from foreign countries is at a standstill, it would help to establish the starch industry.

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

*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Mr. President, it is difficult to live up to reputation and I freely admit that when I came to this House I had every intention of supporting the Resolution which Mr. Kalikar had moved, because I make exception in the case of agricultural goods. Protection which would give a higher price to agricultural produce always had my support. I also admit that I had not studied the question of the origin of the country from which dumping started. I was under the impression that damping is the monopoly of Japan and in that view I was prepared to support fully and whole-heartedly, but now the case has been materially altered. The Honourable Member had a very good case and at the time when he gave notice of his Resolution it was a subject on which it would have been difficult to have any difference of opinion. But we live in a world in which changes come with electrical rapidity. Circumstances change so materially that you cannot justify the same thing one week after you have made the enunciation. We had two competitors, first Germany, which is now out of the market; there can be no dumping from that source. The second was the United States of America. The House I think knows well how this war has affected the exchange. There has been already a difference of about 5 or 6 per cent.—depreciation of that amount—in the exchange value of rupee in terms of dollar. Dollar prices being what they are, Indian prices are bound to rise up. So you are secure from the possibility of competition from there too. Added to that is the fact that the United States of America is not a country which indulges in dumping per se. You might have a sort of dumping due to the fact that there is a certain measure of Government help to industries which reduces the cost of manufacture. There are subsidies to the carriers; there is no direct dumping in the sense in which dumping is used. Nevertheless I cannot say that these conditions are so reassuring that we can give up the matter and brush it aside. It does require anxious consideration of Government. We must also consider the effect of protection on the industries which

^{*}Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

utilize the particular article as one of their materials. The textile industry has many competitions to face and if the cost of one of the raw materials which is required for that industry is increased, it would follow that the textile industry will also require a higher protection than you are giving it now if they have based their calculation on the price of starch at Rs. 6-12-0 per cwt. I would therefore request the Government to keep this matter in view and if the prices are uneconomic to come forward and refer the matter to a Tariff Board and in the meantime I would request my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar to trust Government for six months more and see what happens in the next session.

The Honourable Sir Alan Lloyd (Commerce Secretary): The Honourable Mover of this Resolution twice expressed the opinion that it would be regarded as non-controversial. If it is impossible for us to accept that description of the Resolution, it is, I am afraid, the Honourable Member's own fault, because of the way in which he has worded it. Had the Resolution merely asked Government to give consideration to the question of extending protection to the Indian starch industry, it would have been very simple for me to answer. "Yes, we have that matter under consideration already", but for the moment we think—practically on the lines of what my Honourable friend from Bihar said—we think that we ought to suspend judgment for a few months in order to see what is happening as a result of the war, which affects one at least of the principal sources of supply of imported starch.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: We have the experience of the last war.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD: If I might venture to say so, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition will find in the last war the prices of all imported commodities tended to go up.

But the Honourable Mover of the Resolution did not confine himself to asking the Government to consider the question of extending protection to the Indian starch industry. The Resolution as worded includes a finding of fact that there is uneconomic foreign competition. Now, Sir, we cannot accept a Resolution which includes a finding of fact unless we are certain that the finding of fact is quite justified. The effect of that finding of fact is quite obvious; the Honourable Member's interpretation of the word uneconomic is practically equivalent to what is among economists described as predatory competition designed to crush a competitive industry, or to use an alternative expression, that "dumping" is being resorted to in the cause of this predatory competition. Now. Sir, this matter first came up a few months ago and I think it will be quite clear that the Government were bound in a case of this sort to make extensive enquiries to know what the justification for that allegation of fact was. We have been pursuing those inquiries and I thought-as I was concerned with the matter—that one of the most important things to do was to study the course of prices in other parts of the world and in particular in London which may be regarded, ordinarily speaking, as giving a fair indication of the general trend of world prices, apart from any local activities. I find, having obtained with some difficulty the information that I wanted as regards the course of London prices, that there has been a consistent tendency for the prices in India of imported starch to vary with the world price, as represented by the London

(Sir Alan Lloyd.)

quotations, and consistently also, with very few exceptions the Indian price has been in the level of 10 per cent. above the London price. These researches have also brought to my notice two very interesting facts. The first is this. The only concern working in India which has applied for protection is in the Punjab and therefore I will take Lahore prices of maize. In the first half of 1939 the Lahore price of maize averaged 10 per cent. more than the average in 1938. But the London price of imported maize averaged 5 per cent. less than in 1938. That is a very significant fact. It shows that the price of the raw material in India has been moving in a contrary direction to its price elsewhere. Now, in the long run that sort of thing is likely to level stack out but in the short run it is quite possible that it should go on for some months because, as the Honourable Member remarked, there is practically no export trade and, I may add, no import trade in maine. But the fact that I have mentioned is in itself a very good explanation of the fact that in the first half of 1939 it was particularly difficult to compete with foreign countries because of the trend of the cost of the raw material, without substantisting any allegation against foreigners of deliberate price-cutting.

Then another very important fact that I noticed was that the margin between the London price of maize and the London price of starch when at its highest was hardly more than half the margin which is claimed by the Punjab concern to which I have referred as necessary to exist in the case of an Indian factory, in order to secure profitable working. Well, I hope that that does not mean that the claims of this particular concern have been put on an exaggerated basis. But, if it does not mean that, the explanation must be that there is some natural disadvantage which the industry is India suffers from. It may be that their methods are less efficient in making the best use of the raw material; another possibility that has occurred to me is that they have much more difficulty in disposing of their bye-products than is the case in countries like the United States and Germany where the breeding of pigs for bacon and ham is most important. Here I am afraid the breeding of pigs is left to the Sudras and I am afraid these pigs never see one mouthful of maize cake. I am not. saying that this is a reason why the starch industry cannot flourish in India. I am only saying that there are factors disclosed by the statistics which I have studied which throw some doubt on the bare assertion which my Honourable friend opposite has unhesitatingly repeated that there is deliberate cut-throat competition and that the prices charged for the foreign produce are uneconomical. I must reserve judgment upon that point and I think anyone who has had the opportunities that I have had of studying the figures which I have obtained from other countries will find it necessary to reserve judgment on that point. Well then, Sir, that brings us to the position to which we were already inclined before these statistical inquiries were completed, namely, that this application should be treated not as an application for the introduction of what would be an entire novelty in our legislation but an application for protection in the ordinary way. On that point, Sir, I am not going to commit myself to any finding because all that the executive has to do is to satisfy itself that there is a prima facie case and that it is a matter which can suitably be referred to the Tariff Board; and so long as we have not decided not to refer it to the Tariff Board it

would be presumptuous for me to decide what the Tariff Board might have to say. I would only just remind Honourable Members that there are two factors which I think justify us in deferring for some time a decision upon the question as to whether the matter should or should not be referred to the Tariff Board. The most important factor is one which has already been mentioned. that the whole economy of this kind of industry has been altered by the war. One of the principal sources of supply to India is out of it; the other, as my Honourable friend from Bihar has so clearly pointed out, has had its prices. in terms of Indian money, automatically raised owing to exchange fluctuations. The other point, as has again been mentioned by my Honourable friend from Bihar, is that this is a matter in which we must really be cautious because starch is an important mill-store for industries that are already themselves protected. The most important of them is the cotton textile industry and that is an industry which is itself complaining that it is in difficulties and we have to think twice at least before increasing these difficulties. In this connection I should like to remind the House that the Tariff Board in 1927 actually recommended that the then existing revenue duty on starch should be removed and starch placed on the free list for the benefit of the textile industry. That was given effect to. In 1932 the Tariff Board considered the case of starch again on certain representations and their recommendation then was that a revenue duty of 15 per cent. should be imposed on starch, not for the purpose of protecting the starch industry in the ordinary sense but as a countervailing duty or tariff-equalizing duty to set off the duty which had been imposed on wheat with the result that wheat used in any factory would have the price raised by the amount of that duty, whether directly or indirectly. It is the case now that I have not yet had any representation from any concern using or intending to use wheat to make starch. Maize is the most natural raw material for the purpose. There is no import duty on maize and one might say that logically starch ought to go back to the free list instead of having the duty enhanced. That just shows that the effect of the duty on starch upon the position of the textile industry is one which will have to be most seriously watched. withstanding, as I have said, if we are allowed to abstain from accepting allegations of predatory competitions which we do not think are substantiated and if we are allowed to confine our attention to the ordinary principles governing applications for protection, the matter is receiving our attention and will, as soon as we see daylight a little in the present chaotic condition of the world, continue to receive our attention. That is as far as I am able to go in accepting the Honourable Member's Resolution. As it is, I am afraid that for the reasons that I have given I shall have to oppose it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: The wheels of the Government machinery, Sir, are always very slow in moving. My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam has asked me to trust the Government in this matter and I have no hesitation in trusting the Government but, as I say, I wish that the Government should take early steps in this matter and should examine the question seriously and help the nascent industry if the industry feel that it has not breathing space and will be exterminated in a very short time on account of this competition. My Honourable friend Sir Alan Lloyd said that I had made certain remarks and had taken it for granted that there was

of the Administration of the me

Mr. V. V. Kalikar.

undeconomic foreign competition. Well, I stated before in my opening speech that the foreign manufacturers used to sell starch for Rs. 10 and odd annas before the factories were started in India.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD: What was the foreign price of maize then?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: According to my figures it was Rs. 2-12-0 per cwt.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD: Wrong.

THE HOSOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: If they have cut down the price and if they have fixed it at Rs. 6-12-0, as a layman I am entitled to say that it is uneconomic competition—cut-throat competition. However, Sir, they say that they have the matter under consideration, and I know that there is one weak point in my case, and that is, that the matter has to be referred to the Tariff Board for inquiry and it has not been referred now. I therefore wish to withdraw my Resolution and request Government to take serious steps in the matter so that the industry may not die on account of the foreign competition.

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

RESOLUTION RE IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF INDIAN SEAMEN ASHORE AND AFLOAT.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to institute an inquiry with a view to bringing about an improvement in the conditions under which Indian seamen both on steamers and in ports have to live and work."

Sir, India is one of the principal maritime countries of the world. According to the figures available, the number of seamen working on ships in 1935 was 59,000 in India, 152,793 in Great Britain, 94,400 in the U.S.A., and 71.526 in Japan. Therefore, we are the fourth maritime country so far as the number of seamen employed is concerned. The number of seamen is also on the increase as the figures that I give below will indicate. I have taken these figures from the Statistical Abstract for British India. In 1927-28, the number of seamen employed was 19,501; in 1931-32, the figure had risen to 54,403 and in 1935 the figure had risen to 59,000. These figures give only the average number of seamen working on ships at any time of the year and not the total number of those who sign on during the course of the year, because many of the seamen who sign on are employed only for varying periods of less than one year. During the years 1926-27 and 1928-29 for which figures are available, the average number of seamen engaged in Calcutta was 58,300 and in Bombay, 34,600, making a total of 93,000 altogether. The total number of unemployed seamen was 113,000 in July, 1931. Taking both unemployed and employed seamen in the three principal ports of Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi, the total

number of seamen is 235,000. I am assuming that unemployed seamen remain in ports for the greater part of the year and even though they remain for prolonged periods unemployed, they do not give up their character of seamen. So far as the ships are concerned, the position would seem to be this. In large ships the crew works in three groups. You have the deck crew, the engine room crew and the saloon crew. The first two, i.e., those who work on the deck and in the engine room, work under serangs responsible to the Chief Officer and the Chief Engineer, and the saloon crew works under a butler responsible to the Bursar or the Chief Steward. The question of recruitment of seamen first came before the Indian Legislature and the Government of India in 1921. There was a Draft Convention adopted by the International Labour Organization in 1920, and the question in 1921 before the Legislature was whether that Draft Convention should or should not be ratified. Legislature took the line that ratification was not practicable but that there 'ought to be an examination of the methods of recruitment and, if possible, 's new system should be introduced. After that Resolution was adopted by the Legislature, a Committee was appointed, called the Seamen's Recruitment Committee, and it was presided over by our very distinguished friend the Honourable Sir Andrew Clow, whom we are so glad to see here in this House today. The Committee went thoroughly into the question and found that, in Bombay, recruitment was conducted through a single firm of licensed brokers, and that in Calcutta the principal company used to recruit through special servants of its own, and that other companies used to utilize the services of one of the local licensed brokers. Serangs and butlers, they found, used to be selected by officers. They were mainly responsible for selecting the crew. Committee found that this system led to grave abuses. They found that the appointment of the crew through serangs and butlers led to grave abuses and they suggested a new system which did not involve the employment of intermediaries. They suggested the establishment of employment bureau under officers with practical experience. Then they suggested that as regards leading ratings, serangs and butlers, shipping companies should be allowed to nominate any one who had been discharged from a ship of the same line not more than three months before. In case of failure to do so the selection was to be made from the top of the roster maintained by the Bureau for that time. The object was to encourage lines to give men as far as possible continuity of employment and to ensure that each man shall have his claims regularly considered. In Bombay they found that the crew, especially the deck crew, were attached closely to particular serangs who came from the same or neighbouring villages. They recommended interference with the serangs' power of nomination only in the case of a particular type of crew. In Calcutta they found no attachment between the serang and the crew and they recommended a system whereby seamen would be taken by roster from a register maintained for the line concerned and from a general register. Shipowners were to be free to take men who had been discharged from ships of the same line not a month before. The Committee also recommended that bribery whether direct or indirect to obtain employment as seamen should be severely put down. Bribery was the chief evil and elimination of bribery was the main object of the Committee, and they found that it was more rampant in Calcutta than in Bombay. Difficulties in preparing a register were

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found to be great and it was not found possible to restrict the power of the seriong over the selection of his crew.

Then we come to 1924, and in that year the Government of India appointed an officer of the mercantile marine as Shipping Master to reorganize the shipping office in Calcutta. The Government of India further instructed him to examine the establishment of a recruitment bureau. A similar officer was also appointed at Bombay. From 1924, we come to 1929, and in that year the Government passed certain orders on these seamen's recruiting committees. Leading ratings, that is serange and butlers, were to be recruited direct by shipowners or through the shipping office. No broker was to be appointed in selecting these men and companies were to give preference to men who had been long out of employment. Recruitment was to be made through the shipping office when shipowners or their agents were unable to make the arrangements necessary for them. A register of serangs and butlers was to be maintained, shipowners and their agents or the ship's officers were to select their men at an open muster. The serange and butlers produced candidates in numbers and the marine superintendent and the ship's officers selected the crew from the men produced.

Now, Sir, the position now is that while licensed brokers and other intermediaries have not been abolished, they have no longer any voice in the selection of the higher ratings except where vacancies occur immediately prior to a vessel's departure. In Calcutta the greatest improvement has been in connection with the system of advances. While the present system is an improvement over the past, the Royal Commission on Labour which investigated this question in the course of its investigations regarding labour questions doubt whether it would remove one of the basic causes of bribery, namely, unemployment. The Royal Commission says one of the basic causes of bribery which is rampant is the large number of unemployed seamen. In Bombay, for example, there is employment at any one time for only one-third of the men available for employment. In Calcutta conditions are slightly worse. There is employment only for one-fourth of the men available for employment at any particular time. The Commission came to the conclusion that acceptance of the demand which was put forward on behalf of the seamen that the seamen should be employed in rotation to secure equitable distribution of the available employment was not a practicable proposition. They made their recommendations at pages—I am quoting from the summary - 505 and 506 of their Report. They say:

[&]quot;For a period of 12 months no fresh continuous discharge certificate should be issued unless the shipping master is satisfied that the recruit is required for employment and that suitable men are not already available;

[&]quot;Thereafter continuous discharge certificates should be issued only to persons for whom posts are available and unnecessary recruiting should be discouraged;

[&]quot;If necessary, after a suitable break there should be a further period of 12 months in which recruitment is again restricted.

[&]quot;Shipping masters should be authorized forthwith to exclude from the register all seamen who have not been in employment for a period of three years, and, to begin with, a seaman should be struck off the register automatically on the expiry of three years from

his last discharge. The period of three years should be steadily reduced to 18 months, but the latter period may be altered, if necessary, in consultation with representatives of ship-owners and seamen.

- "Shipping companies should have liberty of choice from men who have been in their employment within a specified period. To begin with, this period should be two years, but it should be steadily reduced to nine months. This latter period may also be altered, if necessary, in consultation with representatives of both sides.
- "If a shipowner is unable to fill his crew from those of whom he is entitled to make free choice, he should be required to take men selected from the register by the Shipping Office.
- "The licenses granted under section 24 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act should not be renewed.
- "Shipping masters should encourage seamen to use the provisions of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act relating to the allotment of wages".

They admit the employment of licensed brokers for the recruitment of seamen and recommend that licenses granted under section 24 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act be not renewed. They also note that Indian seamen have so far failed to secure the benefit of the provision of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act relating to the allotment of wages. They point out that under this Act a seaman may allot by means of a stipulation in his articles of agreement any portion of his wages not exceeding one-third to a relative or a member of his family. They recommend that seamen should be informed of the existence of this arrangement and encouraged by shipping masters to make extensive use of it. The Royal Commission further recommend that the amount of their allotment should be remitted regularly by the shipping officers by means of money orders to the name and address of the person named in the allotment note. They go on further to observe that there is possibly some delay between the signing on and actual engagement and recommend that Government should make inquiries in this matter and take such action as may be found necessary. They also suggest that the possibility of reducing the maximum period for payment on discharge and also of signing on taking place in the shipping office should be considered. Finally, they draw attention to the absence in ports of welfare organization centres for seamen. Now, Sir, I have drawn the attention of the House to the recommendations of the Whitley Commission in full, because I would like to know to what extent these recommendations of the Whitley Commission, which are intended to reduce unemployment and secure the welfare of Indian seamen, have been given effect to. I find from the note which has been supplied to us in 1937, Memorandum on the action taken on the recommendations of the Whitley Commission, that on financial grounds the Government of India have not found it possible to take action in the direction indicated by the Whitley Commission at the various ports in India. How long are these financial considerations to prevail? When is the action likely to be taken by the Government of India on the lines recommended by the Whitley Commission so far as Indian seamen are concerned? Then, Sir, there is another question to which I would like to invite the attention of the House and that is the housing conditions under which Indian seamen live. It has been said that they live in crowded houses in Bombay, in dirt and filth, in insanitary places; they live in the most sordid conditions imaginable. In Bombay they have an Indian sailors' home. This Indian sailors' home provides accommodation for about M39C8

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450 seamen at one time. The extent of accommodation provided for, considering the vast number of Indian seamen in a city like Bombay, would seem to be grossly inadequate. It would seem therefore desirable that an additional home providing for about 1,000 seamen at any one time should be erected in Bombay. It is to be hoped that a similar request will be complied with so far as Calcutta is concerned. It is to be hoped that the Government of Bombay, the Port Trust, the great Municipal Corporation, the Government of India, various shipping concerns, will contribute semething towards the cost of a home for sailors. I should like to say a few words about welfare work. I should like to invite the attention of the House to the recommendation of the International Labour Conference at Geneva in regard to welfare work in 1936. This is the recommendation of the International Labour Conference:

- "Arrangements should be made, at least in the larger ports, for the material and general assistance of seamen while in the port and such arrangements should more particularly include:
 - (a) the institution or development of seamen's hostels of a satisfactory character and furnishing suitable board and lodging at reasonable prices;
 - (b) the institution or development of institutes—which might be distinct from the seamen's hostels, but should keep as far as possible in touch with them, providing meeting and recreation rooms (canteens, rooms for games, libraries, etc.);
 - (c) the Organization, where possible in co-operation with ships's ports clubs, of healthy recreations, such as sports, excursions, etc.
 - (d) the promotion, by every possible means, of the family life of seamen ".

I would like to draw the attention of the House to the last part—the promotion, by every possible means, of the family life of seamen. Particular care is necessary so far as the health of seamen is concerned. One of the dangers to which their life exposes them is venereal disease which constitutes a menace not only to seamen concerned but also to their families and their children. It would therefore seem desirable that there should be proper facilities for the treatment of venereal and other diseases from which seamen might be suffering. Another thing which I would like Government to consider is the possibility of establishing a joint maritime board as the constitution of such a board will have the effect of helping seamen's organizations to effectively negotiate with shipping concerns. I understand that in England there is an International Maritime Board which was set up in 1917; I find that in Japan according to the Report of the International Labour Organization the Board has been of great value to the shipping industry. The constitution of the Board should in principle be similar to that of the British Board.

I should have liked to have said something about the indebtedness of Indian seamen. I have an extract from the Whitley Commission's Report, but as my time is up I shall not read that extract. I find from that extract that seamen have to pay a higher rate of interest than other labourers for sums that they borrow and that they are in a state of chronic indebtedness. Another grievance to which I should like to invite the attention of the House is in regard to the wages of these seamen. The Indian seamen gets far less

wages than British Seamen. I have got figures before me, but I cannot go into those figures. These wages are grossly inadequate. They are much less than the wages of British seamen and they are less than the wages that Chinese seamen—Chinese are an Asiatic race—get. It is therefore necessary to look into the question of their wages and their indebtedness also.

I have not suggested any particular method of inquiry; I have not suggested that there should be a committee or anything like that. I have suggested that an inquiry by any competent officer who can look into the grievances of these seamen will be sufficient.

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

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras: Muhammadan): Sir, I give my whole-hearted support to this Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. The 12 Noon. Honourable Mover has made quite a strong case for the suggesshow from the history tion that he has made. He has been able to which he traced of the seamen in recent years how the conditions under which they have been living both in port and on board the steamer have been so unsatisfactory that Government found it necessary to institute an inquiry from time to time. It has shown how there have been committees, commissions, royal commissions on labour, investigating the conditions under which these seamen are suffering. But, Sir, it is regrettable to note that, in spite of these inquiries and the recommendations that have been made from time to time, the lot of seamen has not very much improved. It might be because the number of seamen has grown up very much and the amenities that could be provided for them could not keep pace with the number. But whatever the cause, it is obvious that something should be done to see that their lot is substantially improved. The Indian seamen seem to be labouring under various disabilities. Not only are they not in a position to secure employment for even half their number but even those that actually do secure employment do not find sufficient relief when they are engaged. From the speech of the Honourable Member it is clear that there is necessity to make rules to see that the wages of the seamen while in employ should be regularly sent to their families while the seamen are engaged on board a steamer. There seems again to be necessary to provide welfare institutions for these seamen in ports. As has been shown by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru there is urgent need for hospitals to be opened up in centres where they live, and some arrangement should be made where they live, and some arrangement should be made to see that the housing conditions under which these people live are improved, that they should no longer be allowed to live in these filthy and insanitary houses and they should be provided with residences which are fit for human habitation. It is a pity, Sir, that the seamen are not allowed even to have the benefit to which they are otherwise eligible, the benefit of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act. Something should be done to see that these people do take advantage of the Act, and are enabled to avail themselves of the benefits provided by this Act. Therefore, Sir, I feel that my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru has made a strong case for the suggestion he has made. After all, he has made a very modest request. He does not want any huge inquiry

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

to be set up. All he wants is that there might be a departmental inquiry so that conditions might be investigated and some remedy devised for improving these conditions.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD (Commerce Secretary): Sir, my attitude towards this Resolution is a little difficult for me to formulate for this reason that we in the Government have the fullest sympathy with the underlying motives of the Resolution; we are very anxious to see the conditions of Indian seamen improved; we are particularly anxious to see the difficulties arising from unemployment alleviated; but the Honourable Mover has made it clear that the matter has been very fully inquired into by committees and commissions from time to time and I really believe that he would agree that a stage has now been reached when the Government of India have all the information that they want and that what is necessary is the consideration, the repeated and frequent consideration by the Government of India of that material, in order that they may decide when action can be taken and what action should be taken. For that reason it is hardly possible for me to accept a Resolution which would enjoin us to institute any special kind of inquiry to do what we are constantly doing in the ordinary way by our departmental activities arising out of the materials which, as I have said, are all very fully before us in the light of changed conditions from day to day. I therefore wish to express the hope that the Honourable Member will not put us in the embarrassing position of having to oppose this Resolution by pressing it to a division. the same time, I do find it difficult, while fully sympathising with the motives underlying it, to accept the Resolution.

The Honourable Member who moved the Resolution has given us a very full account of previous inquiries of a more formal nature including the Whitley Commission and what has been done as a result of those inquiries, and he has also shown that he is familiar with the reports on action taken in pursuance of the Royal Commission on Labour's Report published from time to time. I think, therefore, in these circumstances, I need not detain the House by attempting to traverse the whole of the ground which the Honourable Member has covered; but I should like to turn to the specific points which he asked should be dealt with. The first of these is the question how long are the financial difficulties which stood in the way of a certain reform to obtain. Well, Sir, I am afraid I can only repeat the jest which was popular in another place a year or so ago and say that I am not an astrologer. If we had financial difficulties in 1937 and 1938, it would be very bold of me to suggest that the financial position will be easier within the next few years, faced as we are with all the complications and expenses involved in the war and the probable reduction in revenue which will result from that misfortune.

Then the Honourable Member referred in particular to the question of housing and welfare work in the ports. Now, Sir, I think I am correct in saying that that is a matter primarily for the Provincial Governments and indeed my Honourable friend when giving his list of organizations which might put up money for this purpose began with the Provincial Governments and Municipalities and, I think, shipping associations and dragged in the Central Government at the tail—a position which in this case we are very glad to occupy. But

subject to that. I can assure him that nothing would give us greater pleasure than to see these amenities provided. It is a misfortune that the traditional source of funds from which we have so far been able to help such activities has shown a considerable tendency to decline recently, partly owing to the separation of Burma which, it must be admitted was to some extent a milch cow in this respect. I mean the Sunday Fees with which during my long association with the Customs Department I have had a great deal to do. But, although I am afraid I can give the Honourable Member no words of comfort in the sense of any definite promise, especially in view of the financial difficulties to which I have already referred, if any move in the direction which he indicated takes place, it will have our greatest moral support, although I cannot say how much financial support it will be able to receive from us. In this connection he referred specifically to the question of the treatment of venereal diseases. which of course is a bye-product of the difficulties of accommodation in the ports. I do not know whether he is aware that since 1937, the Seamen's Welfare Association at Calcutta, which was reconstituted in 1932, under the Companies Act, has been running clinics at Calcutta for the benefit of Indian seamen. Any expansion of that will again have our support.

As regards a Joint Maritime Board, that has been considered and will be considered again when times are appropriate. But there are certain difficulties, the most serious of which is the uncertainty of obtaining the collaboration of a trade union movement among seamen as well organized and as representative as it is possible to find in other countries. For this reason I think that the matter will have to await further developments.

Finally, on the question of wages, I do not think it would be common sense, if I may say so, to institute an inquiry at the present moment when we are liable any minute to receive a telegram from some port or other saying that lascars are receiving an increase of 100 per cent. in order to induce them to go into danger zones. Fluctuations on that scale are possible; it would therefore be out of the question to consider any long term policy now. I am sorry to have to repeat this plea on this Resolution as I did on the last one, but I am afraid that it is inevitable. For these reasons, Sir, I must, as a matter of form, oppose the Resolution, although I do so very reluctantly, and I hope that in view of what I have said, the Honourable Member will see his way to withdrawing it.

The Honourable Mr. P. N. SAPRU: Sir, I have no desire to embarrass Sir Alan Lloyd. He has expressed his sympathy with the object underlying my Resolution. He has pointed out that an inquiry at this stage will do no good, because they have had a number of inquiries and the time now is for action. He has pointed out that it is difficult for Government to act having regard to the financial condition in which they find themselves and the fluctuating exchange. Well, Sir, I must say that I recognize the force of some of these considerations. It is rather difficult, I know, in this time of financial stringency, to take immediate action. My object in moving this Resolution was to draw the attention of the House and of the Government to the grievances of Indian seamen and as an assurance is forthcoming that their condition will be improved as soon as the financial condition improves, I do not think I will serve any useful purpose by pressing this Resolution to the vote of the House. Sir Alan

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

Lloyd has pointed out that in Calcutta they have a Seamen's Welfare Association, which was started in 1932, and that it has been running a clinic for the treatment of venereal diseases. I hope, Sir, that similar institutions will be started in the other port towns also—Karachi and Bombay—and that special facilities will be provided for the treatment of venereal diseases so far as Indian seamen are concerned in the out-patient departments of General hospitals. For example, in Bombay, you have the Grant Medical College Hospital and the J. J. Hospital. In Karachi and Madras there must be similar hospitals specially attached to the Medical Colleges. I hope facilities will be provided for seamen so far as the treatment of venereal and other diseases is concerned.

Sir Alan Lloyd then referred to the question of the Joint Maritime Board and said that one of the difficulties in the way of setting up a Joint Maritime Board is that there are no effective trade union organizations amongst seamen. That is true. There are no effective trade union organizations amongst seamen. But the point that I wanted to make, so far as the Joint Maritime Board is concerned, is that it will facilitate the growth of a healthy trade unionism. We need not wait until trade unions arise. We can establish a Joint Maritime Board even before trade unions become effective amongst seamen. Sir, I should like to point out what the constitution of the Joint Maritime Board in England is. First of all, the objects of the Board in the United Kingdom are:

"To prevent and adjust differences between shipowners and seamen; to establish, revise and maintain national standard rates of wages and approved conditions of employment, and to establish a single source of supply of sailors and firemen, jointly controlled by employers and employed. The Board in England consists of five panels, each made up of twelve members of each side, dealing respectively with (1) masters, (2) navigating officers, (3) engineers, (4) sailors and firemen and (5) the catering department. The employers' representatives of these panels are elected by the Shipping Federation and the Employers' Association of the Port of Liverpool jointly. The seamen concerned are represented on their respective panels by the nominees of their respective unions. The five panels sitting together constitute the full Board. The panels sit separately and independently, to negotiate wages and other conditions of employment on a national basis for the grade or grades which they represent. There are two chairmen, one elected by and from each side, who take the chair at alternate meetings. The chairman has no casting vote. No stoppage or lock-out is to take place or indemnity, strike pay, or assistance to be offered by either side in the event of a difference or dispute, until the question has been dealt with by the Board. Each panel (excepting the masters' panel) has power to appoint district committees known as district panels. The district panels appoint one or two representatives of each side of each panel who are called 'Port Consultants'. It is the duty of the Port Consultants to prevent delay to vessels by endeavouring to settle all differences arising between masters and crews on the basis of such existing agreements as may have been concluded by the national panel. Any question which cannot be settled by the Port Consultants is referred to the district panel and, if necessary, to the national panel. But neither the district panel nor the Port Consultants have power to alter, vary or amend any scale of charges or other conditions formulated by the Board ".

That is the constitution of the Board in England, and I should like to see a Board similar in principle and character to be set up in India also at as early a date as possible. I do not say the constitution can be exactly the same as the constitution in England. We shall have to take into consideration the varying local conditions here. But, generally speaking, the principle on which that Board is founded is sound and it offers an opportunity to have disputes mettled through the method of negotiation and conciliation.

Then, Sir, so far as wages are concerned, of course I have some statistical material before me, and the wages of the Indian seamen compare, as I pointed out, very unfavourably with the wages paid to British seamen, and compare unfavourably even with the wages paid to Chinese seamen. But I know that that question cannot be taken up immediately at the present moment, and I would not press that question further.

Sir, in view of the sympathetic nature of Sir Alan Lloyd's reply—he said of course that an inquiry is no use, but he was sympathetic to the Resolution, and one could see that he thought there was point in the Resolution—in view of the sympathetic nature of Sir Alan Lloyd's reply I do not think I would be justified in pressing my Resolution. I would therefore beg the leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

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

RESOLUTION RE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL AVIATION.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps, following the example of England, to encourage the development of civil aviation in India."

Sir, expenditure in connection with civil aviation has been going on in India since the year 1921-22, but for several years in the early stages the expenditure was very small. It was only in 1926-27 that Sir Bhupendra Mitra asked for a supplementary grant of Rs. 10 lakhs for the promotion of civil aviation in the country. He pointed out in his speech the main purposes for which expenditure was to be incurred. Apart from the acquisition of suitable sites, a Director of Civil Aviation had to be appointed and he was to be provided with an Then the provision of aerodromes and aeroports had to be undertaken. It was also proposed that subsidies should be given for external air services. Another point on which Sir Bhupendra Mitra laid some stress was the development of internal air routes and internal transportation services, and the last point mentioned by him was the provision of instruction in the science and art of civil aviation for Indian youths. This was to be provided for according to him in two ways. In the first place the subsidized companies were to be asked. to undertake the training of the pilots whom they needed, and, in the second place, the establishment of light aeroplane clubs which would provide facilities for flying at a comparatively small cost was to be encouraged. He pointed out that in these ways instruction in flying was being given in England and Australia. I think it was these two countries which he referred to in his speech, and he thought that the same methods might be suitable in India also.

Now, as regards the training of Indian youths in connection with civil aviation, this question involves the provision of personnel of various kinds. You first need the subordinate personnel, for instance, artisans and mechanics. Then you need pilots and you also need persons with scientific qualifications like air navigators, wireless operators and ground engineers. Since Sir Bhupendra Mitra spoke, civil aviation in India has made fairly good progress. At present, including the Indian Trans-Continental Airways, we have six aircraft operating

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

companies and seven flying clubs. The flying clubs receive, roughly speaking, an annual subsidy of Rs. 1,40,000. Now, Sir, while, as I have said, the progress made during the last 12 years cannot be under-rated, I ask that we should go much faster in the direction in which we are already going. I have already said what is involved in civil aviation. It is a very wide subject but I do not propse today to concern myself with all the points mentioned by Sir Bhupendra Mitra in the speech which he delivered in the Legislative Assembly on the 1st March, 1927, to which I have already referred. I do not propose in this connection even to deal with the training of air navigators or wireless operators or ground engineers. I propose to deal, broadly speaking, with the encouragement of flying and the training of pilots.

The Government of India framed a scheme in 1928 under which scholarships were to be given to suitable candidates for study in England for a period of three years. I believe these scholarships have come to an end. Their purpose was to secure qualified men who would be needed for employment in the Directorate of Civil Aviation. No undertaking was, however, given to the men concerned that they would be employed by Government, but they were told that in case their services were required they would have to serve Government for a term of four years on an initial salary of not less than Rs. 400. Although, however, this scheme is no longer in force, the training of pilots is going on under the auspices of the various flying clubs and is being undertaken to a certain extent by subsidized aircraft operating companies. The scholarships to which I have referred were not meant for the training of pilots, but it was hoped that, when the necessary staff for the Office of the Director of Civil Aviation had been obtained, progress would be fairly rapid. I have already stated that the Government of India give help to the flying clubs by way of subsidies. This, however, is not the only kind of help given by them. Where it has been necessary to give advanced training to pilots holding "B" licences but having experience of light aeroplanes only, the Government of India have allowed the use of their planes. Apart from this, they have given scholarships from time to time for the training of ground engineers, wireless operators, and so on. Besides, the civil aviation scholarships granted by the Government of India scholarships are also granted by some Provincial Governments. Neither the Government of India nor the Provincial Governments have bound themselves to offer a fixed number of scholarships annually, but during the last few years scholarships from both sources have been forthcoming. I should also mention here that in October, 1935 an institution called the Aeronautical Centre of India was established at Delhi which according to the Report for 1935-36 " made a propitious start with 50 cadets". The Centre, according to this Report—

"was organized to give comprehensive courses in all branches of aircraft, ground engineering, including mechanical drawing and instruction in wireless telegraphy, etc.".

It had also entered into arrangements with the Delhi Flying Club for flying instruction up to the "A" license standard to be given by the Club to those cadets who wish to include a pilot's licence amongst their qualifications. It is also stated in the Report that the Centre proposed to undertake the further

training of these persons in flying, so that they might take their commercial licences. This institution which started so well has had to close down, I understand, for want of support from Government.

Now, Sir, I may be asked as to what I expect Government to do when they are already doing so much for the advancement of civil aviation. I do not at all minimize the interest taken by Government in this matter, but let us see what is the net result of their efforts during the last 12 years so far as the training of pilots goes. According to the figures I have with me from 1931 to 1937 about 700 pilots were trained—the exact number according to the Annual Reports of the Civil Aviation Department is 689—but the total number of those holding current licenses according to the figures supplied the other day is only 313. This shows how unsatisfactory the position is for a vast country like India. I have in my Resolution drawn the attention of Government to what is being done in this connection in England. I have asked them to copy the British example. The Director of Civil Aviation has been good enough to supply me with information on this subject. We all know the great interest taken not merely in military flying but also in civil aviation by America and Europe during the last few years. The interest of these countries in civil aviation is due partly to commercial reasons and partly to political and military We are yet a long way behind these countries both in the development of internal air routes and in the encouragement of flying among the people of the country. There is, I think, considerable interest in aviation in the country, but the cost of obtaining an "A" licence, and particularly a "B" licence, is more than many individuals can bear. The cost of obtaining an "A" licence is between Rs. 600 and Rs. 700 and that of obtaining a "B" licence is about Rs. 2,500. If training could be made cheaper, I have no doubt whatsoever that flying would be taken up enthusiastically by people in all walks of society. It is in order to place instruction in flying within reach of people with moderate means that Government have been giving subsidies and have arranged since the 1st April, 1939 that pilots should receive a bonus of Rs. 100 for a new licence and Rs. 50 for the renewal of such a licence. Even so, however, I doubt whether the cost would be reduced to such an extent as to encourage say that class of young men which goes to the colleges and universities to learn flying. Now, let us see what has been done in this connection in England. There is in England the Royal Aero Club which occupies the same position there as the Aero Club of India does in this country. The Government of England, however, place at the disposal of this body larger funds than are given to the Aero Club of India by the Government of India. But, apart from this, Sir, recently the British Government have started an organization for having a Civil Air Guard. This Civil Air Guard consists, according to the information supplied to me by the Director of Civil Aviation, of about 30,000 persons and

[&]quot;is open to any person between the ages of 18 and 50 irrespective of sex but the persons who have undertaken Reserve liability in any of the three Forces will not be eligible. The scheme has been organized to provide a cheap flying tuition and in order to qualify for inclusion in the scheme a Flying Club must give an undertaking that Civil Air Guard members will not be required to pay more than the rates fixed by Government and undertake to operate a Civil Air Guard section of not less than 12 members".

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Now, what is the purpose of this Civil Air Guard scheme? The members are required to sign an undertaking that they will offer their services at once in any state of national emergency, for the purpose of employment in connection with the Royal Air Force requirements, or in any other direction concerned with aviation. The fees that have been fixed for the training of persons included in the Civil Air Guard scheme are low. For instance, for the Standard Moth training type, the instruction is 5s. per hour in mid-week and 10s. per hour during week-ends, and so on. The scheme is to last for a period of four years and will involve a total expenditure of about Rs. 40 lakhs. Now, this shows really what can be done in this country also if Government realized the importance of encouraging flying.

There is one other point and a very important point that I should like to deal with in this connection. In England, it is not merely the Royal Aero Club that is promoting interest in aviation. There is another body called the British Gliding Association which is also doing very important work in this connection. It is developing an air sense amongst the population at large and particularly amongst the younger people. Gliding has been taken up by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia. America and Japan too are taking a keen interest in it. In Germany, I understand, almost every big village has got a gliding association. In France both boys and girls of school-going age are given training in gliding. In England interest began to be taken in this form of aviation in the year 1929 and a sufficiently big grant is given by the British Government to the British Gliding Association in order to develop gliding. Gliding, I understand, is both cheap and safe and if so many countries including England have thought it worth their while, notwithstanding the development of the Air Forces and Civil Aviation in those countries, to encourage it, there is no reason why we should not encourage this type of aviation. A gliding association was established in this country with its headquarters at Bombay in August, 1931 but there is no mention of it in the reports subsequent to that for the year 1931-32. I think, therefore, that it is no longer in existence. Some non-official Members who are keenly appreciative of the value of gliding have recently tried to interest Government in the subject. Let me say that it is not only Indian Members but also European Members of the Legislature who have taken a keen interest in the subject and who have approached Government with a view to obtaining financial help for the gliding institute that has been established. I am acquainted with the negotiations that have taken place between them and the Government of India. It is unfortunate that the Government of India have not seen their way to giving any assistance in the matter. My association with the institute places me in a position to say that an agreement could have been easily reached on essential points between the Government of India and the Gliding Institute. It seems to me that the blame for the present state of things, for the absence of an agreement must rest on the shoulders of the Government of India. still hope that they will change their point of view and that they will not try to impose conditions on the Gliding Institute which would virtually place it under their control. The Institute is quite prepared to accept any reasonable conditions which the Government of India might lay down and would be prepared to go in for affiliation with the Aero Club of India provided it was left a fair amount of liberty and initiative in the management of its affairs.

There is just one other thing that I should like to draw the attention of the House to in this connection. In three British Universities—the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, air squadrons have been established with the object of influencing the flow of candidates for commissions in the regular Air Force, the Air Force Reserve and the Auxiliary Air Force, and the stimulation of interest in air matters. This scheme is certainly connected with the R.A.F., but it shows what the British Government are doing in order to develop interest in flying both among University people and the general public.

The Defence Department have recently turned their attention to the oreation of an Indian Air Force Volunteer Reserve. They propose to establish five reserve units. This is all to the good. But I do not think that in the present situation this can be regarded as enough. Developments have taken place all over the world and are taking place now, which must give us serious cause for anxiety. Not merely are the Air Forces of other countries very large, but they also possess means which would enable them to strengthen their Air Forces rapidly, should it be necessary to call them into action. I do not want to appear to be an alarmist. But no one who keeps his eyes open can but feel that the position of India may be very seriously affected by what may take place in the Far East or in Central Asia. An enemy from Central Asia may find it very difficult to transport land forces to the borders of Afghanistan or India, but it will be very easy for him to create panic, at any rate in Northern India, by sending down a few aeroplanes from the well-known air bases that exists in Central Asia and raiding important towns in the North West Frontier Province and the Punjab. It is necessary, therefore, that we should immediately attend to the development of aviation in this country. I may be told that the question to which I have referred is primarily the concern of the Defence Department. So it is. But in no country does the Defence Department rely entirely on its own resources in this matter. Civil aviation is encouraged partly because it provides the large reserves which an Air Force must perforce need during war. If the British Government decide on an expansion of the Indian Air Force, they will need larger reserves to draw upon than exist in this country, in case this Air Force has to take part in prolonged operations.

For these reasons, Sir, I hope that Government will pay very serious attention to this matter and that steps will soon be taken in addition to those taken by the military authorities to create keen interest in flying throughout the country and to bring instruction in this subject within reach of the ordinary person. The question is one of great national importance.

Sir, I move.

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

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

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. D. TYSON (Communications Secretary): Sir, I vividly recall at this moment an observation made by another most distinguished member of the Servants of India Society with whom it was my good

[Mr. J. D. Tyson.]

fortune to be closely associated for 18 happy and instructive months. In a lecture on the subject of the Society he explained that it was one of the Society's rules that a newcomer should neither speak nor publish anything to the public till he had served a seven years' apprenticeship in the Society; to which he added, characteristically enough, "We do not think it right that out of their inexperience they should instruct the people". Sir, I could well wish that there was some such duty of self-denial in force in this House, for then I should not be in the position in which I find myself today, on my fifth day in the House, of being called upon, out of my own inexperience, to reply to, and I fear in some measure to oppose, so practised an orator as the Honourable Member who has proposed this Resolution. I am reminded of a reply which was once made by a candidate for a Parliamentary election many years ago in the City of Oxford to the Returning Officer. The Returning Officer on nomination day addressed the two candidates and expressed the hope that the election would be fought in a friendly way and without rancour and added, "And may be best man win"! To which the more diffident of the two candidates hastily and with fervour replied, "God forbid"! (Laughter.) It is somewhat in the spirit of that candidate, Sir, that I face this Honourable House today.

I gratefully acknowledge the moderation with which the Honourable Member who proposed the Resolution made out his case in the well-informed speech to which we listened just before the recess. I can say straightaway that there is nothing that our civil aviation officers would like better than that Government should be able to say "agreed" to the Resolution proposed. Any newcomer to the Department, as I am, must be impressed by the keenness displayed by our civil aviation officers to extract the last anna from Government for civil aviation and to devote it to the best of their ability to that object. We too would like to do what the Resolution suggests, but there are always difficulties in the way of laudable wishes of that kind. At any time there are financial difficulties, and I hope to be able to satisfy Honourable Members today that at the present time there are other difficulties as well in the way of accepting this Resolution. Now, while I recognize that the Honourable Member who proposed the Resolution is under no illusions on the subject, other Members who perhaps have not made so deep a study of the subject may follow and therefore I think I ought to say at this stage that we laymen, and I certainly include myself in that, are apt at times to think of civil aviation simply in terms of aeroplanes and pilots. Of course, there is far more to it than that. You cannot let aeroplanes go up in the air like toy balloons, hoping for the best as to what happens to them during their flight and as to their place of coming down. You must have acrodromes for them to return to and you often have to give them a good deal of assistance from the ground while they are in the air. All this means ground organization. In fact our current five-year programme of capital expenditure, for ground organization only, approximates very closely to what we shall have to spend in the same period for the rest of our civil aviation budget. You must have aerodromes. For modern commercial flying, the tendency is to require very well equipped aerodromes,—aerodromes with facilities for night flying. And even that is not enough; you must have meteorological facilities and you must have wireless telegraphy with which to receive and transmit Forecasts and observations. In some respects the vast size of our country enhances our difficulties and enhances the cost of civil aviation activities. For example, on our comparatively few regular civil aviation services the routes total 7,600 miles. In the British Isles, with their much more numerous internal aviation services, the total of routes flown is only about 5,000 miles, against our 7,600. I would therefore ask Honourable Members to bear in mind these rather elementary considerations when they are invited to consider in isolation one or another of the various activities that are comprehended in the term "civil aviation". What I have just said applies with particular force to the development of air routes to which the Honourable proposer of the Resolution referred.

Now, the Honourable Member has pressed his Resolution mainly on the side of encouragement of flying and training of pilots. I shall come to this presently. I should just like to clear out of the way two other aspects of civil aviation, because Government have to look at the picture whole, and any development of one aspect of civil aviation beyond a certain point must, since the money is limited, be at the expense of other aspects which in thier own way are probably just as important. But I will deal with these two other aspects as briefly as I can as the Honourable Member has not pressed them.

The first is this question of ground organization. I should like to tell the House very briefly what we have done in that way because ground organization, as I have said, is very necessary. But unfortunately it is also very expensive. Before the inauguration of our present five-year programme of capital expenditure, a programme for an expenditure of about Rs. 87 lakhs in India now that Burma has been separated, we had already expended Rs. 54 lakhs on capital expenditure on ground organization and we are spending at the rate of about Rs. 20 lakhs a year. But this has only given us a working organization, and by no means a complete organization, on three routes,—the frontier of India at Karachi to the frontier of India beyond Calcutta: Karachi-Lahore and Karachi to the South of India on the Ceylon route. So far from that expenditure giving us what we require, I hear a rumour that the Director is threatening us with another programme of Rs. 2 crores for capital expenditure. That sounds a high figure, but I can tell the House that it is not as much as His Majesty's Government were contemplating paying on the reconstruction of a single aerodrome which they recently acquired. That is so far as capital expenditure on ground organization is concerned. So far as recurring expenditure goes our expenditure during the last few years is between Rs. 11 and Rs. 15 lakhs a year, which is inclusive of wireless, but exclusive of meteorological services and the cost of the latter is heavy. As I say, these figures for ground organization are very high, but they are nothing compared with what is spent in Europe and I may say that in Europe many cities and smaller municipal areas maintain their own aerodromes. The City of London recently undertook to spend £1 million on a single areodrome.

Leaving ground organization, another form which Government help to civil aviation commonly takes is that of subsidies to air transport. I will not weary the House with detailed figures, but Honourable Members are aware

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that besides providing ground organization,—I would not not say all the ground organization—but ground organization for air transport,—we participate through Indian Trans-Continental Airways in the Empire Airways Scheme and also assist with mail contracts and with certain landing and housing facilities the existing commercial services between Karachi and Lahore and Karachi and Ceylon. So far as policy goes, the Air Board in 1926 recommended participation by the Government of India in any contract where external services touched India and, so far as internal air services were concerned, the acceptance of the principle of subsidizing such services in earlier years. Now, the Government of India have been perhaps rather slow in working to the second of those recommendations, but in this, we have only followed the same policy as His Majesty's Government in England, to whom reference was made several times this morning. It is only since the 1st of January this year that His Majesty's Government have in any way subsidized internal air transport in the United Kingdom. Hitherto their subsidies, which have been very substantial, have all been given to air transport proceeding out of the United Kingdom. Air transport service is of interest even in the more limited aspects of civil aviation treated by the Honourable Member this morning, because air transport forms a very important avenue for the employment of pilots and ground engineers trained in this country. Hitherto in India the supply of trained pilots with commercial qualifications has exceeded the demand and considerable difficulty is experienced in finding posts for many of the pilots with "B" certificates and ground engineers who have been trained here. Therefore, when we speak of training more pilots and making the people airminded, we want to be quite clear what we are training them for. If we are, training them for commercial aviation, we want to be clear that there is some chance of their being absorbed; if we are training them as a reserve for war that is a different matter and one that brings me to the next aspect of civil aviation, which is the matter of training.

To this the Honourable Mover attaches—and rightly, if I may say so the greatest importance. Training civil pilots in India has mainly been done by the flying clubs. As the Honourable Member has said, there are seven of these assisted by Government—seven in British India assisted by Government -and there are two or three in States. They have altogether a membership of about 1,600 and they have 250 or thereabouts pilots with "A" certificates on their active strength. The Honourable Member seemed to think that because there had been more people trained and they had not renewed their certificates, there was a wastage and a loss. I do not think that necessarily follows. People do not always renew their certificates, but, unless they leave the country, they still constitute a reserve which can be drawn upon and with a little training they can recover their previous skill. Most of these clubs were not started by Government, but on their starting they received a gift of two aeroplanes from Government and also an initial grant, and each club at present enjoys the use of a "Tiger Moth" machine, the property of Government and necessary for really advanced training. The total amount spent in direct cash subsidy for flying clubs from 1928 to date is about Rs. 13 lakhs, and though training is not the club's only pre-occupation, I may mention that, during that

time, out of about 1,000 "A" licences issued in India, 824 pilots learnt their flying in sibsidized flying clubs. During the last three years, out of 234 "A" pilots trained in flying clubs, as many as 193 were trained with the help of Government subsidies. Training is also given for higher qualifications and for ground engineers. The Honourable Member has mentioned that the subsidy provided for these clubs is about Rs. 1,40,000 a year. I find in the United Kingdom provision has been made for subsidizing about 50 clubs out of the 77 clubs that exist but the total provision was only £25,000 until two years ago and then £35,000 in 1937-38 for these 50 clubs. Our provision is Rs. 10,500 for seven clubs and the £25,000 and £35,000 provided by His Majesty's Government are in a Civil Aviation Budget of £2,700,000—nearly Rs. 21 crores. I do not think therefore that our £10,500 out of a budget of about £300,000 is a contribution that we need be ashamed of. Government have also assisted wholly or in part in training 54 Indians for posts in the Civil Aviation Department and in commercial aviation, and recently we acquired a most interesting machine called the Link trainer—a machine which for training purposes and test purposes reproduces all the problems and tests to be made in flying without the risks attendant on leaving the ground.

It has been said that flying is cheaper in England than in India. I believe it has always been cheaper. Machines are cheaper there. Petrol is cheaper there. But until the recent development of a Civil Air Guard I doubt if it was due to any greater intervention on the part of Government there that flying was cheaper than it is in India. We too, through our subsidies to Flying Clubs and our bonuses to pilots, have tried to make flying cheaper for the learner. The great advance to which my Honourable friend drew attention this morning only came last year—on September 1st, 1938—rather a significant month. On that date the Civil Air Guard scheme was introduced. I won't outline the object of that scheme, the Honourable Member explained it this morning. The immediate effect on the Club subsidies in England last year was a jump from £35,000 to £127,000, the difference, I presume, represents the cost, in subsidies to the Clubs, of this scheme for about six months of that financial year and also at a time when it had not been worked up to its full capacity. The Honourable Member mentioned a figure of 30,000 people affected. took him to mean that there were 30,000 people actually enrolled and under training. That, I think, is not quite correct. Within a very short time of the launching of the scheme, the scheme had to be temporarily closed because they had received 30,000 applications; but up to the end of the year they had only been able to enrol 5,672, of whom 633 were women. Now, that is a very ambitious scheme and it seems to have worked very well in England for the nine months of its existence before the war. By Christmas they had already trained 300 pilots. But any scheme like that not only calls for a large increase in expenditure on subsidies but you must have the aeroplanes for people to learn on. I find that on the 31st December, 1937, there were 1,660 civil aircraft on the Air Ministry register in the United Kingdom,-1,660 as against 148 registered in India. About 24 of these 148 were the property of clubs. Let it not be thought that 148 is a contemptible figure in itself. I find it is more than the comparable figures for Holland or Rumania or even for Japan. But this shortage of aeroplanes for any scheme of flying is a very great difficulty. I think it must be accepted that we cannot yet manufacture aeroplanes in

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India. I have only heard of one authentic case of a motor car being manufactured in India—the Calcutta Corporation car—and we have not heard any more of that since its completion. We shall undoubtedly have to import engines. I think we shall have to import most of the instruments also, and I am told research has not yet found a wood in India which could be used in place of spruce. The latter does not apparently grow here, but this is the wood which is used for aeroplanes spars in those machines that are not made of metal. We might be able to assemble aeroplanes in India, but even there you must have a very highly trained technical staff for assembling so intricate a machine as an aeroplane and I am not sure from whence such a staff would be forthcoming in war time. If we want to expand our training activities on anything like the model of the Civil Air Guard we are driven, I think, to the necessity for importing more machines. And I am not in a position—and I doubt if anybody in India is in a position—to say whether the kind of machines that are used by Flying Clubs for training purposes are being manufactured at the present time and can be imported. It is legitimate to imagine that the countries that could make aeroplanes and export them to us are now manufacturing types with the European market in view!

The Honourable Member also mentioned gliding. Gliding undoubtedly has its uses as a sport—although I do not believe it is or ever can be a poor man's sport and for making people air-minded. But I am told that gliding is a very long-range method of turning out pilots. It is true that the United Kingdom Government has given assistance to gliding. The Honourable Member did not mention the sum though he mentioned that assistance had been given. sum is £5,000 a year. This subsidy has been given for several years—£5,000 in an aviation budget which before the war exceeded £3 millions. Now, gliding has made immense progress in England in popularity but even so I think the true figures will afford a necessary corrective to certain ideas entertained in India. Gliding started in England in 1929. By 1937, there were 44 clubs, only 10 of which were subsidized by Government. The total number of certificates issued from 1929 to 1938 was about 2,500 of all categories, but as the rules insist upon your taking a lower certificate before you take any of the higher ones, it would appear that the 1,202 who received the lowest certificate represent all the individual people who have achieved that or any higher measure of success in gliding. No doubt 1,200 qualified gliders is a good figure, but it compares rather feebly with the hoped for figure of 25,000 gliding pilots in three years which has come to us from Allahabad!

This brings me to what seems to be the inevitable answer to the present Resolution. The present Resolution asks India to adopt in war time a policy followed by England in peace time. I hope I have been able to show that, as far as possible, we have attempted to follow in India the same policy as has commended itself to authorities in England and other countries in the matter of civil aviation, especially in the matter of subsidizing clubs and cheapening flying to club members. The Resolution requires "immediate steps" to be taken "following the example of England to encourage the development of civil aviation in India". We do not know exactly what the present position of

civil aviation in England is. To some extent air transport, internal air transport at all events, is functioning. We gather that from the newspapers and also because we know that twice a week in both directions an Empire Air Mail is passing through India. But so are internal services in India also functioning. Then, as regards flying clubs in England, we understand that their activities have of necessity been greatly curtailed if they have not altogether ceased. This is the inevitable result of the declaration of large "prohibited areas," of petrol rationing and of the mobilization of expert personnel. Here, in India, our Flying Clubs at present are carrying on and we shall certainly do all that we can to maintain our present support of them, subject to consi-

derations of Finance and of Defence, so long as they are able to maintain their usefulness. But, in times of war, as Honourable Members will realize, considerations of defence must have priority both as regards supply and as regards training. As regards supply, it is impossible at present to say whether the Clubs will command renewals for their machines or retain their expert personnel. They are particularly vulnerable on the side of their pilot instructors and their ground engineers and without them they would not be able to keep going. As regards training, I would like to say this. In peace time, training directed to the building up of a reserve for war can afford to be voluntary, occasional, and for the most part unpaid. In war time, such training tends to become compulsory, continuous and (when compulsory) fully paid—but by the Defence Department: and it then ceases to be "civil aviation." The maximum of result in the minimum of time may in war time become the desideratum; in such circumstances training will probably be intensified, but I doubt very much if it will be "civil aviation". That is why I say that in war time, if money is available, we should prefer to see it used for training on "power" machines straight off, rather than for gliding. Gliding is, if I may so put it, training for the next war. That is also why, if it becomes clear that intensive training with defence units is necessary to turn out pilots within a given time, training by the Clubs on club machines may have to be subordinated to the requirements of defence. We hope the clubs will be spared to continue a work of which they have every reason to be proud. And while I am on that subject I would like to tell the House, for this arises out of something the Honourable Member said, of the very excellent response we have had to a questionnaire which the Director sent out to pilots, ex-pilots and ground engineers trained by the Flying Clubs in India. He sent out a questionnaire to all the people on his books,—not merely the 250 active pilots,—and the result has been most gratifying. Over 50 per cent. have already replied and of these 97 per cent. have expressed their great desire to place their services at the disposal of Government in an emergency. Many of these are married men with good posts. They know that they will get less pay—that they will have to support their families on less—than in their present civil occupations. If that is the spirit that animates the Clubs, it is natural that we in the Communications Department should wish to maintain their activities. But Honourable Members will see why, with the uncertainties of supply both of material and of trained staff and the possibility of over-riding claims from Defence, we cannot pledge ourselves to maintain civil aviation as such during war time, let alone to develop it on the lines pursued in England or anywhere else. We cannot, at the very outset of war, lay down a policy M39C8

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for civil aviation. I think, therefore, that while I have every sympathy with the spirit behind the Resolution, I must say that we shall find it very difficult to accept it from this side of the House.

Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. I am sorry the Honourable the Communications Secretary has not seen his way to accept the Resolution notwithstanding the expressions of sympathy that he made in his speech. Sir, the aeroplane is the chief weapon of the present day, and therefore it is necessary that India should have air pilots to the best possible extent. I must pay my tribute to Mr. Tymms, the Director of Civil Aviation, and to the Government for the grants and the encouragement that they have given to the various Flying Clubs in India. I must say that advantage of being trained has been taken by many pilots and it is mainly through the subsidies from Government that the Flying Clubs are now existing. There was a time when there was a rumour of the stoppage of the subsidies altogether, and I must give credit to Mr. Tymms for having saved civil aviation in India and for keeping the Clubs going by continuance of subsidies.

The Honourable Mr. Tyson has already given you the figures of pilots that these Clubs have produced and also the number of pilots who have offered their services to the Government at this period of war. I am also grateful to the Government of India for presenting Indian Flying Clubs with aeroplanes. Some clubs have been given two aeroplanes and some have been given one. But, owing to the present emergency if my information is correct, these planes have been taken back for the time being and I hope that when the war is over. these planes will be given back to clubs, or new planes presented in their stead. Sir, though we are thankful to the Government of India for the subsidies they have given to the Clubs and the planes they have presented to them, they have not provided enough prospects for the employment of trained and qualified pilots. As was the case with the Roorkee Civil Engineering College, there must be reserved a few appointments in the Air Force for qualified and deserving pilots who hail from the Flying Clubs. I am thankful that out of the pilots who have offered their services for war from these Flying Clubs, a few have been given temporary King's Commissions. But I wish this to be made a permanent measure, that those of the pilots who distinguish themselves in their tests and examinations should automatically be given a certain number of appointments in the Royal Air Force. That is the practical way of encouraging the students who join Flying Clubs. Out of the 200 odd pilots who have offered themselves, only a few have been given appointments in the Air Force. This is discouraging to those enthusiasts who have offered their lives and services for this war. I hope Government will let them have a chance and let them show their efficiency and ability and loyalty in the field.

The Honourable Mr. Tyson has said that a few scholarships have been given to certain flying clubs. As far as the Northern Indian Flying Club is concerned, with which I have been connected from its very beginning, to my

knowledge so far no scholarship has been given. All the Provincial Governments should give such scholarships for air training, but except for the Government of the United Provinces and perhaps of Madras, I do not know of any Government which has done so.

The Honourable Mr. Tyson has also referred to the British flying clubs and to the subsidy that the British Government is giving to them. Perhaps Mr. Tyson forgets that the average income of a Britisher is much more than the average income of an Indian. There you have very rich people who can afford to send their sons for air training and they do not mind the expense. I say the Punjab is, comparatively speaking, a poor province. (Some Honourable Members made inaudible remarks.) Sir A. P. Patro does not speak loud enough to enable us to hear him. However that does not matter. I think he will, with his usual habit, attack me on various points without his knowing the subject. As I was saying, the average income of an Indian is so low that he cannot afford to spend even Rs. 600 or Rs. 700 which are required to spend to secure an "A" licence. As far as my club is concerned, I know of many able persons who offer themselves for training but who are unable to find Rs. 600, and they say that if given a scholarship or other support they shall very gladly take up professional air piloting, or join the Air Force.

Then the Honourable Mr. Tyson says that as compared with England our aircraft are much less in number. That goes without saying. India is not so rich and it cannot afford to have so many planes in its clubs. I know from experience of our own Club that we had to raise several thousands of rupees at intervals to meet the cost of replacements of planes due to accidents; and it was after all Mr. Tymms who came to our rescue and he lent us a Government plane to keep us going.

Mr. Tyson said we cannot even manufacture a motor car in India. Mr. Tyson will be pleased to know that a company, the prime mover of which is Sir Viswasweriah, is being established in Bombay for the manufacture of motor cars, and any firm which can manufacture motor cars, can be trusted to make aeroplane engines and parts as well.

Then, Sir, he said that subsidies in future will be given subject to financial consideration. In my own experience I have found that where there is a will there is a way. There was a time when the Honourable Sir George Schuster in this House observed that civil aviation does not benefit the ryot in the least. Soon after there was a change in policy and the same Sir George Schuster allotted about a lakh of rupees for civil aviation. If the Government has a mind to do a thing, money can be easily found. I know from my experience on the Retrenchment Committee, that there are ways and means of finding money. My lips are closed and I cannot go into details. I know, however, that whenever Government likes to find money it can always find a convenient way of doing it, by reappropriation here and there. I hope that the Government will see its way to increase these subsidies continually every year.

Then I come to the Aeronautical Training Centre. That company was established in Delhi at the instance of the Government. Anyhow, it was established on the promise of the Government to help it by subsidies. Later

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on, that company fell into difficulties as regards its finances. It approached the Government a number of times and stated that if help was not forthcoming the institution would go to the dogs. And, Sir, it pains me to say that no heed was given to that appeal and to my knowledge that institution has been forced to go into liquidation.

The Honourable Mr. Tyson cannot really say that Government have been improving or accelerating the air-mindedness of India. It is a pity, Sir, we all who take an interest in promoting civil aviation feel that Government should give such a kick as it has done in the case of the Aeronautical Training Centre. My information is that Government is taking up that institution themselves or anyhow what is left of it, to train the Reserve Air Force pilots there. I think, Sir, that Government will always see its way to supporting an institution which they themselves start.

Then, Sir, I come to the Civil Air Guard. Mr. Tyson has observed that the Civil Air Guard has just been started in England. There is no reason why it should not start in India, because all of Great Britain can be put into a part of any one of the provinces of India as far as area is concerned. Look at the long distances here, from Peshawar to Cape Comorin is 4,000 miles. You require quick transport for the Army in times of emergency, and nothing equals an aeroplane. I think the Civil Guard will do more service in India than in a small country like the British Isles. When qualified people offer their services and thus come forward their services ought to be accepted as you require a number of pilots. If my information is correct, even in the United Kingdom there is a dearth of good pilots; and therefore if India has a big number of pilots, they will serve not only India but also the Empire in time of emergency. Therefore, it is in the interests of the Government of India to encourage the training of more Indian pilots and to encourage civil aviation to the extent that they possibly can. By these remarks, I do not say that we are not grateful to Government for what they have done, but I wish that they should do more and make India air-minded and fit to render service with her pilots in India and abroad.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow (Communications Member): Sir, in peace time we should, I think, have welcomed this Resolution. We have as the Leader of the Opposition said, in Mr. Tymms an enthusiast who has done a great amount for civil aviation in this country, and if he was able to get funds commensurate with his ambitions he would effect a complete revolution in air transport here. But the position, so far as the purely civil aspects of aviation are concerned, is that although in our ground organization there is almost unlimited scope for expenditure, we have already produced, as I think the Honourable Mover of the Resolution recognized, more men than can at present be profitably employed, and also we have facilities of various kinds for training. Reference was made, I think, by both speakers to the fact that we are not sending at the moment any persons with scholarship to England. The original intention of sending young men with scholarship to England was to secure trained men for our own Civil Aviation Department, for we were confronted with the position that we had no trained officers and we had to form a nucleus.

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But we have recently been successful in training men in India for that type of work. In the last three or four years the Director of Civil Aviation has. I think, taken over 20 young officers for work on aerodromes and has been successful in securing adequate training for them in India.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Where, at the Aeronautical Training Centre?

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: Mainly at Karachi, I think. I thought at one time that the Honourable Pandit was a little in danger of falling into the prevalent fallacy that if you train people and they get sufficient experience, developments in India would follow; for example, that if you train a very large number of engineers, engineering works would spring up all over the country irrespective of the demand for their products; but I think he put his finger on one of the most important factors which underlies the development of civil aviation in many countries when he said that it was done with an eye to military needs. A great many countries encourage is because the country wants to defend its shores from aggression and a country occasionally encourages it because it wants to make itself a menace to neighbouring countries. Now, when we are actually in war the position is obviously altered. In peace time you encourage your civil aviation, because you hope that it may meet the needs of war; but obviously in war time the needs of war must be met directly, as Mr. Tyson explained, in the form of military aviation. And it is along those lines that I shall expect to see the more important developments in the period that lies immediately ahead of us. I must dwell on that as some critics regard it as purely negative expenditure only directed towards defeating enemies. But the experience of the last war, with its researches in the field of aviation, advanced probably by several decades the progress of our command of the air. I do not doubt that the same effect will be seen in this war. Here in India as we proceed, with military objects more directly in view, to develop training and to develop aviation, I hope when we come through this dark period, there will remain a legacy of trained men, of air-mindedness and of ambition and hope for the future. I do not think I need say any more on this except that, as Mr. Tyson said, our objection to the Resolution is that "immediate steps" should be taken in this country. I take the words from the Honourable Mover's Resolution. The "immediate"

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: If instead of "immediately", we say "after the war", will you accept?

steps " must be in the military direction.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: "Ultimately "? If I were a prophet and could foresee the end of the war, perhaps I would accept that.

There is one further point and that is about gliding. The Honourable Pandit seemed to be under the impression that we have been turning a very cold eye on gliding developments.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: That is true.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: That is not true. Our difficulty is this. I myself have always had a belief—it may be born of insufficient knowledge—that gliding has a big future in India. In the next generation we may see a man with little or no motive power going along the hills here and moving down from the hills to the plains in a few minutes. We were prepared to

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assist any practical scheme for the development of gliding here. The Bombay Association which has been the pioneer in this matter is not dead as the Honourable Pandit supposes.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: What is it doing?

THE HONOURABLE SIB ANDREW CLOW: I met a very competent Indian glider who had been in Germany and had done extremely well there; he was, taken on by them shortly before the war for the purpose of developing their activity.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: If the Honourable Member does not mind my interrupting, will he kindly tell me what has the Association in Bombay done during the last eight years? Has it just succeeded in getting one trained man referred to by him?

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: It has done more than any other Association has done in that direction. So far as I could judge, it was likely, if the war had not come to interrupt its ambitions, to do a little more than any other Associations. Then we have the official body, which is the Aero Club of India—a body authorized here to give certificates. And then we have the institution nearest to the Honourable Member's residence, if not to his heart! Now, I will say quite frankly as regards that Association that I have yet to see a practical scheme emanating from it, and although my own belief is that the exigencies of war will operate to prevent the importation of machines and of men, if a practical scheme were yet advanced, we should not be disposed to be unsympathetic to it. At the same time, as Mr. Tyson remarked, gliding is a matter in which you are looking not to the immediate future but a long way ahead and, faced as we are now with a war, we have to concentrate on getting more immediate results. That, I think, is the main difficulty in proceeding by what I might call the slow motion of gliding at the present juncture. We have to train men quickly and we have to make an advance but I hope that, when peaceful days are restored to us, gliding will come into its own.

The Honourable Pandit HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Mr. President, my Honourable friend Mr. Tyson, in his persuasive speech, referred to the many difficulties that must be considered if my Resolution is to be given effect to. He did not doubt the utility of civil aviation. Indeed, he is himself strongly in favour of encouraging it. But his plea is that the circumstances in which we are placed are such as to make any advance at the present time most difficult, if not impossible. He has asked us to consider what our objective should be and how the difficulties with which we are faced should be overcome. One of the questions that he has put relates to the employment of pilots. He wants to know what we should train them for, as commercial pilots or defence pilots. If we mean to train them as commercial pilots, are we aware that there is no scope for their employment? If they have to be trained for defence purposes, then will it not be better to leave the initiative to the Defence Department and wait till the war is over to take a further step forward. Then he has asked us to consider the difficulties in respect of the supply of the material that we shall

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need, and also the difficulty of getting the trained staff that we shall require if the Resolution before the House is to be accepted by Government. Lastly, he referred to the financial difficulties of Government at the present time. As regards gliding, he facetiously observed that it could not be regarded as a serious contribution to the question of defence. It could only be regarded as preparation for a future emergency.

Sir, I will take up these questions one by one and try to deal with them as best I can. Take first the question of the employment of pilots. I do not see that that question arises at all. I am not asking for the training of commercial pilots or ground engineers or persons of that kind. All that I am pleading for is that Government should, precisely because of the crisis in which we are involved, wake up, take steps to spread air-mindedness among the people, and encourage them to acquire pilots' licences. Take England itself, where efforts have been made to create large reserves by encouraging civil aviation. Can anyone say that, although England is at present engaged in a big war, that all the men who have received training in civil aviation will be employed by Government? There can be no such guarantee. Just as not every educated man can be employed in a Government Department, similarly not every trained pilot can expect to be employed directly or indirectly by the Government of India. Just as education is necessary for itself, so in these days it is, if not necessary, at any rate desirable to give a little education in air matters to the rising generation.

Now, I come to the next question, the supply of the material that is required It will not be easy, I grant, to get aeroplanes of the type that we require but I could not quite follow my friend Mr. Tyson when he said that most of the aeroplanes produced in England were meant for the European market whose requirements were different from those of India.

THE HONOURABLE Mr. J. D. TYSON: I did not say they were meant for the European market but were produced with the European market in view.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Nevertheless, I take it that aeroplanes fit for civil purposes will continue to be produced. We shall certainly need more aeroplanes if aviation is to be encouraged. surely this question will not present insurmountable difficulties. It will still be possible for Government to get a few aeroplanes from England just as it is still possible for India to get a good many of the articles that she needs from that country. As regards the trained staff, we have yet to see to what extent the staff employed by the Flying Clubs is fully employed. I do not know to what extent it will be possible to expand instruction in flying without adding to the instructional staff already employed by the Flying Clubs. But I take it that some increase in the staff will be necessary if civil aviation is to be encouraged. Is this again an insurmountable problem? If you take the matter in hand now, is it not possible for you to get men with the requisite qualification? Mr. Tyson has already said that the men who had been trained—I thought he was specially referring to ground engineers—had not been able to find employment. Similarly there may be pilots who are not fully employed. If, therefore, training is to be given to them in order to enable them to become

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

pilot instructors, our requirements may for the time being be met. I personally think that, if Government were more sympathetic to my proposal than they are, the difficulties mentioned by Mr. Tyson could be easily overcome even at the present time. The financial difficulty in apparently a more formidable one than any of the other difficulties mentioned by Mr. Tyson but I am not impressed by it any more than by the other difficulties. I put a question yesterday in reply to which I was told that the salaries of certain highly-paid officers of Government had been raised because they were entrusted with responsibilities in connection with the provision of supplies that would be needed during the war. I understand that the Supply Board is not the only body where salaries have been increased in certain cases. There are other bodies too where the same has been done. If Government can at this time raise the salaries of officers whose responsibilities were as high as those of any officer could be before the war, if at this time it can raise the salaries of these well-paid men, it does not lie in the mouth of any Government official to ask us to consider the financial difficulties involved in a proposal of the kind that the House is now considering. As my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das said, where there's a will there's a way. If Government are serious about the matter, I think that they can take steps to give effect to my Resolution. I am afraid that if they do not take any steps now, they might go to sleep after the war. I do not for a moment mean to say that the Director of Civil Aviation will cease to pester them with requests for more funds. But, his voice may not be listened to in future as I understand from Sir Andrew Clow it has not been listened to in the past.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: When?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: So far as the subsidies given to the Flying Clubs are concerned, they have been practically constant during the last few years, I have no doubt that Mr. Tymms has been asking for more money, but I do not see that he has succeeded in getting it.

Now, as regards gliding, I will certainly grant that gliding is not the same thing as learning flying on power machines. But that does not mean that gliding may not, even in the immediate present, be of great importance. If you want a larger reserve, you will have to attract men to flying and what better way can there be of doing so than by encouraging gliding in this country, so that air-mindedness might spread in the country.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: This may be done in other ways.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: When the Honourable Member spoke, he did not mention even one single method which would better the one suggested by me. It has been said that as at present war is going on, we cannot think of gliding now. We want the trained men who are available. Sir, nobody says in the case of land forces that we must continue to rely on the trained troops that we have and that at a time like this we cannot be training more men—the man who argued like that would be regarded as being out of his mind. Similarly, if in connection with the question

of air defence any person says that gliding should not be encouraged now because it cannot be of any use in the near future. I should venture seriously to doubt his understanding of modern conditions. The remarks of my Honourable friend Sir Andrew Clow on this subject were a little more helpful so far as the future of gliding in this country is concerned. He said that if a practicable scheme were produced, we would not find Government unsympathetic. I do not want to go into details concerning the past in view of the encouraging reply he has given. If he will allow me, I will get into touch with him in order to find out what exactly he has in mind.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. We were certainly not unsympathetic to any of the schemes put forward in the past. But I must be quite frank in saying that in view of the altered situation, there may be practical difficulties in encouraging gliding. I am perfectly prepared to look into any scheme of that kind.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Any number of schemes can be sent to my Honourable friend——

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: They have not been.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: If conditions not consistent with the self-respect of the Gliding Institute had not been sought to be imposed on it, I think that an agreement between Government and the Institute would have been arrived at long ago. Secondly, it has to be borne in mind in connection with this Institute that its object is to give the utmost encouragement to gliding. If, however, the Institute is asked to fix a fee of Rs. 10 per hour, as I understand was suggested, what would be the use of a Gliding Institute? It is against a condition like this that the Gliding Institute rebelled, and I am sure that even my Honourable friends opposite, who have spoken today on behalf of Government, will not consider the attitude of the Gliding Institute unreasonable.

Sir, I am sorry to find that my Resolution has not met with a sympathetic response from Government. My Honourable friends opposite think that the time for taking up the question with which we are now concerned will come when the war is over. I venture respectfully to differ from them and to think that this is precisely the time when they ought to go forward in the direction indicated by me. I am afraid that they may not be able to do anything for years after the war, for we shall not find ourselves with plenty of money, the moment the war is over. In fact, after the war, we might be faced with serious-economic stringency and unless we are able to do something now, I am seriously afraid that we may not be able to make a start at all. My Honourable friend Sir Andrew Clow even threatened us with a decrease in the expenditure at present incurred on flying.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW: I made no threat at all.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I think the Honourable Member said that if the war continued, it might not be possible provide the same money for civil aviation that is available now?

THE HONOURABLE SIE ANDREW CLOW: I made no such statement.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think the Honourable Mr. Tyson said that.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. D. TYSON: I think I said something like that: I certainly intended to convey that impression.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I am sorry I ascribed to him a statement made by his Secretary, but as they are practically interchangeable so far as I am concerned, I think it does not matter which of the two spokesmen of Government made the remark I referred to.

Sir, in view of the attitude of Government, I have no option but to ask that my Resolution should be put to the vote. I do not at all want to embarrant Government, but as they have not even promised to look into the matter and see what further advance can be made. I do not see how they can reasonably expect me to withdraw the Resolution? Had they uttered one word of hope and encouragement they would have been justified in expecting a response from me; but having refused totally to accept my Resolution or to give any hope for the future they have left me with no alternative but to press my Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Tyson, you are entitled to reply.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. D. TYSON: In spite of what the Honourable Member has said about finance and about there being a way where there is a will, I am afraid, from past experience both inside and outside the Finance Department, that a plea for "training for training's sake", to which the proposer of the Resolution referred, will not exert a claim to priority in the Financial mind.

As regards aircraft supply, I did not wish to convey the impression that I knew that we should be unable to get aeroplanes. The position is that within three weeks of the beginning of the war we simply do not know whether we can get aeroplanes or not. The "Tiger Moth" is a machine much used for advanced training and it may be produced at home in England for advanced training there with a view to training pilots for the Air Force; if they turn out large quantities we may be able to get some of these expensive machines, the pre-war price of which was Rs. 17,000 landed in India. We may be able to get some out here. But what the Honourable Member asks us to do is to pledge ourselves by accepting his Resolution now to develop civil aviation as in England. Within three weeks of the start of the war we are so completely in the dark as to what the future will bring that we do not feel that we can pledge: Government to the extent of his Resolution. We are sympathetic enough. We hope to be able to maintain civil aviation, but it would be rash to give a promise at this stage which we might not, for reasons quite beyond our control, be able to honour.

There is one other point—as regards gliding. I do not think that we ever laid down any condition that a charge for gliding must be Rs. 10 an hour. I do not think we went further than to say that, contrary to the much more optimistic figures which were suggested for our consideration, we were informed, and believed that Rs. 10 an hour would be found to be the necessary charge. I think we put it forward as advice and I do not think it was made a condition.

Sir, I am sorry that the Honourable Member feels he cannot withdraw his Resolution, but in the circumstances I have explained I am afraid we cannot accept it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps, following the example of England, to encourage the development of civil aviation in India."

Question put and Motion negatived.

DEFENCE OF INDIA BILL-continued.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed with the further discussion on the Consideration stage of the Defence of India Bill.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I admit that in the present critical situation we must give enlarged powers to the Government in this time of emergency. But, Sir, I must say that the present Bill gives more powers than the Government had in the Great War. Some people think the reason may be that the Government has less trust in the public than it used to have. For instance, the Bill before us has a clause regarding forfeiture of property. That is a very excessive punishment, and for that there is no appeal to the High Court. We know that people who misbehave, some of them are such experts that they will manage to go scot-free themselves while they get others involved. I know that that happened in the last war, when the real culprits got off and are even now walking about free while innocent people were punished for their guilt. These are the experts in evading the law. I hope that the assurance given here on behalf of Government that these powers will only be used sparingly and in emergency will be kept up.

Sir, I have expressed my views regarding the war and the services that we should render in my speech on the Resolution conveying expression of sympathy

with Poland which was moved by the Honourable the Leader of the House. I will not repeat those arguments simply to save the time of the Council and will confine myself to certain observations which I did not then make.

The debate yesterday reached lengths which it was not expected. For instance, if I may say so, there was a campaign against Provincial Governments run by Congress or non-Congress Ministries. I view them with one glass and by one test, namely, whether in the circumstances in which they are placed with difficult problems staring them in the face, they have acquitted themselves well or ill. To say, as my Honourable friend Syed Muhammad Husain observed that he has no faith in the United Provinces Government is to deny faith in oneself. I am glad that the Honourable the Leader of the House and the Honourable the Commerce Member came to the rescue of these Governments. I believe the time has come when we must all stand by the Governments of the provinces during this war. I know, Sir, that every Government is humane and is liable to err. I know that certain Governments have erred more than others but I am sorry to find that the Honourable Syed Muhammad:

: [Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

Hussin did not even spare the Punjab Government in which Sir Sikandar's Ministry is working. Although it is a fact that the influence of the Punjab Ministry is dwindling down, there are other Provincial Governments also whose influence is also going down fast, but there is no justification to condemn outright all the Provincial Governments. As far as the Punjab is concerned, even now without any persuasion or any effort on behalf of various associations—whether they be Soldiers' Boards or not—my information is that the supply of recruits is more than the demand, and I consider that a credit to my province which will always give a lead to other provinces in this respect.

The Honourable Syed Muhammad Husain belongs to the Muslim League Party and owes allegiance to Mr. Jinnah. He made certain observations, but he did not deny that he was expressing his personal opinion. Sir, Mr. Jinnah on the platform of the Muslim League observed——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: What have we got to do with Mr. Jinnah here?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): His henchmen are here, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You please proceed with the Defence of India Bill.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Sir, the speech concerned the Defence of India Bill and so I think I am relevant in making some observations which of course are relevant to the question under consideration. Mr. Jinnah was talking on the Defence of India Bill.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Thousands of others outside the House are saying various things.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala RAM SARAN DAS: The Muslim League cannot be treated as thousands of others. I expect from such responsible bodies responsible action. It cannot be said they are just like 33 million other people. They are the representatives of the people who count. I was rather astonished to find that a member of the Muslim League Party went against the decision of the Muslim League, and so I would like to quote what Mr. Jinnah said. Before giving a final reply Mr. Jinnah said that all the Muslim demands must be conceded before there could be a full and whole-hearted co-operation of Muslims with Britain in this war, and among his 14 points he stressed many things. The reply which the Honourable Syed Muhammad Husain gave to the House was not convincing at all. He was speaking for himself. If he was speaking on behalf of the League, I will feel pleased that there was a change in the mentality of the Muslim League.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orises: Muhammadan): Change for the better?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: That is for you to judge. I want change for the better. Mr. Jinnah has said that they are not satisfied with the Provincial Autonomy which has been given to them at

Government, the Sikander Government, the Pant Government or any other Provincial Government. This is a time of emergency and we should help Provincial Governments and help to end this war successfully. Therefore, I am not entering into any communal discussion. I know that the tension among the communities is on the increase. His Excellency the Viceroy while addressing both Houses observed that in these times we must sink our differences and unite to help the Empire in this emergency. My Honourable friend Mr. Sapra said that the Jallianwalla tragedy was due to the Defence of India Act. I must say that it is not so. At that time martial law was in force and there was no Defence of India Act in existence.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: It may be the Rowlatt Act.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: The Rowlatt Act was not a defence measure.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: I was thinking of the Special Tribunal. It was not under the Defence of India Act, but under the Martial Law Ordinance.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Now Mr. Sapru admits that it was under the Martial Law Ordinance. I wanted simply to correct him.

Sir, my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru was asking for the association of non-officials in the War Supply Board. I know, Sir, that we have three Indian officers as Ministers but they are officials and the public demand is that. along with the Indian officials, qualified Indian non-officials should be associated. If I rightly understood my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru, his request was that Indian non-officials should be associated with officials in times of emergency like the present and see how it works. Sir, I must also say, that at this time you require the full co-operation of all the subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor and no racial discrimination should be made, particularly during this time. I am sorry to observe, Sir, that racial discrimination is going on still. This morning answers to questions and supplementary questions of Pandit Kunzru proved that there is racial discrimination being launched and supported by the Government. This thing, Sir, does hurt the feelings of self-respecting Indians. When you make racial discrimination. you yourself alienate the feelings of some people, and this is not the time to alienate feeling but to secure the goodwill of the people so that they may be able to give you their support. I would therefore urge, Sir, that if you are giving extra allowances to Anglo-Indians who join the Army, the same concessions should be extended to those Indians serving in the Railway or any other Department offering similar services.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: What has that to do with the Defence of India Bill?

THE HONOURABLE RA! BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Sir, with due deference to you, I must say, that the goodwill of the people is the greatest asset of the Government and if that is sacrificed, then of course there will be difficulties which the Government will have to face. I say that, Sir, because

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

I consider it my duty to bring before the Government anything which appears to be wrong in the epinion of the public and asked the Government to amend their step, which in my opinion is essential. As far as the Punjab is concerned, Sir, you will find that though this has been a fact in the past, the Punjab will do its very best to render greater services in this war. I would say, Sir, that in this time, if the war is expected to last for three years, it will be advisable to have more training of Indians in the Army as well as in its auxiliary branches in which they can render service. I believe, Sir, that in this time the University Training Corps, the Territorials and the Indian Militia ought to be expanded and people trained to discharge their duties with as much vigour and with equal efficiency with Europeans. You have given publicity by issuing an Ordinance that all Anglo-Indian and European boys who want to go to England should not be allowed to go without permission because they are wanted here for the Army and are likely to get King's Commissions in it. Why not apply the same principle to Indians as you do to them? You can expand the Militia. You can train them in other professions which are much needed for the prosecution of the present war. And why put in this racial discrimination? Sir, it pains me to see this but I consider it my duty to tell you that to wound the feelings of Indians in these small matters and to show racial discrimination at a time of emergency like this (if you will pardon me for saying so) is a great mistake. Even, Sir, the defeating of the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru shows that, although Government seem to have a lip sympathy with the expansion of civil aviation, yet in practice they do not want it. That is the impression created. Sir, that Resolution could easily have been accepted with a proviso that as soon as possible civil aviation would be expanded. To defeat that Resolution, Sir, creates a sort of suspicion in the minds of the public that, when people are offering themselves for the Air Force, Government does not even express one word of sympathy or give an assurance that, when the time comes they will tackle the problem with all the force at its command. Sir, the pity is, as I said before, that even those enthusiastic young men who have offered themselves for anlistment in the Air Force Reserve to show their patriotism, the majority have not been accepted. That is not right, Sir, -- to treat so shabbily those young men who have loyally offered their services to Government or who in other words have offered their lives. The people who have been taking interest in civil aviation and advising these patriots to offer themselves, they must feel dejected when the offer is rejected. I should say that when a qualified pilot offers his life to the Government, the Government ought to accept it. On the one hand they say they are stopping Anglo-Indians and Europeans from leaving the country because they are wanted in India, but on the other hand when Indians come forward for such recruitment their services are not accepted.

Sir, I have made these observations in the spirit that at this hour the relations between the ruler and the ruled ought to be so good that by their full co-operation the need which you have in view of stopping undue aggression and helping democracy be fulfilled. I hope, Sir, that the Government will see and will do its level best to train people for the various professions so that

they may have an equal share or more share in the winning of the war which we all wish.

With these words, Sir, I will resume my seat.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (Nominated Official): Sir, my task in replying to this debate has, if I may say so, been enormously lightened by the speech of the Honourable the Commerce and Labour Member, to which this Council listened with so much appreciation yesterday. There remain, however, a few points with which I will endeavour to deal.

My Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru, at the opening of his speech, made a reference to what he described as the unreality of the atmosphere of the discussion on this Bill in this Council. I must say that nothing, in my humble opinion, could have been more unreal than the attitude of the Honourable Pandit himself. The atmosphere in which the debate opened was not one in which it was possible to convince oneself that this Council was discussing an emergent measure in such an emergency as India has probably never known before. At times, during the debate, it occurred to me that a stranger, accustomed from year to year to the procedure of this Council, might have imagined himself to be present at the discussion of the second reading of the annual Finance Bill, an occasion on which Honourable Members are permitted to discuss on any subjects dearest to their hearts.

The Honourable Pandit referred to an order recently issued restraining Europeans of certain classes and ages from leaving India. That order, I may say in passing, did not apply to Anglo-Indians——

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): I did not say that.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated Non-Official): The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das, the Leader of the Opposition, said that.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: There is no racial discrimination whatsoever underlying this order. The intention of it was simply this. In this emergency, India requires all available manpower, whether European, Indian or Anglo-Indian. That manpower is required, not only for fighting, but for industry, commerce and technical purposes, and the intention of this order was to prevent those who are most likely to leave India from doing so. There was certainly no sinister intention behind the order. Nor was there any intention of thereby interfering with the normal progress of Indianization.

It seemed to me that the speech of the Honourable Syed Muhammad Husain did introduce a note of reality, for he made the assertion, with which I hope this Council will cordially agree, that trust, to be of any value at all, must be complete and unconditional.

In passing, I will deal with one question which the Honourable Syed Muhammad Husain asked, which was, "What would happen if a Provincial Government failed in the discharge of its duties under this Bill?" The recent amendment of the Constitution reposes authority in the Central Government to issue instructions—reluctant as it would naturally be to do so—o Provincial Governments in an emergency of that kind.

[Mr. A. deC. Williams.]

I may say that it was rather disheartening to me when I thought I had really a good argument, namely, that so many of the most stringent powers under this Bill have been entrusted to the responsible Provincial Governments. That argument appears to have recoiled upon me like a boomerang. I cannot say that I have heard much enthusiasm expressed during this debate for those responsible Governments.

The Honourable Mr. Kalikar suggested that some safeguard should have been introduced into the Bill itself as regards its working. It seems to me that clause 15, both taken literally and in the spirit, as it should be, if observed by Government servants working the Bill, contains as much in the way of safeguards as the Honourable Mr. Kalikar could possibly desire. It runs:

"Any authority or person acting in pursuance of this Act shall interfere with the ordinary avocations of life and the enjoyment of property as little as may be consonant with the purpose of ensuring the public safety"

Clause 14 further provides that, save as expressly provided, the ordinary criminal and civil courts shall continue to function.

The Honourable Mr. Kalikar further inquired whether Provincial Governments had been consulted on the terms of this measure. I can state that they were so consulted, that for the best part of a year past, various proposals for war legislation have been sent to Provincial Governments in draft and their comments have from time to time been received.

I now come to my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru--

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will the Honourable Member throw some light on the opinions that he received?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: It is not usual, Sir, to disclose confidential correspondence between the Central and Provincial Governments.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Can he not give us some information without mentioning the name of any Provincial Government?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: I am afraid not, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I will ask whether the Provincial Governments agreed to the proposals contained in this Bill?

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: Even that is not disclosable.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: I now come to my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru——

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I am sorry to say that my Honourable friend has not given any reply to my question.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He is not bound to give any reply.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: At one stage of the speech of my Honourable friend, I was cast into the greatest dejection by the gloomy

picture which he drew of the judiciary of this country. This, however, was speedily dispelled by the fact that he announced that the United Provinces Ministry mean well. Heartened by that thought, I pass on to a question which the Honourable Mr. Sapru asked in relation to the rule imposing restrictions on processions. He inquired why section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code did not give us all we want. That was considered at the time when this rule was drafted. The difficulty found as regards section 144 was that an individual order in each case by a magistrate is required; whereas under the rule it will be possible to issue general orders.

The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam made certain suggestions and asked certain questions. He suggested that several undertakings should be given by Government. I have not noted them all down, but I did note that the first three or four of them are entirely covered by the undertaking which I gave at the beginning of this debate that Government would instruct its officers, and request Provincial Governments, to observe the greatest care and circumspection in the working of the drastic provisions of this Bill.

A further suggestion of my Honourable friend was that some such arrangement might be set up as consultation with leaders of Parties on the rules—I presume after they have been made, because naturally delay could not be tolerated in issuing them. Well, Sir, I do not exclude that possibility; but I am not in a position to give an undertaking on the point. I can, however, promise that Government will consider it.

His last suggestion, that a kind of "progress report" on action taken under the Ordinance and Rules should be laid before the Legislature, is, I fear, quite impracticable. There will be an enormous mass of orders of every description passed under these rules and the labour involved in collecting them and laying them on the table would be quite impossible to carry out. But it seems to me that there is one safeguard. After all, it is indiscreet or improper action—of which I hope there will be little—but it is action of that character—which attracts most attention, and surely Honourable Members will speedily come to know of instances of that kind through their constituencies.

The first question that the Honourable Member asked—as to what control can possibly be exercised over Provincial Governments—has already been answered by me. His second question, which raises very profound issues, is whether a Governor acting under this legislation will act on advice, in his discretion, or in the exercise of individual judgment. I can only say that, as in the case of action under any other enactment, it will depend on the subject-matter with which the Governor—which under the Constitution Act means the Provincial Government—is dealing.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: But under this Act the powers of the Provincial Governments will be greatly restricted.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: It will depend on the subject-matter. If the subject-matter attracts, for instance, the special responsibilities of the Governor he will act in his individual judgment. One

[Mr. A. deC. Williams.]

must read the Act with the Constitution Act and draw one's own conclusions. It is quite impossible to give a categorical answer to that question.

Well, Sir, I have no more to say. I can only commend this Motion to the Council and I hope that there will be no dissentient vote.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Question is:

"That the Bill to provide for special measures to ensure the public safety and interest and the defence of British India and for the trial of certain offences, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration."

The Motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Honourable Members, at this stage it is impossible to go through the second and third reading of the Defence of India Bill. Also there are several other legislative measures down for disposal today. As it is not possible to deal with all that business before this Council adjourns today I think that this is a convenient time to adjourn.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 27th September, 1939.

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