

23rd February, 1922

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

SECOND SESSION

OF THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1922



SIMLA
SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1922

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 23rd February, 1922.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock.
Mr. President was in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TELEGRAPH COMMITTEE, 1921.

214. * **Mr. N. M. Samarth**: Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether effect has been given to the recommendations made by the Telegraph Committee over which Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar presided? If not, why not?
- (b) Whether that Committee recommended grant of local allowance to Simla-Delhi signal room clerks of the Telegraph Department? If so, when is that allowance going to be sanctioned?
- (c) Why Delhi and Simla are classed among mofussils in spite of the fact that they are respectively the winter and summer capitals of the Government of India?
- (d) Why are the signal room clerks of the Simla Telegraph Department, especially those who move between Simla and Delhi, not given house-rent?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank: (a) Orders have been passed by Government on almost all the recommendations of the Telegraph Committee, 1921. There are a few outstanding items which are still under the consideration of Government.

(b) The Telegraph Committee, 1921, recommended the grant of a local allowance to clerks moving with the signal office between Simla and Delhi. This recommendation is still under consideration but it is expected that orders on it will shortly be passed. The question of locality allowances at Simla is not easy of solution owing to the diversity of the existing local allowances there. In any event, it will be necessary for the Legislative Assembly to grant funds before a local allowance can be given. Under existing rules whole-time clerks in the Simla Telegraph Office are in receipt of a local allowance of Rs. 10 a month.

(c) Presumably, this question refers to the revised scales of pay which were sanctioned for signal room clerks in (a) Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon and Karachi, and (b) the mofussil. This distinction was unanimously recommended by the Members of the Telegraph Committee, 1920, on which the staff also was represented, and was accepted by Government.

(d) Signal room clerks are nowhere granted house rent allowance, and, if the clerks at Simla were specially treated in this matter, there would be

difficulty in resisting the claims of signal room clerks at other places and also similar claims by Local Service and Station Service telegraphists who are at present ineligible for house rent allowance.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

215. ***Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas** : (1) Will Government be pleased to state if it is true that prisoners convicted of political offences are asked by the Jail Authorities to exclaim with outstretched hands and palms open and upraised 'Sarkar-ek-hai' or 'Sarkar Salaam', and on the prisoners refusing to comply, they are punished with harsher treatment than before?

(2) Is it intended merely to humiliate the prisoners or extort expressions of loyalty from unwilling people?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : Inquiry has been made from the Bombay Government. An answer will be given in due course when a reply has been received.

REDUCTION OF STRENGTH OF MADRAS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

216. ***Mr. Sambanda Mudaliar** : (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether proposals were submitted by the Government of Madras to the Secretary of State for India for reduction of Executive Councillors from 4 to 2?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, in what stage the matter is and whether this Government has supported the proposals in view of the financial stringency of the Government of Madras?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : (a) and (b). No. The Government of Madras have forwarded, for transmission to the Secretary of State, a copy of a Resolution passed in the Madras Legislative Council recommending that the strength of the local Executive Council be reduced from four to three Members. A copy of the debate on the subject was also received.

COST OF MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION IN MALABAR.

217. ***Mr. Sambanda Mudaliar** : Will Government be pleased to state the total expenditure incurred up to date for Martial Law Administration in Malabar and for the establishment of special tribunals and other incidental expenses?

Sir Godfrey Fell : I am not sure what exactly the Honourable Member means by the phrase 'Martial Law Administration'. His attention, however, is invited to the reply given on the 16th January last to his starred Question No. 76 (e), in which it was stated that the cost of the military operations in Malabar to the end of December, 1921, was, approximately, Rs. 15 lakhs. If the Honourable Member will indicate what classes of expenditure he means to include in expenditure on 'Martial Law Administration', I will endeavour to have the figures collected, and also the figures of the cost of special tribunals.

Mr. Sambanda Mudaliar : I want information in regard to the expenditure incurred by Government for the constitution of the special tribunals instituted for inquiring into these cases.

Sir Godfrey Fell : I understand that all that the Honourable Member wants is information about the cost of special tribunals. I will endeavour to get the information for him.

HOME AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ESTIMATES AND ACTUALS OF EXPENDITURE ON MILITARY OPERATIONS BETWEEN 1914 AND 1920.

218. ***Rai G. C. Nag Bahadur :** (1) Will the Government furnish a statement showing the Home Estimate and Home Actuals of expenditure incurred in India during the years 1914-15 to 1919-20, year by year ?

(2) Will the Government also furnish a statement showing the estimates and actuals of expenditure incurred by the Government of India for the North-West Frontier, Waziristan Force and Wana Force, separately year by year, during the same period ?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : (1) I have been instructed by the Honourable the Finance Member to say that he is not able to understand exactly what information the Honourable Member desires to obtain, but he will endeavour to furnish it later when he has more exact information as to what is required.

(2) I place on the table a Statement showing the estimated and actual expenditure on account of the North-West Frontier operations for the period in question. No separate accounts were maintained for the Waziristan and Wana Forces during that period.

Rai G. C. Nag Bahadur : The information wanted by me with regard to question (1) is the Home Estimates and the Home Actuals of expenditure for war purposes incurred here in India.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : I have explained to the Honourable Member that, if he will approach the Finance Member and explain to him in more detail what he wants, the Finance Member is prepared to furnish the information that he requires. I myself am not an expert in financial matters, and I am afraid I cannot give him further information.

Statement showing the estimates and actual expenditure on account of the North-West Frontier operations during the years 1914-15 to 1919-20.

(Thousands of rupees.)

Years.	Budget Estimate.	Revised Estimate.	Actual Expenditure.	REMARKS.
1914-15	4,00	6,86	
1915-16	2,00	40,17	44,11	
1916-17 :	50,00	1,03,70	72,11	
1917-18	1,03,70	1,46,80	1,70,07	
1918-19	69,00	1,74,00	1,56,78	
1919-20	20,00	23,32,60	24,06,19	Includes cost of 3rd Afghan War.

POLICEMEN KILLED IN EXECUTION OF DUTY AND PENSIONS TO THEIR FAMILIES.

219. * **Mr. R. A. Spence**: (1) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of policemen killed in the execution of their duty since the 1st August, 1920?

(2) In view of the analogy declared and promised in Article 734, Civil Service Regulations, between those regulations and those affecting soldiers killed in action, will the Government be pleased to state whether pensions have in all cases been granted to the widows and orphans of these men as provided in paragraph 1073, Army Regulations?

(3) Are not the conditions laid down in Article 737, Civil Service Regulations, subversive of the analogy promised in Article 734? If so, is the Government prepared to remedy the defect?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: The information is being obtained from Local Governments and Administrations, and will be supplied to the Honourable Member when it has been collected.

GOVERNMENT POLICY IN REGARD TO NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : With your permission, Sir, I should like to put to the Honourable the Home Member the question of which I have already given him private notice.

(a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the Resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli?

(b) In view of these Resolutions, will the Government be pleased to state what their policy is in regard to the non-co-operation movement?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent (Home Member) : The Government have seen and considered the Resolutions referred to. They can discover in them no indication of any fundamental change in the attitude and policy of the non-co-operation party. Whilst civil disobedience is to be postponed for the present, there is no suggestion that it should be definitely abandoned as in item in their programme. On the contrary, the clear intention of the Resolutions is that this step should be merely suspended till the ground has been adequately prepared for its inauguration on a large scale. Though volunteer processions are temporarily to cease, the enrolment of volunteers is to continue and to be speeded up; the seditious propaganda, which has been carried on throughout the country since the inception of the movement, is in no way to be abated; and the continuance of attempts to seduce Government servants from their allegiance is specifically provided for. The Resolutions thus point merely to a temporary change in the tactics of the party, and not to any reversal of radical alteration of its aims, which are directed, as before, to the subversion and paralysis of the lawfully constituted Government of the country. The Government of India desire to make it clear that, unless and until there is a complete cessation of the illegal activities of the non-co-operation movement, there will be no change in their own

attitude towards it. I am to add that these activities have already produced a serious situation, which may at any moment eventuate in bloodshed and disorder.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S ASSENT TO BILLS.

Mr. President : I have to acquaint this House that His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to give his assent to the following Bills :

The Special Laws Repeal Act, 1922, and

The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Repealing Act, 1922.

STATEMENT OF LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent (Home Member) : May I make a statement of the legislative business for the next meeting? On Monday, the 27th of February, the Government propose to bring up the Bill to provide a penalty for spreading disaffection among the police and kindred offences for further consideration. We have received several amendments, some suggesting that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, and, if the opinion of the House is in favour of that course, the Government will in no sense oppose it.

In the second place, a motion will be made for leave to introduce a Bill to regulate the employment of child labour in ports in British India.

RESOLUTION *RE* TECHNICAL TRAINING OF INDIAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN YOUTHS.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that not less than six lakhs of rupees be set apart every year from the Central Revenues to provide for the education and training abroad of Indian and Anglo-Indian youths in the following subjects :

Ship-building and ship-engineering ; Oceanography ; Wireless telegraphy ; Gunnery and other modern weapons of warfare ; Industrial chemistry in all its branches, theoretical and practical ; Mining and metallurgy ; Geological Surveying ; Electrics, with special reference to Hydro-electric engineering and the application of electricity to agriculture ; making and canning fruit preserves, condensed milk ; milk-products and concentrated foods ; Cottage industries ; Organisation and working of Distributive Co-operative Stores and Producer's Co-operative Unions ;

and such other subjects as this Assembly may, from time to time, deem essential for the needs of India.'

Sir, the object of my Resolution will be apparent to any one who reads it. Hitherto we have had education and facilities for education of a literary kind. When, years ago, Macaulay fought the battle of Western education, he

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predicted, as against those who did not want Western education, that a time would come when, on account of the civilisation which the people would imbibe from English literature, they would ask for representative government, for every institution in England which has made that country free and noble and great. That prediction has been fulfilled. In those days it was necessary that the educational syllabus should be so framed as to give us this higher literary teaching. But, in any country at any time, the educational problem is but the national problem, and the national problem in India to-day is to have what I may call 'bread-and-butter' education which will enable those who receive it to start life and earn a living and add to the nation-building process of the country. In other words, I am now asking the Government to do what Japan started doing 57 years ago. In those days Japan had not made those strides in civilisation and progress, as these things are understood in modern times, which it has since done. The statesmen of Japan of those days saw that, in order that their nation may be built up, it was necessary to send young men abroad so that they might acquire knowledge which was essential for modern growth, for national growth. They started on a small scale. Within about 5 years the movement grew and 200 to 300 students were sent every year to different countries—to Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, the United States of America and England—wherever, in short, they could get that training, with the result that within a few years, there was such a national growth and upheaval in Japan that Japan became the cynosure of Asiatic and European countries, and ultimately distinguished itself in the Russo-Japanese War and has now a place of eminence in the comity of nations.

I wish my country to rise to those heights. I do not now wish to look back upon the errors of the past or the sins of omission of Government in the past. I am not one of those who whine over the past, but I look ahead and I want the country to look ahead and forge ahead. With that view, I have brought forward this Resolution, and I want Indians—and I include in that term Anglo-Indians, for I want that Anglo-Indian youths should also get their chance in life along with Indian youths—to be sent abroad in order to undergo training in all the various subjects I have mentioned. I want Government now to put their shoulder to the wheel and work the machine as though it was worked by a national Government. I want Government to send these young men, suitable young men, to all the different countries and bring them back here in order that the national wealth of the country may be increased. The economic situation is well known to everyone of us. A great Judge of the High Court of Bombay, the late Mr. Justice Ranade, said that political domination is indeed an evil but it has been attracting greater attention perhaps than another insidious evil economic domination; the dependence of our country upon foreign countries for nearly everything they need in the way of manufactures is an evil the effects of which are not so perceptible to the ordinary man as to those who have devoted attention to the economic growth of other countries; and he insisted upon this country copying Japan and sending abroad Indian youths for training in all the western sciences and arts. That is my justification for bringing forward this Resolution.

But another justification is this. I want by this Resolution to reply to those who think that the regeneration of India is to be brought about by scorning western methods and sciences and going back to a life of simplicity

in which all people will take to simple ways of life and have nothing to do with the industries, arts and sciences which have made western countries great. (*An Honourable Member*: 'Practise *ahimsa*.)' Whether it is *ahimsa* or the negation of those things which make a country great and to which I want this country to devote itself, this is my reply to those who have been preaching that gospel.

Well, as I said, I want this country to do what Japan started doing 57 years ago. At the same time, I wish to draw attention to one important condition which the Japanese Government imposed—I am going to read from a book called 'The Educational system of Japan' which was a report made by the late Mr. Sharp, who was Director of Public Instruction in Bombay and who was deputed by Government to Japan in order to study the educational system of that country. He wrote:

'When a new school of importance is to be established, the Japanese with their usual forethought select their staff in advance and send some of them abroad for a final training while the school is being built and organised. Then as the classes become available the men are gradually brought back; for it is an essential part of the system that the men should teach on their return and that for twice the period of their studentship; in this way it is made necessary for them to attend to their work during their absence, the country makes sure of getting some return for the expenditure, and the men themselves are secure of a living immediately on their return, and for a period during which they can look about for a permanent berth, if they so please. During their absence they are under the orders of the nearest Japanese legation.'

I wish this Government would pursue the same method—let young Indians be sent abroad and let it be a condition that after they come back to this country they will have to spend twice the number of years they spend abroad, in the service of the State: after that they may do what they like. Some of our men who have hitherto gone to England or to other countries for training, when they come back, find themselves practically stranded here. Their educational equipment is not valued by capitalists who fight shy of any new enterprise. (*An Honourable Member*: 'No, no.') Well, I know an instance of an Indian gentleman who went to learn pottery as a Government scholar, who learnt pottery after great difficulty and came back; he could find no employment and is now employed in an Indian State. Well, in order that this difficulty may not be experienced by Indian youths, I wish Government to lay down these conditions—the same conditions as prevail in Japan.

Now, Sir, as to the subjects, I attach great importance to those that I have mentioned. It is no use having a Resolution which is merely couched in general terms, namely, to give us technical training or technical education. I wish to specify the subjects upon which efforts should be directed at once in order that the country may progress in what I call the nation-building process, ship-building and ship-engineering. I need not dilate upon this, because it was the subject matter of discussion the other day, in which Government said they were going to make arrangements for the training of Indian youths in this subject. Oceanography—I need not dilate upon this either, as Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary in the course of that debate, said that he had striven to ask the India Office to make arrangements, for it and he was hopeful that some arrangements would be made. Wireless Telegraphy—of which we had a demonstration yesterday. It may be that it would be possible to teach something of this subject here; but I do not want men to be trained here merely as mistries; we often find artisans here fitting up electric installations, but

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they do not know much about electricity. I do not want men to be trained merely for the purpose of doing mechanical work ; I want men to be sent abroad in order that they might learn the whole science of it and then come back here and start schools, if necessary, with the assistance of those who made the demonstration yesterday, to train Indian youths. Gunnery and other modern weapons of warfare—I attach the greatest importance to this. The Military Department have been saying that you cannot get here men for the Ordnance Department, because there is no training to be had here and no men who have got the training. If the requisite training could be obtained here, well and good ; but whether it is so or not, send some youths to other countries which have made progress in that direction to learn the subject and let them come back and train youths here and give the advantage of their training to the country. Industrial chemistry in all its branches—theoretical and practical—is a subject to which also I attach great importance. In November, 1920, I went to Alsace. I had read about the Strassbourg University which the Germans had founded and equipped in a conquered country, namely, Alsace. I went and saw it there ; and what I read was nothing as compared with what I saw with my own eyes there. The University building there would cost lakhs and lakhs of rupees ; the equipment would cost more. I saw syllabuses of every type there and facilities for training in industrial chemistry and physics such as I saw nowhere in England. There were models—I saw only a few—but before the war I was told there were models on a small scale of every industry and factory in Germany attached to the University and students, after a course of study there, could start life with a small capital. If we had the money I would certainly have such a University here, so that there would be no need for our students to go out for study. But the whole difficulty is in getting so much money. And as we have not got the money and as Japan did not have that money at the start, Japan sent her youths abroad and imported foreign talent also with the condition attached to their service obligations that they should teach the apprentices there and in that way within 30 years or so Japan made a rapid advance. I wish Government to send men, properly equipped no doubt, science graduates who have had some training, to Strassbourg—many of them now take French as their second language and so there would be no difficulty in getting them—to Germany, or anywhere else and let them get the best training in industrial chemistry in all its branches. Then we have mining and metallurgy. I need not also dilate upon this. I was reading many months ago a book called the *Artha Shastra of Kautilya* ; if anybody wants to know what was the state of advanced civilisation in the time of Chandragupta, he will find it there. We find that at that time there were Mining Superintendents ; there were different kinds of metals extracted from the mines, about twenty kinds of silver alone are mentioned therein, shades of silver distinguished and so on—the whole of the description is given, how they worked the mines, how they had even ships, how they organised the shipping department into different branches, such as pearl fisheries, coast traffic, high seas navigation and all that. It would be a pleasure and a revelation to any one in his leisure hours, instead of spending his time uselessly, say, just after lawn-tennis, if possible, to go and read that book. If that talent was available then, I decline to believe that that talent is not available now. It has only to be worked up and made use of for the benefit of the country. Then we come to Geological Survey. That also is connected

with mines. We have British geological surveyors, but I want my own men. I want Indians and Anglo-Indians to go abroad and learn geological survey. This is a vast country with vast resources, the extent and location of which have probably not been fathomed even yet, resources which have not been tapped yet. Let us do everything possible to develop the mineral resources of the country so that that might be one way in which the resources of the Government could be developed and the deficits to which we have become accustomed will become things of the past. Then I come to hydro-electric engineering and the application of electricity to agriculture. There are schemes in the Bombay Presidency; one has begun to work, the Tata hydro-electric works; but the application of electricity to agriculture has not, so far as I know, been attempted. Why not try? So much energy is being wasted there; in those tracts of the country where you have got hydro-electric works, you can utilise it for the purpose of improving the outturn of crops by means of electricity. I have not personally seen it, but I have read a lot of how, in Germany, they apply electricity to agriculture and improve the output; besides, I have seen pictures, in their journals, giving a full description of those electrical appliances used in fields. I have had no personal experience as to how it could be done, but it is worth while trying. Let students be sent abroad and let them learn and see with their own eyes how electricity is applied to agriculture. Then I come to the making and canning of fruit preserves, condensed milk, milk products and concentrated foods. Lakhs and lakhs of rupees worth of goods of that kind are imported every year into this country. There is plenty of milk and there is plenty of fruit available here, yet we get Californian fruit coming from abroad. Why not start such industries here? Let people go and learn and then come here and start these industries, making fruit preserves and milk products like Glaxo, Mellins Food and things of that kind, and save the country from the drain which it at present undergoes on account of these things having to be imported into a land where all these things, milk and fruit, are so plentiful. Then I come to cottage industries. As a matter of fact, the economic aspect of the problem is this, that the agricultural population for a certain number of months is idle, has nothing to do after the crops have been gathered; much of their time is spent without any useful work. Now cottage industries is a subject which has to be carefully studied and introduced into this country. Sir Horace Plunkett in Ireland has done something in the way of cottage industries and distributive co-operative societies and producers' co-operative societies, and they are also found in Denmark perhaps in a state of perfection. Let students go and learn and come here and start them on the same basis. Credit co-operation has been progressing, has been tried and found successful. But distributive co-operation and producers' co-operative unions have not been sufficiently tried here although they might have been tried by a zealous officer in some parts of the country wherever he happened to be, as soon as that officer goes away the impetus of the movement dies and nothing is done. Of course some bureaucratic officers might fancy that the people are not fit for it, that the people have not got the self-reliance and all those virtues which are necessary for the successful working of these Co-operative Unions. Well, I am not a pessimist of that kind, nor a bureaucrat; I am a man of the people, having faith in the people, and a robust optimist, who thinks that difficulties exist in order that they may be overcome, and not in order that you may be daunted by them. (Hear, hear.) Well, if an earnest attempt

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is therefore made by the State for the purpose of starting Distributive Co-operative Stores and Producer's Co-operative Unions, it will be found that the prices realized by producers for their produce will be greater than they realize at present, acting individually. Demands come, for instance, at certain seasons for the payment of the land-revenue assessment. At that time, every tenant or occupant has to sell his grain; he has to sell it because it has to be converted into money and he is at a disadvantage, and the price realized is not as much as he would realize if all the people had combined and pooled together their produce and stood up for their prices. So it is that Producer's Co-operative Unions always result in giving to the producers higher prices than if each individual person deals in his own individual capacity. Then as regards Distributive Co-operative Stores, there are already Panchayets started or being started. Let us avail ourselves of these Panchayets, work them up and start them on the right model, and let these be made use of for the purpose of starting Distributive Co-operative Stores as well as Producer's Co-operative Unions. Take a village, for instance. The needs of a village are well-known; it requires so much cloth, so much oil, so much kerosene, and so on. Let it buy these at wholesale prices, which will be cheaper; the prices will be reduced so far as the villagers are concerned, and let them distribute them on the plan on which they are distributed in Distributive Co-operative Stores, say, in Denmark. In other words, let a strenuous and sustained effort be made in the direction of making two blades of grass grow where only one grows now in the direction of adding to the national resources and wealth of the country. That is the principal object of bringing forward this Resolution. Sir, I move my Resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Industries Secretary): Sir, it was with some degree of surprise that I first perused the notice of the Resolution that has just been so eloquently moved by my Honourable friend opposite, for we all know in this House that the Honourable Mr. Samarth is one of the stoutest champions of constitutional law and practice, and I could not imagine that my Honourable friend had overlooked the distinction between Provincial and Central subjects which is one of the main features of the constitutional Reforms.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I have not overlooked it.

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The subject that we are now discussing can be brought under either of two headings,—‘Education’ or ‘The Development of Industries’, and both these are, as the Honourable Mr. Samarth knows, Provincial transferred subjects. Also, in accordance with the present constitution, we cannot spend any portion of central revenues on subjects that are not administered as Central subjects. In pursuance of the Devolution Rules which follow the Government of India Act, the technical scholarships for student's training abroad, which have been given for the last 20 years, and are still being given by Provincial Governments,—and to which the Honourable Mr. Samarth has devoted so little attention in his speech—all these scholarships have now been Provincialized, and the Central Government has really no authority to spend any money on these subjects. At the same time, Sir, the Government are keenly interested in the development of industries in the country and in the promotion of all measures that will secure such development. It was, therefore, thought advisable to give full opportunity for the

present discussion. Personally, Sir, I am very glad that Mr. Samarth has raised this question, because it gives us an opportunity of explaining to the House that neither the Central Government nor the Provincial Governments have been at all remiss in this matter. As I have said, Sir, the system of technical scholarships for Indian students training abroad has been in vogue for the last 20 years. Not only the Government, but one or two private societies, — one organised mainly by a brother of a Member of this Assembly — have devoted a considerable amount of attention and energy to this subject. Only last May a Conference of the Ministers in charge of industries in the different provinces was held in Simla. This Conference was attended by all the Ministers from every province who dealt with industries and agriculture, save one. A reference to the proceedings of that Conference will convince all Members of this House — and I am sure Mr. Samarth has read the proceedings because a copy was sent to him from my Department, a perusal of the proceedings will convince every Member of this House that the subject has been engaging the earnest attention of the Ministers in the provinces as well as of the Central Government. That Conference had the advantage of the presence of Mr. Richey, who was then Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. Mr. Richey provided the Conference with an admirable note giving the facts regarding the scholarships that had already been awarded and also a resume of the points that had to be discussed. It was clear at that Conference that the Ministers as well as the Directors of Industries in the provinces were extremely keen and anxious not only for the continuance of the scholarships but also for their extension wherever possible. Then, again, Sir, as the House is aware, there is at present a Committee for the consideration of all questions connected with the training of Indian students abroad. My Honourable friend opposite is a distinguished member of that Committee. I had the advantage, two or three months ago, of meeting the members of the Committee who were then in England and I found that this particular subject of the technical training in industries and in factories and workshops of Indian students was engaging the earnest attention of that Committee. They have been studying it from all the different aspects, and I am sure that when the report of that Committee is published, we shall find extremely useful recommendations and observations on this subject. I submit, Sir, that it will be wise for this House to wait for the report of that Committee before expressing any definite views on this question.

Now, Sir, I may be permitted to make a few brief observations on the merits of the detailed proposals, or at least of some of the detailed proposals that are embodied in the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend. I am not aware on what principle my Honourable friend has put together the subjects for which he wishes scholarships to be provided. Some of them strike me as subjects in which the Central Government should in no circumstances interfere. I refer to subjects like the 'making and canning of fruit preserves, condensed milk, milk products, concentrated foods, cottage industries, co-operative stores and producers unions.' These are subjects which, I am sure, the House will agree with me, the Provincial Governments are most eminently fitted to deal with. The Central Government can claim no detailed knowledge of these subjects or of the different requirements of the different provinces, and any action taken by the Central Government will only embarrass the Local Governments or merely duplicate their efforts without any co-ordinated purpose. On the merits also, Sir, it

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seems to me unnecessary to provide scholarships for some of these subjects. I can venture to claim some acquaintance with the cottage industries of my own province. As far back as 15 years ago it was my duty to make a complete survey of the industries in the United Provinces. It is quite true that the State can help cottage industries in many ways. With regard to the art industries, improvements can be effected in designs and also in the methods of manufacture. But these problems with regard to the art industries are already being tackled; schools have been established; museums have been set up; exhibitions are being held. We have to reach the actual artisan, who, in most cases, is illiterate. This is already being done. Similarly with regard to what I may call the utility industries such as handloom weaving, many improvements can be effected. All Members of this House must be acquainted with the problems of handloom weaving; but, as Members are aware, such improvements as the introduction of the fly-shuttle and improvements in the preliminary processes of weaving, as also in the completing processes, are already being introduced in the different provinces, and strenuous efforts are being made by Provincial Departments of Industries in this direction. Only a couple of months ago, the Bihar and Orissa Government held an all-India exhibition for this very purpose. Improvements can also be effected in the provision of raw materials and in marketing of the products. But, Sir, I am not aware of any cottage industry in which it is necessary to send our youths for training abroad. (*A Voire : 'Toys.'*) I do not know that even in toys it is necessary to send our youth abroad, because the toys that we shall manufacture will be quite different from the toys that are manufactured in Holland or in Germany. The problems are the problems of marketing; the problems are not the problems of manufacture. In the very nature of things our cottage industries are different from the cottage industries of other countries. Their respective problems are entirely different, and in my humble judgment there will be no advantage whatever in instituting scholarships for the training of our youth in cottage industries abroad.

Then, Sir, the Honourable gentleman has referred to co-operative distributive stores and to co-operative producers' unions. Here, again, I can claim that my own personal interest is no less than his. For five years I was Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the United Provinces and during long periods of leave I have studied co-operative methods in the United Kingdom and abroad. I yield to none in this House in my belief in the potentialities of the co-operative movement. But, Sir, the problems which have to be faced in this matter also are entirely different from those that have to be met in foreign countries. I would tire the House if I were to enumerate here all the difficulties that we have to meet in this country in organising distributive stores and producers' unions. It will be enough for me to say that the matter is being intensively studied in every province. I think it is only right that the House should know that not only the official co-operators in the different provinces—the Registrars and their assistants—but also a very large band of non-officials, who are giving their services to this great cause, have devoted a considerable amount of time and attention to the development of distributive co-operative stores in the provinces. Many experiments have been made; some have been successful; others have been unsuccessful. Probably the unsuccessful ones have taught us as much, or perhaps more, than the successful experiments. But, Sir, I do not think

there is any room—and I am certain that every active co-operator will agree with me—there is no necessity whatever for sending our youth abroad for training in the management of co-operative stores or producers' uncons.

Now, Sir, I come to some of the other subjects which are included in the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend. He wishes scholarships to be given for the study of subjects like industrial chemistry, mining, geology, electricity, etc. I really do not think that he has studied this subject with the great care that is customary with him. I have here a list of the scholarships that have been awarded during the last 20 years, and I find a very large number of scholarships have already been awarded in these subjects. The Honourable gentleman has stated that these men do not find employment when they come back. I will soon come to that point; but what I contend, Sir, is that the Provincial Governments are pursuing this policy of giving technical scholarships for their youth for training in foreign countries. They know best what subjects are the most necessary for their provinces. They are discharging their obligations. I do not see why the Central Government should step in when the Provincial Governments are discharging their duties in these respects.

This takes me, Sir, to an examination of the general policy of technical scholarships for training in foreign countries. The policy which the Government of India have set before themselves—I think it is the policy which is being pursued by Local Governments, and I am sure that it is a policy which will be endorsed by this Assembly—is that it is the duty of the State in India to provide adequate facilities in India itself for the training of our youth in all the different industries that are at present established in the country or that are likely to be established in the very near future. Sir, this is the policy that every civilized and progressive country has adopted. The sending of our youth to foreign countries for training can, at the best, be only a makeshift. No established industry in any country can prosper, if it has to depend either for its supervisory or higher labour, or for the masses of the artisans which it employs, on men imported from abroad or on men trained abroad. It is, therefore, the aim of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments to develop institutions in India itself for all the industries that are now being established here. Every Provincial Government has a full programme in this respect. The Government of India, until the Reforms came in, gave liberal financial aid. Such aid is no longer possible, but I should like to give only a very few instances to the House to show that the Provincial Governments are not remiss in this matter.

In Bengal, a project for a technical institution in Calcutta on a large and comprehensive scale has been worked out by a Committee under the presidency of our distinguished countryman, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee. The Bengal Government are making arrangements for establishing the institution at an early date. I believe they have already acquired a site and that they will start building as soon as funds permit. The Government of Bihar and Orissa are giving liberal aid to the Tata Iron and Steel Works for the starting of an institution at Jamshedpur, which will train men for the higher branches of work, for which employment will be available in Jamshedpur. The United Provinces Government have already many technical institutions and others are being projected. The Punjab Government are starting a high grade mechanical and engineering college in close co-operation with the North-Western Railway, who have a large workshop in the vicinity of Lahore. The

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Government of India have also more than one project in hand. Honourable Members are aware that it is the intention of the Government to start a high-grade institution at Dhanbad for training in mining and geology. It is also in contemplation to start an institution for training in tanning and leather manufacture. It will, therefore, be seen that the subject of technical instruction has not been neglected. Our only difficulty is that caused by the financial stringency. Concurrently with the establishment of technical institutions, attention has also been given to the question of providing facilities for the training of apprentices in mills and factories in this country. Honourable Members are aware from the answers that have been given from time to time by my Honourable friend, Colonel Waghorn, of the efforts that are being made to organise systems of apprenticeship in the Railway Workshops, both State and Company-managed. Similar arrangements are in progress in the Ordnance factories belonging to Government. Both the Central and Local Governments are exercising all influence at their command to persuade private employers of labour also to open their factories for the training of apprentices, and it is the settled policy of the Government not to grant any concessions to any industrial companies unless provision is made for facilities for the training of apprentices in the works that may be established.

Now, Sir, I wish to sound a note of warning. I am sure the House will agree that it is no use whatever sending scholars abroad unless there are prospects, and definite prospects, of employing such scholars after such training. My Honourable friend mentioned the case of a scholar who had obtained training in pottery and could not find employment. Perhaps that is an individual case; but there is, of course, the danger. So far as the Government of India scholars are concerned, I may state that the very great majority of them have obtained suitable employment in the country. Sir, the Honourable gentleman has placed oceanography as one of the subjects in which he wishes scholarships to be established. I have here, Sir, the 11th edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and I shall read out to him the definition of oceanography as given in it.

‘Oceanography is the science which deals with the ocean and, since the ocean forms a large part of the earth’s surface, oceanography is a large department of geography.’

Sir, I do not know what employment a scholar trained in oceanography will find in India on return. It is quite possible that the subject is well worth studying in a country which has already a large mercantile fleet. Similarly, Sir, with regard to the subject of ship-building. Only the other day, this House discussed the question of encouraging the industry of ship-building and the establishment of a mercantile fleet. As was then indicated, Government are in full sympathy with these objects and the House decided that a Committee should be appointed to go into all the aspects of this question. Now, I contend that it is useless sending a scholar for training in ship-building until we know on what lines the ship-building industry is going to be organised in this country or until we know that there are definite possibilities of his employment when he comes back. Otherwise, Sir, if we merely go on sending students abroad for training in all kinds of learned and rare industries, there will be a great waste of effort and there will be a great waste of money. I personally know of a case where an Indian student specialised in naval architecture. He found absolutely no possibilities, no openings, for him in this country, but he had to get employment in the Public

Works Department as a Civil Engineer, mending roads and buildings. That was a case of great waste of effort. There is another point, Sir, to which also I should like to make a brief reference. It is very little use sending scholars abroad unless they have had already a sort of general training in this country in the industry for which they are being sent out to a foreign country. This is a point, Sir, to which I know a great deal of attention has already been given by the Committee presided over by Lord Lytton. Honourable Members are aware that in the advanced countries in Europe and in America industries have been specialized to a very high degree. Even if a student finds admittance to works of any kind for training, he will get training only in a very small branch of that particular industry. It will be utterly impossible for him to find employment in that particular branch when he comes back to India. It is, therefore, necessary and desirable that he should get as much training as he possibly can in that particular industry in this country where the industry has not yet been specialised to the same extent. Sir, the Honourable gentleman has quoted the case of Japan. I should also like to quote the case of Japan. It is true that the Japanese Government sent a large number of young students for training abroad in technical industries, but, Sir, before they did so, the Japanese Government established a large number of pioneer factories and schools in Japan itself.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : No. I question that statement.

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee : Well, my authority also is here. I am speaking on the authority of the late Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. He says that :

'Our policy may be compared with that followed by Japan. The Japanese Government certainly has sent a very large number of students abroad for technical study during the last 40 years, but only in connection with their general scheme for State aid to industries. The Government of Japan started by setting up model factories and technical colleges and schools in which a considerable number of foreign managers and teachers were employed. After these institutions were in working order, Japanese students were sent abroad very largely in order that they might replace on their return the foreign instructors and supply teachers for new technical schools. The Japanese technical scholars have to sign an agreement that they will serve Government on their return for twice the length of time for which they have remained abroad.'

This note, Sir, was compiled only last year. I submit, Sir, that it will be a great mistake for us in India to follow a definite policy.

I have attempted, Sir, to show that the object of the Government of India, the policy of the Government of India in this matter is as patriotic as that of the Honourable Member. We are all anxious that facilities should be provided for our youths for instruction, which will enable them to occupy responsible positions in our industries.

We all want existing industries to develop, and we want to establish new industries. I have shown, Sir, that the policy of giving technical scholarships for training abroad has been followed by the Government of India for the last twenty years. It is a policy which is still being pursued by the Provincial Governments. It will, therefore, be superfluous on the part of this House to intervene in a matter which is manifestly the business of the Ministers in the Provinces. It will also be unconstitutional on the part of the Government of India to spend any money on these subjects from Central Revenues.

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Finally, Sir, Honourable Members are aware of the financial position. I hope, Sir, that my Honourable friend will be satisfied with a discussion of his proposal and with an affirmation of policy, and I trust he will not press his Resolution.

Mr. President: In view of the speech that has just been made, the House is put in a peculiar position. I can quite understand that the Government would not like to move His Excellency to disallow; but, if it is unconstitutional to spend the money, it is waste of time to discuss the Resolution.

Mr. B. S. Kamat (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural) : It is not unconstitutional for the Central Government to spend any money on technical scholarships abroad. The Central Government does not come in the way of Provincial Governments spending their own money. There is nothing in the Act to prevent the Central Government from spending such money. The Government of Madras, for instance, may establish scholarships, but those will be for students confined to the Province. The country as a whole would not benefit by them. It is for the purpose of having these men available to the Government of India for All-India Services that this Resolution is moved. There is nothing in the Government of India Act to prevent the Government of India from spending money for the education abroad of these men.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes (Commerce and Industries Member) : May I explain that the Auditor General has already ruled that expenditure on technical scholarships is a Provincial subject. As I read the Devolution Rules, that objection can only be got round under item 20 of Schedule I, which reads :

‘Development of industries, in cases where such development by a central authority is declared by order of the Governor General in Council, made after consultation with the Local Government or Local Governments concerned, expedient in the public interest.’

I daresay if we declared certain subjects to be central subjects, we could get round the difficulty and give technical scholarships. But as regards technical scholarships generally, the Auditor and Comptroller-General, who is not amenable to the Government of India or to this Assembly, has ruled that the expenditure is Provincial and not Imperial.

Mr. President: Will those scholarships be for students in India or outside?

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: The scholarships are for sending Indians to foreign countries for technical training.

Mr. B. S. Kamat: I wish to point out that there is a way out of this difficulty if we adopt for discussion my amendment that provision be made for the establishment in India of an All-India ‘Imperial Technological Institute’. If we centre the whole discussion on this subject, we shall not violate the principle referred to by Mr. Innes.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated Anglo-Indian) : Sir, I am not speaking on the Resolution but on the point referred to by the Honourable Member in Charge of Industries. I understand that the Government of India does at the present moment spend money on education. If I

am wrong, I would like to be corrected. If the Government of India are able to spend money from Central Revenues for education, I see no reason why objection should be raised for the scholarships claimed in the Resolution.

Mr. B. S. Kamat : May I ask for a ruling on the subject ?

Mr. N. M. Samarth : May I ask if ship-building and ship-engineering is a Provincial subject (Hear, hear) ; whether Oceanography is a Provincial subject (Laughter), whether wireless telegraphy, gunnery and other modern weapons of warfare are Provincial subjects ? (Hear hear.) In regard to industrial chemistry, any province may go in for it, but surely industrial chemistry in all its branches may come in as an All-India subject ? Mining and Metallurgy, is that Provincial, as well as Geological Surveying ? (Hear, hear.) Electrics, with special reference to the application of electricity to agriculture ; making and canning fruit preserves ; what is the objection to sending youths abroad for the purpose of learning this ? (*A Voice :* 'It depends on the fruits grown in the province !') What is the objection to sending youths to learn these industries for All-India purposes ? I have not got a copy of the Devolution Rules by me, but I would like to know whether there is anything in the Government of India Act or in the Rules under the Act to prohibit the Central Government from spending money for this purpose ; and, as I have pointed out, many of these subjects are not by any means Provincial.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes : Under item 33 of Schedule I of the Devolution Rules, 'Central agencies and institutions for research (including observatories), and for professional or technical training or promotion of special studies' is a Central subject, and that is the reason why we have under contemplation now the provision of a school of mines, mining and geology being a Central subject. That is why we have a central institution for technical research and a wireless telegraphy school ; but technical scholarships generally for sending Indians to foreign countries for training has been ruled by the Auditor General to be a Provincial subject. May I explain that that was one of the difficulties we had in deciding whether to object or not to this Resolution.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : May I inquire if this rule was introduced in view of this particular Resolution ? Has this particular Resolution been brought to the notice of the Auditor General ?

Mr. B. S. Kamat : Sir, If the Resolution does not come within the scope of a Central subject, I contend that my amendment, which deals with an All-India 'Imperial Technological Institute' should bring the subject within the scope of a Central subject.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes : My objection to Mr. Kamat's amendment is that it extends beyond the scope of the Resolution.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member's amendment is too wide and I am afraid I must rule him out ; but I am ready to hear him on the subject.

Mr. B. S. Kamat : I shall read the amendment for the information of the Members. It runs as follows :

'At the end of the Resolution add the following :

'(2) The foregoing provision shall have effect for a period of four years from 1922-23 ; thereafter, this Assembly recommends that provision may be made for the establishment in

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India of an All-India 'Imperial Technological Institute' of an advanced character, adequately equipped and staffed with specialists of high reputation, both for teaching and research work in subjects like those enumerated above, excepting the naval and military ones.

I attempt in this amendment to have an All-India Institute, an institute which the Provincial Governments may possibly not be in a position financially to establish in their respective provinces, in fact an institute which will be beyond the means, as Mr. Chatterjee has explained, of the smaller provinces at any rate. This ought to bring the discussion within the scope of Central subjects.

Then, again, I point out that this will be an institute for advanced study for advanced students. Here, again, it will not be possible for the Provinces for some years to come to make provision for such advanced students. It is only possible for the Central Government to make a provision like this. Of course, smaller technical schools in the different provinces may teach up to a certain standard, but still it will be, I believe, the duty of the Central Government to provide a much larger institute, something like the Polytechnic Institute in Regent Street, London, which will attract advanced students, for whom it will be absolutely impossible for the Provincial Governments, at any rate, to make any provision.

I think, Sir, that this amendment clearly deals with a matter which is within the scope of the Central Government, both financially and educationally, as well as from the point of view of the training which I contemplate my amendment to provide; on this ground, and in view also of the Devolution Rule which my friend, the Honourable Mr. Innes, read out to us, I believe this amendment, as it deals with an All-India subject, ought to be allowed for discussion.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : I have now got a copy of the Devolution Rules and I refer to Schedule I which deals with Central subjects and enumerates them.

Clause 19 reads thus :

'Control of production, supply, and distribution of any articles in respect of which control by a Central authority is declared by rule made by the Governor General in Council or by or under legislation by the Indian Legislature to be essential in the public interest.'

Now, take the next clause 20 :

'Development of industries in cases where such development by a Central authority is declared by order of the Governor General in Council, made after consultation with the Local Government or Local Governments concerned expedient in the public interest.'

I say all these are expedients in the public interest and, as a matter of fact, I have shown that shipping and other things are unquestionably Central. Then comes No. 24 'Geological Survey' which is a Central subject. Then comes No. 25 :

'Control of mineral development, in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.'

This is a Central subject. Then comes No. 33, which was alone read out by the Honourable Mr. Innes. No. 33 reads thus :

'Central agencies and institutions for research (including observatories), and for professional and technical training or promotion of special studies.'

Surely, all these which I have read are conclusive on the subject, and there is absolutely no substance in the constitutional objection taken (I say so with great respect) by Mr. Chatterjee.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: Sir, I am prepared to admit that some of the subjects mentioned in this Resolution might be properly declared by the Governor General in Council to be Central subjects, such as Ship-building, Oceanography, Wireless telegraphy, Gunnery and other modern weapons of warfare. Industrial chemistry is, of course, partly Provincial and partly Central. We could have a Central institute in India for study and research into fundamental chemical problems. That is our idea; but as for the ordinary branches of industrial chemistry, that is undoubtedly a Provincial subject. Mining and Metallurgy, Geological Survey and Electrics are Central subjects, but Hydro-electricity has already been declared to be a Provincial subject. The remaining subjects mentioned, namely, the making and canning of fruit preserves, milk products and all these other things are essentially Provincial, for the reason that the Governor General in Council has not declared them to be Central subjects, and I say quite definitely that the Governor General in Council has no intention of declaring them to be Central subjects. That is the position. Some of these subjects are undoubtedly Central subjects, most of them are equally certainly Provincial and transferred subjects. Further, the general subject, that of technical scholarships abroad has, as I have already explained, been decided by the Auditor General to be a Provincial subject. As I have also explained, we could probably get round that objection if, in any special case, we desire to send men home for study in connection with such subjects as I have mentioned here as being Central. But that is the position. As we stand at present, these scholarships have been decided by the Auditor General to be Provincial.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I make this suggestion with reference to this Resolution. Let the Government take out of this list of subjects such as are ruled by the Governor General in Council or by the Auditor General to be outside their purview. I have shown the different items under which all these subjects come, but, if by the authority of the Auditor General or of the Governor General in Council, it is ruled that some of these subjects are outside the jurisdiction of the Central Government, then they go out. Let them give effect to the Resolution *pro tanto*. But surely I am entitled to say at present that, *primā facie*, all these are covered by the items that I have read out.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: Not all, some.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Nagpur Division : Non-Muhammadan): I submit that it was entirely open to the Government to raise an objection (under clause 108 of the Manual, page 37), within one month of the date of the Resolution of which notice was given by the Honourable the Mover. That clause lays down:

'The Governor General may within the period of notice disallow any Resolution or any part of a Resolution on the ground that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council and, if he does so, the Resolution or part of the Resolution shall not be placed on the list of business'.

I submit, it was the duty of the department concerned to object to the admissibility of the Resolution on the ground that it was not primarily the

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

concern of the Governor General in Council and, if they had taken the objection in time, I have no doubt, Sir, that you would have given effect to the objection, if sound, and disallowed the Resolution or a part of the Resolution, and it would not have come up for discussion. Having raised no objection then, and the Resolution having been put down for discussion to-day, I submit, it is not open to the Government to raise that objection *nunc pro tunc*, and I therefore submit that the whole of this discussion is irrelevant.

Mr. P. L. Misra: (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): May I just read out a passage from the Report of the Industrial Commission, 1916-1918? On page 241, the main heading is Imperial Department of Industries. I will read out from paragraph 31 which runs as follows:

'Various subjects and departments which the Government of

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: May I point out, Sir, that the report was written five years ago before the reform scheme came into force?

Mr. P. L. Misra: I am going to read out the list of departments that come under Industries, Central Government

Mr. President: Order, order. The report of a Commission has no legislative or administrative effect until Government chooses to pass legislation giving effect to it, and, as the Honourable Member for Commerce has just pointed out, whatever may have been said in the report has practically passed out of sight owing to the enactment of the new constitution.

I may say for the information of the House that when the Resolution originally came before me, I had some difficulty over this very question and I am glad to say it does not rest with me constitutionally to decide it, but as the Government has decided not to move the Governor-General to disallow, the admissibility of the Resolution is not in question.

The Honourable Member has himself laid his finger on the difficulty which is that there are subjects so interlocked with other subjects that sometimes each individual subject may be divisible into 'Central' and 'Provincial'; and in the case of certain other subjects, as mentioned by the Honourable the Commerce Member, these might be declared—I don't know how far they have been declared—to be provincial subjects. But many of them have not been declared in this way and therefore the subjects are determined by their place in the Schedule to the Devolution Rules.

There is very little difference between the position taken up by the Government and the position taken up by the Honourable Member.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I put the Resolution before the House. Let the House pass it and let Government decide which of the subjects can be given effect to. Admittedly certain subjects are not Provincial but Central; if at all, there is a question only about one or two of them.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: The Government have no objection at all to this Resolution being discussed. In fact, we shall listen to the discussion with great interest. I should also like to explain that really what happened was that when the question was referred as to whether this

Resolution should be disallowed or not, owing to some delay in the Department, the Resolution had already been admitted by the President, and that being so, we decided to take no action but to let the discussion take place. At the same time I must point out that it is very doubtful whether we shall be able to take action upon the Resolution if it is carried, I have no objection at all to its being discussed.

Mr. President: I may point out that admission by the President does not commit the Government of India. The power of the Governor General are set out in Rule 22. The President has only to see that from certain technical points of view the Resolution is in order, but, from the point of view of public policy, the decision rests entirely with the Government.

Lient.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney : Sir, I wish on behalf of my community, the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European, to offer my deep gratitude and thanks to the Honourable the Mover for the inclusion of my community in his Resolution. Mr. Samarth and I have clasped hands in friendship before, but I have great pleasure in extending my hand to him again across this floor to thank him very sincerely on behalf of my community for the interest which he has shown on this occasion in the welfare of the Anglo-Indian community. This is indeed a happy augury for the future of the community I have the honour to represent in this Honourable House. Sir, this Resolution has my whole-hearted support. It is a move in the right direction. The Government of India, as the Honourable Member in charge of Commerce has pointed out, has, in the past, given a certain number of technical scholarships and enabled a number of our lads (Indians and Anglo-Indians) to go to England and further their studies in technical education. But, I submit, it has not given enough, moreover what it has given has, at times, not been given generously nor properly. The Resolution here asks for 6 lakhs every year which would provide training, at £300 a year per student, for about 133 students. Sir, I submit, that even this number is not enough for the needs of India. But let us be thankful for, as I said, it is a move in the right direction and for even small mercies I think the whole of India owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Honourable Mover of this Resolution, Mr. Samarth.

The Honourable Member in charge of this Department has stated as one of his serious objections to this Resolution that there is no use in India sending her young men to England for technical education if the country is not able to guarantee them employment when they return. He told us very assuringly that Government is contemplating the formation of certain technical institutions to supply this need in various scattered parts of India. Now we have heard of these contemplated moves for a great many years, but very little has been done: surely we are not going to be told *ad infinitum* that it is the Government's intention to erect these institutions and we must wait till they are erected before sending our lads abroad for technical training. This conjectural, contemplative waiting policy has been long exhausted and we are tired of hearing of it. If it is the Government's duty to erect them, let them do so at once, why wait any longer and so make us wait. We want to ensure that these men receive this skilled education and when they return, should be provided with employment. What are we doing to-day in India in this respect? Just taking the first leaf out of the book of Japan. I remember years ago when in the

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Boxer Rising Expedition in China, I saw hundreds of Japanese visiting our various Army Departments, men who knew little or nothing but who were thirsting for information and who had been sent out by their Government to learn our methods and ways.

Look at the difference to-day ! Look at Japan, as far as industries are concerned, and then look at India. We are 200 to 300 years behind them, when we should be 200 to 300 years ahead of them.

Sir, I am glad and I am sure, this House is very glad indeed, you decided that this Resolution was admissible. Even though the Government Member so stoutly opposed it, called it unconstitutional and offered so many excuses for its acceptance by this Honourable House. This excuse of the provincialisation of certain transferred subjects has been put forward so frequently that I think it is time Government ceased doing so. Some of my own Resolutions have suffered lamentably at the hands of the Government on these very stereotyped excuses and I shall be very glad if, on this occasion, the House passes this Resolution and so put a full stop to this excuse being brought forward by Government again. The Government must be made to realise that it cannot, when it suits its purpose, oppose such matters with such convenient yet thread-bare excuses. It must be stopped.

Sir, as regards the various scientific departments which the Resolution covers, after the able way in which these have been put forward by the Honourable the Mover, no further reference from me is needed, except to state that I think every department mentioned in the Resolution is one that needs the whole-hearted support of this House. All of them are departments that offer openings and facilities for the lads of India and by including the Anglo-Indian in the scope of his Resolution, the Honourable Mover has placed my community under a deep debt of gratitude, for which I again thank him very sincerely. I give my whole-hearted and warm support to it and I ask this House to unanimously accept it.

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank (P. W. D.) Secretary : Sir, inasmuch as certain subjects, that is to say, Wireless Telegraphy and Hydro-electric Engineering, of the original Resolution appertain to the province of the Department which I represent, perhaps it would interest this Honourable House to know what the exact position is.

As regards wireless telegraphy, as I informed the House yesterday in reply to a question, we have started a school for wireless telegraphy at Karachi, and I think Honourable Members will perhaps realise that until the Indian students in that school have acquired a certain elementary knowledge of the subject in say two or perhaps three years time, it would be rather premature to send any of them to England or to America to study in those countries the more advanced parts of wireless telegraphy. It would perhaps therefore be soon enough in a couple of years time to consider this question of giving scholarships in that direction.

Then, as to hydro-electric engineering, which is a provincial subject, I called a Conference of the principals of our engineering colleges at Simla last July, when all subjects of engineering education were very carefully and very fully considered. These subjects included hydro-electric engineering, reinforced concrete engineering, architecture, drainage, harbour work and navigation

canal construction, sanitary engineering, and the like. In this respect I may add that we were very greatly assisted by a very valuable note which had been sent me from England by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.

Well, the result of this Conference was that recommendations have been sent out to the provincial Governments to the effect that the Resolutions arrived at were towards the strengthening of the existing provincial engineering colleges, that is to say, the Roorkee, Sibpur, Madras and Poona colleges; the giving of scholarships in England by the provincial Governments for specialised subjects in those subjects which have been referred to; and to give greater facilities for technical touring in Europe and in America. Now this is a point on which we in the Public Works Department attach very great importance and we always try to the best of our ability with the funds available to send Home men who have shown ability in any particular line of engineering to visit the works in England or, if it is hydro-electric engineering in Norway, Sweden and America, to see exactly how things are done and get the very latest up-to-date information on the subject specialized in. We thereby obtain excellent results and get very good value. Lastly it had been suggested at the Conference that post-graduate courses and specialist training in these various special subjects would perhaps in the future be given at the Delhi University.

This will perhaps give Members an idea of how we propose to deal with and promote education in the branches referred to in the Resolution which I have indicated.

Sardar Gulab Singh (West Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, I heartily support the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Mr. Samarth, who got fortunately the first chance of moving it and I hope the whole House will accept it unanimously. But what my amendment seeks is to enlarge the scope of the Resolution rather than to diminish it.

My amendment reads :

‘At the end of the Resolution add the following :

‘and on their return duly qualified, their services should be availed of by Government wherever possible.’

In this Resolution there are numerous subjects mentioned and very judiciously selected in which students are to be trained abroad. I venture to submit that there is some ulterior and far-sighted motive and policy behind it, and I think it is nothing but to have a large number of trained and experienced body of Indians who at some future date will be able to do good to the whole of India by doing some sort of research work or other on those subjects. In this connection, if I may be permitted to say, then, with all emphasis I can command, I say that simply by getting a number of students trained abroad in wireless telegraphy, oceanography, ship-building, etc., for a few years, either theoretically or practically, will not help India much. What we want is that sufficient opportunities should be given by Government either by employing them under Government when that is possible. I submit, Sir, there are subjects which require a life-long study for a man before he can be of any practical use. I think it will not be out of place to quote an example, that is to say, an Indian student trained in wireless comes back after a few years of his studies abroad. But of what earthly benefit will he be to India? His knowledge gained abroad will be nothing but superficial if not elementary;

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with that knowledge he can never be expected either to start a wireless firm, neither can he take to any independent profession. So naturally with that knowledge and experience of his in that branch he may be employed under Government where he will get a vast field to get practical proficiency in that branch of science. Of course, in moving my amendment, I am not unaware of the difficulties of Government in employing all the students trained in all the branches of knowledge mentioned in the Resolution. I admit, Sir, that Government cannot employ a student returned from abroad trained in the subject of oceanography but, in my opinion, I think, it can help them to get some employment in some of the shipping companies who get concessions from the Government of India either in the form of a contract for carrying mails or in other ways.

In this way, I do not think it will be impossible to find employment for these students at least who will come back after being proficient in some of the branches of studies mentioned. Of course there are other subjects also mentioned in the Resolution such as fruit preserving, milk products, concentrated foods, cottage industries, etc., in which when the students after getting some proficiency return though Government cannot employ them either directly or indirectly, but it can certainly I believe help them by giving some sort of concessions in order that they may be able to start independent industry in India.

Lastly, Sir, my amendment seeks that in selecting candidates our aim should be to get the best students of India and in order to secure that end there should be at least in the first few years some sort of alluring prospects either of service or of trade concessions to them on their return duly qualified. To compare small things with great, though it will be out of place to mention here, I may quote an instance from my own province, *i.e.*, the Punjab. An agricultural college was opened at Lyallpur some years back with a brilliant staff and at an enormous cost by Government. But unfortunately for a year or two after it was opened, there were scarcely students forthcoming to the college; when the local Government announced its intention of providing some of these students with good employment, hoardes of good and meritorious students flocked to it. So in order to avoid such a contingency and to overcome such a disappointment, I would request my Honourable colleague and friend to accept my amendment, which, in my opinion, will be a good stimulus for procuring the best and talented young men of India for such a training.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala (Agra Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution so ably moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Samarth, with the amendment moved by my friend who has just spoken and also the amendment which stands in the name of Dr. Nand Lal which, in his absence, I beg to move before the Honourable House. The amendment runs as follows: for the words 'six lakhs' substitute 'seven lakhs' and omit the words 'and Anglo-Indian'. This amendment.....

Mr. President: The Honourable Member cannot move these amendments at the same time. I thought he was speaking on the issue raised by the previous amendment. In any case if he wishes to move Dr. Nand Lal's

amendments now, he can only move one now; the issue between six and seven lakhs is different from the issue between Indian and Anglo-Indian.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: The amendment which has just been moved is a very sound one and it is necessary that students who go abroad for educational purposes of a technical nature should have some sort of hope or guarantee from Government that when they return they would find some employment. As a large amount of money is going to be spent—I think about 150 crores within the next five years on railway extension and so forth—I think this is just the opportunity when we should try to have technical scholarships for our students and equip our country with the necessary experts for development of these industries.

In fact what is wanted in India is industrial Swaraj and not merely political Swaraj. So for that reason I submit that it is necessary that we must have all the best sciences which the world possesses at present. At present India cannot manufacture even an ordinary electric bulb. It is necessary that the Government should be the pioneer in helping our young men to go to foreign countries and learn all these arts and give them a hope or a guarantee or whatever thing is proper that when they return after qualifying themselves, they will have some sort of employment in India.

Mr. G. R. Clarke (Director General Posts and Telegraphs): Sir, as far as I can see, the last speaker seems to consider that the development of industries in India depends on the sending of certain young men abroad to get technical knowledge. The development of industries in any country, Sir, depends on private enterprise; it has in all countries depended very largely on private enterprise, and it depends on the use of capital in forming these industries; and the fact that a number of men are sent abroad will have really very little influence at all in making India a great industrial country. Some of the subjects noted by Mr. Samarth, like ship-building, are enormous undertakings; and any student who went Home to study ship-building could only study a very very small portion of it; there are about 50 trades concerned in ship-building and he could only study a very insignificant portion of the business. If we sent 20 men or even 200 men to learn ship-building to England or to any other country, and they returned to India, what would they do? Nothing. They would have to depend on the existence of great ship-building industries in order to get employment—and it is the same with other technical studies. Mr. Chatterjee has very wisely sounded a note of warning, it is very dangerous to train up a number of men in technical and especially in higher technical subjects unless you are prepared to find employment for them upon their return to the country; and I cannot see how any Government could be expected to develop enormous industries at immense cost in order to provide employment for the men who were sent abroad to study. The particular subject with which I am concerned in the original Resolution is Wireless Telegraphy. As Sir Sydney Crookshank has already pointed out, we have started a Wireless Telegraph School in Karachi. It is only in its beginnings, but we hope that it will be developed, and our intention in that school is to train Indian students; and when they get a certain amount of training, we will pick out the students whom we find to be really suitable and who show a capacity for wireless telegraphy, and we will ask Government then to give a certain amount of money out of our own Budget to send these men to England for further training. But to send students, as such, without finding out whether they are peculiarly suitable or have any capacity for any

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particular science, such as Wireless Telegraphy,—to send them Home on the chance of their turning out really capable men is a very doubtful experiment and a very dangerous one; and I think what we really want in Wireless Telegraphy taking that one subject—is sufficient money to develop our wireless school, to erect proper buildings and to have a proper research laboratory, to train Indian students and to pick out the best of those Indian students who will be suitable for higher employment, and to send them abroad for further study. But I entirely oppose a Resolution which simply demands a certain sum of money to be used for selecting men at random and sending them to learn subjects which may or may not be useful to them hereafter. When they would come back to this country and find that there is no certainty of getting any employment, that would simply break their hearts. These men with high technical training, are not as a rule useful for other employment. And when they come out and find that they have nothing to do, well, there is nothing, I think, which is more discouraging to anybody who has a technical training.

Mr. B. S. Kamat: Sir, I have some remarks to make on the Resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Samarth, so as to point out certain facts with reference to the subject matter of the discussion. I believe there are certain limitations to the proposal put forward by Mr. Samarth. There are also, I fear, certain defects, which we must recognize, in this system of giving State scholarships for technical education. In spite of these, namely, its limitations and the defects which I shall just point out, I believe the policy underlying Mr. Samarth's Resolution is a good one, and I think it ought to commend itself to the acceptance of the Government of India. After dealing with Mr. Samarth's proposition, I shall deal with some of the objections put forward by Mr. Chatterjee, and then I shall venture to suggest a real solution of the difficulty, although I fear I shall not be able to speak to my own amendment which, so far as I gather from what has fallen from the Chair, was so widely worded as not to come strictly within the scope of Mr. Samarth's Resolution.

Now, the limitations of Mr. Samarth's proposal are these. We do not know whether within the six lakhs of rupees which he wants to provide for this object, we shall be able to do justice to the problem in a satisfactory manner for the whole of India. He has not pointed out to us how many scholars the Government of India can select from the various provinces, and over how many years their training in England could be spread out. I believe that was a matter of detail from his point of view, but I do think we should be in a position to know that six lakhs is a sufficient provision, even supposing that the Government of India are pleased to accept the recommendation which we are making.

Secondly, there are certain defects in the very system of sending scholars abroad for industrial and scientific training. Mr. Chatterjee has alluded to some of them. I believe the Industrial Commission, appointed by Government a few years ago, and which was composed of eminent men both in business and science, considered this question and found out the defects of the system. First of all, as Mr. Chatterjee pointed out, it is very difficult to make a selection of the proper students. In many cases they have no preliminary training in India, so that they do not sufficiently profit by their education abroad.

Secondly, the Industrial Commission has pointed out that even when they go to England, there are certain firms who refuse to take them into their workshops or factories as they do not want to disclose their trade secrets. This is natural. If India had trade secrets, possibly India will also adopt the same policy. Everybody wants to have in his factories men of the same country in preference to foreigners. However, that is a great disadvantage for students sent abroad from here at the expense of the general tax-payer. Thirdly, on their return back to their country, they probably find that there are not sufficient industrialists who have confidence enough in these England-returned men so as to be able to give them proper careers or so as to give them sufficient opportunities to show their usefulness for the industrial development of the firm concerned. Although, therefore, these are the main defects of the system of sending out men from this country to England, I do accept the spirit of the proposal made by Mr. Samarth, and I think, we should be thankful for the small mercies of the Government of India for some years to come and support the scheme for what it is worth.

This brings me, however, to the real solution of this difficulty. I believe the Government of India have to grapple with the problem in a far more broad and statesmanlike spirit than the spirit of a policy of sending out only a few men, more or less haphazard, to get such training as they might acquire in foreign countries. The real solution—the permanent and adequate solution—of this problem of scientific training is to provide real facilities in this country for the sons of the soil, so as to give them every educational training, theoretical and practical, in a suitable centre, or, if possible, in various centres. India is a vast country and there is plenty of room for several technological institutes. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee referred to a few facts regarding the policy of the Government of India in this connection. I wish to deal with some of the points he put forward. In the first place he pointed out that the business of promoting technical education was now transferred to the provinces. That is certainly so. As the Industrial Commission has pointed out, I believe the whole policy relative to industrial education in this country ought to be built up from below. However, it will not do to have only a few handful technical men trained in England and elsewhere. What we want to do is to provide training even the foremen, even for the ordinary labourers of the artisan class; in a word, to promote primary technical education for the ordinary man. I know, that is to some extent being done by the provinces. Most of the provinces have laid down a programme of technical training for the next five years. The Bombay Presidency has laid down a progressive policy of technical training to take effect during the next five or ten years. But although, as Mr. Chatterjee has pointed out, a technical institute may be projected here and there, say, in Calcutta, or another institute in Dehra Dun and a school of wireless telegraphy in Karachi, these two or three institutes will not cover the whole problem. I contend these activities are very small and scattered compared with the mass of technical subjects in which highly advanced training is required. I believe the real solution is to have an all-India bigger and more complete well-equipped institute in some central place which might be utilized by and help all the provinces. This is the real solution.

Mr. Chatterjee discussed some of the subjects enumerated in the Resolution of Mr. Samarth. Well, I believe the spirit in which the Resolution has to be accepted by Government is not one of cavilling at this or that particular

[Mr. B. S. Kamat.]

item. I do not think Mr. Samarth made an exhaustive list, or a list technically correct from the scientific point of view. He has indicated the main lines along which the Government has to concentrate. And if Mr. Chatterjee has been successful in showing that some of the problems have been solved, for instance, co-operative societies in certain provinces and cottage industries in others, it only means that Government has done a part of what they should have done. But there still remains some thing to be done to which they ought to devote their attention. Mr. Chatterjee alluded to the financial difficulty. We all know that we are now in a state of financial depression. But the great importance of this subject is the necessity for providing a big technological institute—it may be two or three or four later on, but certainly one in the near future. This is so important, both to the people and to the Government, that I believe the whole problem must be grappled with sooner or later. The Government must face this problem as other countries have faced it. It is no use saying that this is a subject which has been transferred to the provinces. The finances of the provinces are meagre in themselves. We all know how the various provinces are suffering from financial deficits. There is a deficit in Bengal; there is a deficit in Bombay, and there is a deficit in other provinces. I would ask, are the Government of India going to wait until these conditions improve? Now, if it is possible for Government to lay out a programme of crores of rupees on New Delhi for the next ten years, I believe it should be possible for them to grapple with this problem of laying out a programme for a large central technological institute in the next five years. I say this would be very important from the point of view of a good investment. It is no good saying that it is impossible because this year particularly we are suffering from a financial deficit. I do not want a commencement to be made this year. Government can take their own time. In the meantime they should send out scholars; but let them not rest content with sending out just only a few men—ten or twelve or even twenty—for higher education. We have to face the problem financially. As I have said, it would be a sound business proposition and a good investment. As we all know, the material prosperity of the country would be immensely improved if we trained up our men in industrial and scientific pursuits, and with the development of our industries the Government could realize a bigger revenue from taxes. Take, for instance, research work. Germany, by her research work, has enriched herself; German dyes for instance have brought millions into her coffers. Similarly if Indian boys are trained in research work, I believe, they will find out new sources of income and enrich themselves and the country. To my own countrymen, I would say that they ought to be concentrating their forces to grapple with this problem, and I believe that they would thus remove a great deal of the discontent which we see around us. Unfortunately I find that many are more intent on concentrating their energies on such things as the Punjab wrongs. If they had only devoted themselves with half the zeal to a problem like this we would have been some way on the road to a solution of contented India by now. To the Government I would say, they ought not to fight shy of solving this problem on grounds of financial stringency. They ought to take a broad view and not turn round and say that something like fruit canning and fruit preserving is being done already in a small way in some places. That is not a broad spirit. What we want is a large number

of higher technical or polytechnic institutes and one big institute at least to which students may come from all parts for the study of the different branches of technological knowledge under highly qualified professors brought from other countries. By the establishment of such an institute, I have no doubt we can bring unexampled prosperity to India. I will not take up the time of the House by reading a few extracts from the Industrial Commission's report. But they have foreshadowed the establishment of such a large technological institute. Sooner or later the Government of India will have to establish such an institute in one or more places, on a scale similar to the great Polytechnic Institute in London and the Institute at Harvard in America. We will then be able to provide all the necessary facilities in one central situation at the hands of eminent professors. I think therefore that that is the real solution, and that ought to be the policy of the Government. I hope the Government of India in replying to this motion will indicate their policy and give us an assurance that sooner or later, say at the end of three years, they will provide a high-grade technological institute, or more than one, which will be able to provide the facilities which I have described.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes : Sir, when I came to the House this morning, I did not expect that it would be necessary for me to speak on this Resolution. I thought that Mr. Chatterjee's speech would satisfy the House. I have listened to Mr. Kamat's speech with great interest, and I was glad to find that while Mr. Kamat supports Mr. Samarth's Resolution, he takes up exactly the same point of view as the Government of India. I regret, however, that the Government of India cannot accept Mr. Samarth's Resolution in the form in which it now stands. That Resolution definitely states that the Government of India must put aside six lakhs every year for the purpose of technical scholarships abroad. Now, in the first place, it would be very difficult to find this six lakhs for this purpose. In the second place, if we could find the Rs. 6 lakhs, I personally would like to devote it to other subjects rather than this. I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I do not for one moment deny that this policy of sending Indians abroad to be trained has been up to a point successful. But I do not think that that policy will ever take us very far. Mr. Samarth's speech would lead the House to believe that the industrial regeneration of India depended on our sending a sufficient number of Indians abroad to be trained in different industries. But Mr. Samarth omitted to tell the House that this is the policy which has been followed not only by the Government of India but by other people ever since the beginning of the present century. In the last 17 or 18 years the Government of India themselves sent abroad for technical training 118 Indians and in 1904 an association was established in Calcutta for the advancement of scientific and industrial education of Indians, the main object being to enable properly qualified students to visit America, Japan and other foreign countries to study arts and industries. By 1916, that is to say, in 12 years, that association had sent abroad 300 students; and therefore 428 students have been sent abroad either by Government or by private people; and in addition, as everybody knows, there is a constant flow of Indians from India to Japan, America and the United Kingdom for training in technical subjects, and though we have plenty of upheaval in the country at the present time, to use Mr. Samarth's own words, I am not aware that these men after coming back to India have succeeded in effecting what Mr. Samarth wants, *viz.*, the industrial regeneration of India. The whole question

[Mr. C. A. Innes.]

was examined by the Indian Industrial Commission and the Industrial Commission gave a very qualified support to this policy. In particular it laid down the principle that scholarships should not be awarded for industries not existing in the country. The same point has been taken up by my friend on the right who definitely asked us to lay down that when these students come out trained we should find them employment in this country. As Mr. Clarke said, that is not the way to develop industries. Mere technical training is not enough for the development of industries. You must have capital. You must be able to inspire confidence in your own country. You will not develop industries in India merely by the expedient of sending men abroad. My further objection to the policy is that I regard it as a sterile policy. We spend a great deal of money. Each of these students, I understand, costs us the best part of a thousand pounds or more. We spend a thousand pounds on training a man, in electrical engineering, tanning or whatever else it may be. He comes out. He gets a job either under Government or in a private firm. It may do some good, but it is a very expensive method of training and it does not lead anywhere. If there is going to be Rs. 6 lakhs a year available in the Central Government for technical education, I am perfectly sure that we could do far better by devoting these Rs. 6 lakhs a year not for providing scholarships to Indians to be sent abroad but by providing means of technical education in this country itself. (Hear, hear.) Instead of spending our money on training individual men and leaving it at that, our policy should be to put our money into an institution which creates in the country itself the machinery for turning out a succession of these technically trained men. I am perfectly convinced that this is the right policy. Let us leave the provision of scholarships for technical training abroad to the Local Governments. It is the Local Governments who can manage a system of that kind better than we can. They can form, as they are required to do by the rules, advisory committees composed of business men to select the particular boys to be sent home. It is the Local Governments who know what the needs of their provinces are and who can decide in what industries they will get men trained. We cannot do that, and that is one of my objections to Mr. Samarth's proposals. In the Central Government, let us confine ourselves to subjects of Central importance. I want money at the present moment for what will correspond to the Royal School of Mines in India, an institution which would enable us to supply our Geological Survey and our Mining Departments with a constant flow of properly trained recruits. As Mr. Samarth pointed out, we have another project that has not yet advanced very far, *viz.*, chemical research institute for the study of the fundamental problems of chemical research in India. We should like also to take up the study of the fundamental problems of tanning. That is the function of the Central Government in the matter of industries, to take up the fundamental problems, problems which are common and which have to be worked out for every province. More practical problems we leave under the present constitution to the provincial Governments and the provincial departments of Industries, and I say that it is proper for this House to leave that division of functions as it is at present. Let the Local Governments provide this money for sending these men abroad. Let the Government of India provide the money for fundamental research and for higher training. We have our agricultural college at Pusa. We have our Forest College at Dehra Dun. We have our geological school. Let us devote our money to them, and I am perfectly sure that we will

do far more good to India than by interfering with the Local Governments and selecting men of our own to send Home to be trained in these different industries, men, mind you, for whom, when they come out to India, we shall not be able to find employment. We shall have to depend on the Local Governments. I hope, Sir, that when this House has heard this explanation of mine, they will not agree to Mr. Samarth's Resolution. We cannot accept it in any case, for, I fear, there is no chance of our being able to provide the money. It has been said that this is an absurd line for the Government of India to take up, but it is a matter of ways and means. How are we to provide the money?

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Sir, I persist in asking that my Resolution should be put to the vote of the House. There is no dispute that many of these subjects at any rate are subjects for the Central Government. Only a few are matters which may be decided hereafter by the Governor in Council to be either Central or Provincial. I have referred to various clauses in Schedule I. I did not refer to ship-building and ship engineering, but it is conceded that it is all covered by clause 1 and clause 6 of that Schedule. Therefore, there is no question of the subjects being Central and not Provincial. But the objection is raised and the bait is held out 'look here, let Provincial Governments give scholarships for technical education and let us all devote Rs. 6 lakhs of the Central Revenue towards the building up of institutions referred to by Mr. Innes.' I have seen with my own eyes that the University buildings themselves at Strassburgh would cost something like a crore of rupees and the whole equipment about 5 to 6 crores. The German State spent all that money in a conquered country. If I had the money, I would be prepared to start an institution like that in India. Let not the House be misled into believing that Rs. 6 lakhs per year accumulated for even a number of years will suffice to give you even an apology for an institution like the one I saw at Strassburgh. Therefore, the best course is to send men abroad so that when they come back to India, equipped with the required training, the country may profit by their knowledge.

I do not prevent Government from starting institutes. I do not prevent Government from having schools for wireless telegraphy and other schools that they may intend to start. Let them start these; but I want Indians to take charge of the institutions and be on the staff and teach. That is the idea at the bottom of this Resolution. That is what Japan did. It has been said that this Government has been, from the last century, sending students to England and abroad for technical education. These students have been conspicuous by their absence. So far as the general public are concerned, they do not know where they are hidden. I know that a few are being sent. But here is Mr. Sharp, who has been to Japan to study the system of education there and compare it with the want of system that prevails in India, and he says:

'It must be confessed that in most of these respects some of the arrangements made in India for aiding students to go abroad are very defective. Even the suitable preliminary training is not always required, and I have heard of a man after a purely literary training volunteering to study either electrical engineering or agricultural chemistry, as fate might determine, and of another who was indifferent as to whether it was glassware, soap, tin toys, porcelain, scent or matches, that he studied. The students are under no supervision, nothing is expected of them on their return, and nothing is provided for them; they have no capital of their own, and no one seems in the least disposed to assist them in the manufacture of soap or matches, as the case may be. It is not surprising if, as is said, some of them devote more attention to keeping terms for the Bar than to the technical study for which they were nominally sent.'

[Mr. N. M. Samarth.]

This defect still remains. What I want Government to do is to pursue the same policy as that of the Japanese Government, namely, to send them out on condition that they must serve the State for twice the number of years that they have been absent. If the Government were to send them and they returned after receiving a training, any capitalist would start an industry, say for canning condensed milk or making glaxo, etc, and would make his fortune. There would be no difficulty so far as those industries are concerned. What I want is that these men should come back and be employed by the State, in the same way as Japan did.

Mr. Chatterjee said that, in regard to Japan, factories and schools were first started before the students were sent abroad. I have already read the passage from Mr. Sharp's book which proves the contrary. This is what is said at the beginning of that passage :

' When a new school of importance is to be established, the Japanese with their usual fore-thought select their staff in advance, and send some of them abroad for a final training while the school is being built and organised ; then, as the classes become available, the men are gradually brought back.'

That is what I want this Government to do.

Now as to the industrial regeneration of the country, you may bring about industrial regeneration in two ways ; either by importing foreign capital, foreign agency, foreign talent, so that no doubt there is development of national resources of the country. But there is a drain at the same time and a dwarfing of our intellect by giving no opportunities to native talent to develop. There is another way, which I submit is a better way, namely, developing the qualifications and character of the people and allowing the talent of the country to develop its industrial resources. This is what I want Government to do. It is said that Government are not going to give effect to this Resolution. Well, we shall see what reason the Governor General in Council gives for not giving effect to our Resolution, and the Assembly will know how to deal with the position thus created.

Mr. President : The amendment moved is that, at the end of the Resolution, add the following :

' and on their return duly qualified, their services should be availed of by Government wherever possible.'

The motion was adopted.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Sir, I beg to move the following amendment :

' This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take such early steps as may be possible to provide for the adequate education and training, if necessary, abroad, of Indian youths in technology, with a view to equip them for employment in the departments in which technical experts are at present imported, and generally to promote industries of this country.'

My friend, Mr. Samarth

Mr. N. M. Samarth : I object to this amendment, as I have had no notice of it.

Dr. H. S. Gour : I invite the House to accept this amendment, and I shall explain why it should be. The purpose which the Honourable Mover had

in view is served by this amendment which is the same as his, with the exception of the cut and dried programme which he has set out, namely, that not less than six lakhs of rupees should be spent in training students abroad, and in particular subjects like ship-building and ship engineering, Oceanography, wireless telegraphy and the rest, some of them being Central subjects and the rest being Provincial subjects

Mr. N. M. Samarth : Not the rest.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Some of them being Central subjects and some of them being Provincial subjects. I submit, Sir, the real object of this Resolution is to draw the attention of the Central Government to the great necessity of developing the industrial resources of this country and of providing technical experts within their own shores, experts whom we import from abroad. I submit that the Government of India will be well advised to accept this amendment, which entirely supports the spirit of the Resolution of the Honourable Mover, and is, I believe, in consonance with the general wishes of this House.

Mr. President : The Honourable Mover of the original Resolution has drawn his Resolution in such a way as to restrict its scope narrowly. I upheld the objection raised by the Honourable Industries Member to the amendment moved by Mr. Kamat, and I cannot admit this amendment as it is much wider. The Honourable Member from Bombay has deliberately chosen to draw his Resolution in narrow terms, and beyond those the House cannot go.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : Sir, the first part of Dr. Nand Lal's amendment is that :

'For the words 'six lakhs' substitute 'seven lakhs'.'

The object of the amendment is that six lakhs of rupees would not be sufficient to send, say, 150 students abroad, because, at the rate of £300 a year, that would mean, for 150 students, £45,000, and taking the Pound to be equal to Rs. 15, it would mean six lakhs and fifteen thousand for their upkeep alone. Besides this, money would be required for passages and fees, etc., so that if seven lakhs are provided we can very well send 150 students every year abroad.

It is for this reason that I want to move an amendment for the purpose of increasing the amount by a lakh of rupees and allow at least seven lakhs of rupees a year.

The motion was negatived.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : Sir, the second part of my amendment that I beg to move is :

'That the word 'Anglo-Indian' be deleted.'

I do not, in any way, mean that Anglo-Indians (some interruption and noise)—I hope the Honourable Members will kindly hear what I say. I do not for a moment wish to suggest that the Anglo-Indians should in any way be debarred from the fruits of the present Resolution. What I mean to say is that it is not necessary that the population of India should be divided into several parts, i.e., Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. It is quite sufficient to divide them by the rule of dichotomy which I had read about 25 years back by saying Indians and non-Indians. I suppose Anglo-Indians are as much Indians as any other Indians. In fact, I do not want to stop there, but I say that those Europeans who reside in India are also Indians. Indians

[Lala Girdharilal Agarwala.]

mean those persons who reside in India and whose sentiments and feelings are all centred in the future of India. I submit that it would not be quite the proper use of the expression to say Indians, and Anglo-Indians. That by itself means Anglo-Indians are not Indians, and it is only for this reason that I wish to move this amendment.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney: Sir, I was very surprised to hear my Honourable friend, Mr. Agarwala, move this amendment. Before he moved it, I wrote and asked him to withdraw it. He said he would attack this subject in a friendly spirit, one which would give no offence to my community. At the same time I must state that the term 'Anglo-Indian' is used only when it suits the convenience of certain persons, as also the Government and it is to obviate this that I ask the House to include the word 'Anglo-Indian' in this Resolution. You must remember that we are, to-day, as a community called 'Anglo-Indian' and as such we are known in India. Why we should be called this I do not know, but it is so. I submit, Sir, that the Anglo-Indian is just as much of this soil as is the Indian. He holds out the hand of fellowship to the Indian and he wishes to join him wholeheartedly in the constitutional well organised aspirations of his country. It is his country too (Applause) and he is proud of it. It was only yesterday that I presided over an Anglo-Indian Conference which came to the conclusion that the community must, in the fitness of things, hold out the hand of fellowship to the Indian in the steady evolutionary (not revolutionary) aspirations to Swaraj in India which we are all seeking to obtain stage by stage and so help the Government to make the Reforms Scheme a success. Sir, to exclude the Anglo-Indian in this Resolution would, I think, be wrong, for is it not one of the paramount duties of this Honourable House to protect and safeguard the interests of the minorities? The Anglo-Indian is most peculiarly situated and occupies an unenviable position in many ways. He is called an Anglo-Indian when there is little or nothing to give him, but when there is anything for him to do, *e.g.*, defence purposes, he is called an European. If the term 'European' is going to be used as one of convenience, then I ask you to accept and include me as an Anglo-Indian pure and simple or an Indian citizen as a necessity so far as my future is concerned. I am of India and for India, and we want a share and demand, a proportionate share with the Indian in all the advantages that are given to them. I ask this, may I demand this not only as a right as a son of the soil but because I have hitherto been deprived of it? I oppose the amendment very strongly, and I hope the House will not accept it.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is that the Resolution, as amended, be accepted :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that not less than six lakhs of rupees be set apart every year from the Central Revenues to provide for the education and training abroad of Indian and Anglo-Indian youths in the following subjects :

Ship-building and ship-engineering ; Oceanography ; Wireless telegraphy ; Gunnery and other modern weapons of warfare ; Industrial chemistry in all its branches ; theoretical and practical ; Mining and Metallurgy ; Geological Surveying ; Electric, with special reference to Hydro-electric engineering and the application of electricity to agriculture ; making and canning fruit preserves, condensed milk ; milk-products and concentrated foods ; Cottage industries ; Organisation and working of distributive Co-operative Stores and Producers' Co-operative Unions ;

and such other subjects as this Assembly may, from time to time, deem essential for the needs of India, and on their return duly qualified, their services should be availed of by Government wherever possible.

The motion was adopted.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock. Mr. President was in the Chair.

The Honourable Mr. P. P. Ginwala being absent, his Resolution* was declared withdrawn by Mr. President.

RESOLUTION RE F. AND P. SERVICE AND MILITARY OFFICERS IN JUDICIAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS.

Munshi Iswar Saran (Cities of the United Provinces : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : The Resolution which I beg to move runs as follows :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that members of the Foreign and Political Services as well as Military officers should not be appointed to judicial or administrative posts in British India.'

Sir, I think that I am peculiarly entitled to the sympathy and indulgence of this House in moving this Resolution. I shall have arrayed against me not only the Military Department but also the Foreign and Political Department. The valour of the one combined with the diplomacy of the other is more than enough to crush any critic—and much more so a critic happens to be so poor, feeble and humble as myself. But, Sir, I have faith in the justice of the principle that I am asking this House to accept, and I know that I can with confidence appeal to the sense of justice of this House.

With your permission, Sir, I wish to describe very briefly the constitution and strength of the cadre of the Foreign and Political Department. What we find is that there are 140 officers sanctioned in the cadre of the Foreign and Political Department. Out of these 140 officers, there are 34 Military officers under the Foreign and Political Department. Some Members, I think, might be curious to know as to what is the number of Indians in this cadre. I shall take the liberty of reminding this House that last year in Delhi on the 15th March during the Budget debate, the Honourable the Law Member, in speaking on this question, was pleased to observe :

'At the same time I am willing to confess—though unfortunately my Honourable friend did not put his case that way—that it is true that so far as other branches of the political service are concerned—for instance, the appointments of Residents and Assistant Residents, Agents and Assistant Agents—my Honourable friend may have a legitimate grievance. With regard to that I am authorised to state on behalf of Government that the principle of taking Indians into these higher appointments in the political and foreign service has been

* This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a Committee consisting of Members of the Indian Legislature be appointed to consider and report at an early date as to what steps should be taken by the Government of India to encourage the establishment of the necessary industries, so that as large an amount as possible of the Rs. 150 crores proposed to be set aside for the rehabilitation of the railways during the next five years be spent in India.'

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

conceded by the Government, and that a scheme is being prepared which, when it is ready, will, I venture to think, afford every satisfaction to this House and to the outside public. I do not wish to go into the details of that scheme because we are not yet ready with a scheme, but the Assembly may take it from me that so far as the principle is concerned, it has been amply conceded, and my Honourable friend need have no apprehension in regard to that matter. I hope therefore that I have succeeded in showing that whatever might have been the position of Indians with regard to the Foreign and Political Department in the past, the position that is going to be assigned to them in the future will be commensurate with the reasonable aspirations and ambitions of my countrymen. I therefore do not wish to elaborate this point any further.

Then, in answer to a question put by my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, the Honourable the Home Member, speaking on behalf of Sir John Wood, said that a substantial proportion of Indians would be admitted into the Foreign and Political Department. And, we find that in a communiqué issued in Simla, dated the 2nd September, 1921, it was said that with the approval of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India it had been decided to introduce a substantial Indian element into the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. I hope the House will not think that I am drawing on my imagination when I say that in that very communiqué we find stated that as many as four Indians have been taken into the Foreign and Political Department in the year 1921. Believe me, that as many as four Indians have actually been taken. But be that as it may, I am not at present concerned with the claims of Indians for admission into the Foreign and Political Department. My only object in drawing the attention of the House to this particular aspect of the case is to show the constitution of the Foreign and Political Department.

Now when we come to the mode of recruitment we find that the normal figure of recruitment is approximately two members of the Indian Civil Service every year subject to a reduction of one in every fifth year, and four or five Military officers in alternate years. I hope, Sir, I shall not be accused of overstating my case when I say that the Foreign and Political Department is the monopoly of the Indian Civil Service and Military Department. The question that concerns us at this moment is, what is the function that this Department is required to discharge. One would have expected that the Foreign and Political Department would confine itself to its legitimate and proper work. Instead of that, what do we find? The figures that I am going to give are by no means complete or exhaustive. I am giving only a few figures in order to substantiate the principle which I am requesting this House to accept. Now what are the facts? A Resident of the 2nd class is the Revenue Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province. Whether any diplomacy is needed in a Revenue Commissioner is more than I can tell. Then again there are certain posts called 'The superior posts' in the Foreign and Political Department, and among these you find the Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara; the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province; the Secretary of Rajputana; and—mark you—Deputy Commissioners of Hazara, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Peshawar; Assistant Commissioner of Mardan; Additional Divisional Judge of Peshawar; District Judge of Peshawar; and Sessions Judge of Peshawar, and Derajat. I put it to this House in all seriousness why should a man who is either chosen for or decides to go into the Foreign and Political Department presumably for his aptitude for diplomacy—be entrusted with judicial and administrative work at all? I submit, Sir, it is not fair to the man himself.

A man qualifies himself for what might be called diplomatic work in order to be a Resident or an Assistant Resident or a Political Agent in the Indian States or for political work outside British India and having trained and qualified himself for that work you ask him to do judicial work; you ask that man to do administrative work and in such a case one might safely say that you cannot get the best out of him, because it is not his job, it is not in his line. I ask the House again to consider whether this system is at all calculated to lead to efficiency. I submit it is not. How can you expect particularly efficient work from a class of officers who have been selected for one particular kind of work, who have qualified themselves for it, and then you take them away from it and ask them to do things which are utterly different. It is no fault of theirs if the outturn of work done by these officers may not be very excellent or praiseworthy. Another objection is, that this system is very expensive. You can get qualified men, Indians and Europeans, to discharge judicial or administrative duties on far less salaries than are being given to the members of the Foreign and Political Department. An officer who has risen high in the service of the Foreign and Political Department, it does not appear why he with a high salary should be called upon to discharge the duties, say, of a Deputy Commissioner or of a District Judge or of a Sessions Judge, where he has got to do purely judicial work, which I maintain can be done satisfactorily by Indians as well as by Europeans on smaller salaries. So, I contend that in the interests of economy this system cannot be supported. Moreover, you have to keep more men in this Department than are actually necessary and I wish to make my meaning clear. As I understand it—and I speak subject to correction—the members of the Foreign and Political services are expected to become Residents and Assistant Residents and Political Officers in Indian States and to do similar kind of diplomatic work as well as outside India. If you want to make these men Judges, Deputy Commissioners and so on, it is necessary that you should have a staff of officers out of proportion to the actual necessity of this Department. It will become clear that I am not drawing upon my imagination and that I am not putting a purely conjectural case before the House when I say that there is an officer of the Political Department on special duty under the orders of the High Commissioner for Mesopotamia as what? As Revenue Secretary. I am very glad my Honourable friend, Mr. Bray, is surprised at it as indeed every body would be. Sir, I have given only one typical case. If you will refer to the Quarterly List of the Foreign and Political Department, you will find that there are officers of the Foreign and Political Department, who are employed outside this Department. Then, Sir, we find that the officers of the Foreign and Political Department are employed for Secretariat work. Again, Sir, I say, where is the necessity for employing trained, skilled, experienced officers in the Foreign and Political Department for Secretariat work. Secretariat work can be efficiently discharged by men who do not belong to this service at all. Now, we find that in the Secretariat of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India there are 29 officers. I therefore submit that if the House will be pleased to give due weight to these facts which I have placed before it, it will come to the conclusion that the officers of the Foreign and Political Department should be confined to their legitimate and proper work and should not be called upon to discharge duties which are not legitimately theirs. But, Sir, if my complaint—and I hope that the House will agree with me that it is a just complaint—against the Foreign and Political Department is serious, I contend that my complaint against the Military Department is far more serious. These military

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

officers have a larger number of subjects to which they apply their military skill, their military training, and their military experience may go to the Railway Department. We find that Traffic Managers are military officers; very good too,—the Honourable Sir William Vincent says, Sir, I do not pretend to know anything about the military colleges in England. I wish to know if the management of the traffic department is one of the subjects in which young military officers receive training in England. The President of the Railway Board, with apologies to my Honourable and esteemed friend, is a military officer. Then the Agents of different railways are military officers; military officers are deputy agents, traffic managers, deputy traffic managers; eight military officers are occupying these high administrative posts in the railway department. I ask, is there any justification for it? Not only there, but in the Survey of India Department, the Surveyor-General of India is a military officer; five superintendents are military officers; twenty deputy superintendents are military officers; 25 assistant superintendents are military officers. Surely, Sir, if one looked at the Army List, one would have imagined that all these departments were purely military departments; but unfortunately this list shows that they are civil departments and I must here pay a tribute of admiration to the frankness and candour of the military department because in the Supplementary Quarterly Army List corrected up to January 1920 they distinctly show military officers in civil employment; and if you refer to it, you find their names filling page after page. Take Engineering. There are four Chief Engineers, six Superintending Engineers, 29 Executive Engineers and seven Assistant Executive Engineers. I am told—and I again speak subject to correction—that about half a dozen military officers were taken last year for training as forest officers. But that is not all. Their military skill and training is required in the Police Department; there are a number of military officers in the Police Department. Even that is not all. Education was not to be deprived of the benefit and the experience of these military officers and you find military officers as teachers and members of the Indian Educational Service which is represented by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sharp, here. An assistant master—I am only giving one instance—is a Colonel and is in the Indian Educational Service.

What connection there is between military training and educational work I fail to see, unless modern development of thought of which I am utterly ignorant, makes education a part of military training. One should have thought that the list ended here. No, there are 57 Magistrates,—and I know I shall draw on my poor head the ire of some people when I say that their work can very well be discharged by Indians or Europeans. I repeat again,—I am not laying stress on the claim of Indians to fill these posts; I am only drawing the attention of the House to the principle underlying the existing arrangement. There are 57 officers in the Cantonment Magistrates Department. I shall come to the question of Cantonment Magistrates later on. Someone would have thought that there the matter ended, No, we have got Deputy Commissioners, who I presume are doing purely civil and administrative work. Take Burma itself. There are 14 Deputy Commissioners in Burma. The Deputy Commissioner of Jullundar, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, the Commissioner of the Multan Division, the District and Sessions Judges of Jullundar and Hoshiarpur

are shown as military officers in the Army List of 1921! I maintain, Sir, that these few facts are enough to illustrate the principle and to elucidate the point of view which I am asking this House to adopt. I say that this arrangement is unsound in principle. You train a soldier, and I venture to think that you try to develop in him all those capacities and qualities which are necessary in a successful soldier, and then you transplant him in a Civil Department. As I said in regard to the Foreign and Political Department, it is unfair to the officer himself and it is unfair to the public. If you take a soldier and make him do work which is not legitimately his, I submit,—and I hope the House will argée with me—that you do not take advantage of the special training that he has had. All the hard labour that he has undergone for years, is wasted, because that particular officer is not called upon to discharge the duties of the soldier; he is called upon to discharge the duties either of the railway man or of a lawyer or of an engineer, and so on and so forth. These are the days of specialization: and if there is a man who has specialized in any particular branch, it is only wise that you should let him remain in that branch, and not transplant him in a branch for which he has had no special training. I can speak with some knowledge of the Department of Law, and I may say—and I hope my friends who are members of the legal profession in this House will agree with me—that law is not a pure matter of intuition. A soldier goes to the Bench and calls upon the *Peshkar* or the reader or other official to put up cases before him. He knows the art of fighting; he knows the art of shooting; but does he know the intricacies of *res judicata* and of estoppel? Unfortunately he has got to tackle with these problems, and how can you expect a military officer—I am speaking not of every particular officer, but I am speaking of it as a matter of principle—how can you expect such a man to be able to discharge his duties as a judicial officer quite satisfactorily? Take a very eminent lawyer, and you make him a doctor—not the kind of doctor that Dr. Gour is—but make him a medical man. (Laughter.) Do you think that, because that man is a profound lawyer and jurist, he will be able to perform operations successfully? Everybody will throw up his hands in pious horror, and say, what is this,—a lawyer as a medical officer of a hospital? But when you go to the Army Department, and to the Foreign and Political Department, you have got to revise all your preconceived notions, which seem to be either antediluvian or mistaken. I submit, Sir, that there may have been some justification for the appointment of these military officers as Cantonment Magistrates in times gone by, but now when education has made so much progress, and when you can find competent men, Indians and Europeans, to discharge this duty, I do not see any necessity why you should have military officers as Cantonment Magistrates. Then again there is the question of expense. Take a Lieutenant Colonel, take a Major, who is a Cantonment Magistrate. Certainly the amount of salary that he gets for doing the work of a Cantonment Magistrate would be enough to keep two men, if not three; and I say, then, why spend all this money, and act against a principle which ought to be recognized? Sir, we hear a great deal about the enormous increase in military expenditure. Now what I submit is this. Either you get more military officers than are actually needed for purely military work or you have to employ other officers in place of those who go to these Civil Departments. I contend that there are these two alternatives, and there can be no third, and they are these; either you get out more military officers than are

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 actually needed for purely military work, or you send these officers, and then you have to get out other men to take their places, Sir, I must not conceal from the House that there is one additional reason which will appeal with peculiar force to very many Members present here at this moment. Now if these posts in civil employment are taken out of the possession of military officers or of officers of the Foreign and Political Department, Indians are bound to have a fair share of them. The Foreign and Political Department and the Military Department are practically closed against them.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Bray, says 'No'. I repeat that practically and substantially they are closed against us. In spite of the magnificent generosity of September 1921 when four posts in the Foreign and Political Department were thrown at us, I maintain that it is practically and substantially closed against us. Over and above that, you take away from the civil employ a number of posts which ought to have come to non-military and non-Foreign and Political Department men, be they Europeans or be they Indians. Let me say, Sir, clearly that my objection at this moment is based on principle. If all the military officers in India were Indians and if all the members of the Foreign and Political Departments were Indians, even then I would have contended that they ought to be confined to their own legitimate work and ought not to be called upon to do work for which they had no special training. Sir, we have heard a great deal of late about retrenchment and economy. I say, if Government really wishes to have retrenchment and economy, it will not be effected by cutting down one post here and one post there. What Government has got to do is to make up its mind once and for all to overhaul the entire machinery, and if it does overhaul the entire machinery, it will find itself driven to the position that members of the Foreign and Political Departments and military officers should be confined to their legitimate work and should not be allowed to travel beyond their legitimate and proper scope. Whether you take this question from the point of view of principle, whether you take it from the point of view of expediency or whether you take it from the point of view of expense and economy, there is everything, I contend, to support my view and I hope the House will accept the Resolution which I have the honour to move.

Mr. Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary) : Sir, I rise to oppose this motion. When I first saw it on the paper, my spirit of opposition was aroused. The more I examined it, the more my spirit of opposition grew. I confess that as I listened to the moving terms in which the Honourable Mover put forward his motion, and ascended into the cloudland of his eloquence and the mists of his *a priori* arguments, I felt my spirit of opposition oozing forth. But when I tumble down from the clouds to the mother earth of the practical needs of the present and the practical experience of history, my spirit of opposition is reinforced and revived. For he asks us to accept the proposition that members of the Foreign and Political Services should not be appointed to administrative posts in British India. Now what are the needs of the present? Surely above all, this, that the best men should be chosen for our administrative posts, whatever his race and whatever his service. And what is the experience of history? Last night I ran through the roll of our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners of the past; and it surprised even myself, who have a somewhat high opinion of the administrative training

that one gets in the Political Department, to find a lengthy roll of men who have held the highest administrative appointments in India and who received some apprenticeship, be it long or be it short, in the Political Department. I found, for instance, the name of Sir Richard Temple, once Resident in Hyderabad, as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Governor of Bombay. When I turn to the Punjab, the roll was full of them—Henry Lawrence, Charles Aitchison, Dennis FitzPatrick, Macworth Young, and many others who received part of their apprenticeship in administration in the Political Department. When I turned to the United Provinces—or, as it then was, the North-West Provinces—I found the name of Alfred Lyall, one of our most distinguished Politicals and even the present Governor has not been altogether unconnected with the Political Department. I turned to far-away Burma, and I found there Sir Hugh Barnes, who passed through the Political Department, occupying, I suppose, every single grade in it and only leaving it to become Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. I could double and treble these examples without any difficulty whatsoever. Are all these examples an awful warning to us? Is there something so dreadful in the Foreign and Political Services that makes it impossible for a man, however otherwise fit he may be for administrative posts, to take up those posts and to fill them with honour and advantage to the State? I put the question to the Honourable Mover and to the House. Or turn to His Majesty's Government. Do they consider that there is something fatal in a Political Department training? Very far from it. During the war, they selected two members of the Political Department, and military members at that, to fill two posts of the highest importance—posts calling for the highest administrative qualifications. They took from the Department Colonel Sir Henry MacMahon to be High Commissioner in Egypt; they took Colonel Sir Percy Cox to be High Commissioner in Mesopotamia; and as the Honourable Mover reminded us they borrowed another member of the Political Department to be Revenue Commissioner in Mesopotamia; and they borrowed moreover another member of the Political Department, Colonel Knox, Bar-at-Law, to be Judicial Commissioner in Mesopotamia. But it is fashionable now-a-days to think that Government does not know its own business. It is fashionable to think that Governments can do no right, and only business firms can do no wrong. So let us turn to them. And what do we see? Do we find the great business concerns avoiding ex-members of the Political Department? Very far from it. Great business concerns like the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, the Anglo-Egyptian Oil Company, the Imperial Bank of Persia, seem glad enough to take our MacMahons and our Barnes and our Arnold Wilsons as soon as they can secure their services. And now, is the House really going to accept this proposition that members of the Political Department shall not be appointed to administrative posts in British India?

As far as I could make out, the Honourable Mover took it as his text that the cobbler should stick to his last. I am no great believer in proverbial philosophy myself. One might as well say, let the lawyer stick to the law (Hear, hear) and not come to the Assembly.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Denys Bray: Or to the high office of Viceroy or the high office of Prime Minister of England. He seems to think that whatever walk of

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life a man starts in, there he should remain. Yet some of your best lawyers have done nothing of the sort. The great Austin started life as a naval man. The great Erskine was a soldier. Well, the Honourable Mover said a great deal about the political man sticking to his legitimate sphere. I wish he had defined it. As far as I can judge, he meant that he should confine himself simply to activities connected with our relations with foreign powers, with Indian States and I suppose with frontier tribes. Now, were this Resolution adopted in that sense, what present activities in the Political Department would be taken from it? The Honourable Mover mentioned Ajmer-Merwara. Well, I can assure the Honourable Member that the Political Department would be very glad to be relieved of that burden, if only it could. The trouble is to find a province willing to relieve the Political Department of that encumbrance. The difficulties are obviously great. Here is a little island of British territory surrounded by an ocean of Indian States. Now, we approached very humbly that Local Government which seemed to us best in a position to take this burden from us, the United Provinces. They flatly declined. But I do not suppose the matter will rest there, and I can assure the Honourable Mover that the first province that comes forward and makes an offer to take this encumbrance from us, that province shall have it—as far as the Political Department is concerned. Then the Honourable Member spoke at some length (though he dealt with the subject in a round about manner) about the North-West Frontier Province. Now, that is a subject on which I am tempted to outtalk my time. But this is my first speech in the Assembly, and I propose to walk warily lest I should bring myself, Sir, within the perils of your displeasure. For we have had our frontier debate, and many of the points which the Honourable Mover broached under the guise of discussing particular appointments in the department have already been discussed in that Frontier debate, and I could only adequately meet the Honourable Mover if I were to transgress our standing orders and reopen it. There is another fact also which makes me pause, and that is that, as I announced the other day, Government have acceded to the wishes of the Assembly and are shortly to appoint a Committee to consider the matters raised in that debate and other matters connected with the general North-West Frontier problem. It seems to me very desirable that the Committee should enter upon their most important labours with as open a mind as possible. Nonetheless I must refer to a point here and there. The Honourable Mover spoke for instance about members of the Political Department undertaking the duties of Deputy Commissioners, and he instanced I think the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat. Now, the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat is the Deputy Commissioner of a district as much British India as the district in which we are now sitting. That is a fact of which I am tempted to remind the House, because of the amazing suggestions that have come to us in the form of questions or otherwise that we should get rid of our frontier problem altogether by retiring behind the Indus and abandoning those British districts which lie there,—and to whom! But the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat is also in political control of the Pass Afridis and the Orakzai tribes of Tirah. Or take as another instance the Deputy Commissioner, Sibi. He is Deputy Commissioner of the British District of Sibi, and is also the Political Agent in political control of those Baluch tribes, the Maris and Bugtis, who once were the scourge of Sind. Now, if we are to take the Honourable Mover at his

word, what we should do is this. We should hand over those districts themselves to civilians unconnected with the Political Department—presumably in the case of Kohat to a civilian of the Punjab, and presumably in the case of Sibi to a civilian of Bombay. And we should further employ in addition a member of the despised Political Department to control as far as Kohat is concerned the Pass Afridis and the Orakzai tribes of Tirah, and as far as Sibi is concerned to control the Mari and Bugti Baluch. Now, I will say nothing here from the point of view of expediency or efficiency. But in one respect the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat and the Deputy Commissioner of Sibi will agree with the Honourable Mover. For they think that their burden is heavy and they themselves would gladly vote for his proposition that it should be lightened. But would the Indian tax-payer agree to it? Does the Honourable Mover really mean that we should double our establishments, that instead of doubling up our work as we are trying to do in the interest of retrenchment, we should sub-divide it all round? That is not where economy lies.

I was rather amused to find that he thought that the Foreign and Political training was the very worst training in the world for a Foreign or Political Secretary. It was rather refreshing to learn that the idea is entertained that knowledge of Foreign and Political affairs is a matter of intuition and the work of a Foreign Secretary that of a mere scribe, who requires no background in the shape of training in the practical sphere in the Department. There is another of his points which struck me as curious. He seems to think that these military officers in the Department that he sees in the list as Colonel or Major have spent their 25 years or whatever it may be in the Army and then have suddenly been called away from their proper sphere into a sphere where apparently Military officers are not needed. But take a typical case, which I select almost at random, the case of my late Deputy Secretary, Major Humphreys. He was at the 'Varsity; the Boer war broke out; he at once joined up. He came on to India in the Indian Army, and at the age of 24 he entered civil life. The Honourable Mover will be shocked to hear that he abandoned civil life. The Great War broke out; he entered the Army again and joined the Royal Air Force; came back to India; served on the Frontier; served—he will be shocked to hear—in the Secretariat; and he has now gone as the first British Minister to Kabul. (Hear, hear.) And that is a typical case, Sir.

Now, much as the Honourable Mover dislikes the civilians, he obviously mistrusts the military officer much more. But you will not get rid of him so long as the Political Department has upon it the responsibility for the frontier. Your frontier tribesmen will not allow you to get rid of him. I am a civilian myself; I had five years at Oxford; and I should be sorry to have had to forgo a single month of it. And yet I have often thought that if we civilians had exchanged one or two years of that 'Varsity life for life in the Army, we should have been better equipped for service in India; we should certainly have been better equipped for service on the frontier. Go to the frontier and hear what the tribesman says. Remember that the frontier tribesman is intensely virile; a born soldier; the best judge of a manly man that I have met in the world. Go to the frontier and ask him what he says. I assure you that the verdict will be the same as mine, and remember that I myself am a civilian and therefore should be biased in favour of my own order. But wherever I have gone on the frontier, I have felt at the start

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 that I had leeway to make up with the tribesmen from the mere fact that I was not a soldier. And some of us never make up that leeway at all.

Mark another result which would flow from the suggestion made by the Honourable Mover by inference that the Punjab ought to take over the British districts on the North-West Frontier, and that Bombay should take over the British districts in Baluchistan. Now as the direct result of the severance of the frontier from the Punjab, the recruiting of military officers for the Punjab Commission was stopped. If we revert to the administration of the North-West Frontier districts by the Punjab and if we superimpose upon Bombay the burden of administering Baluchistan, the result in either case is inevitable: you will have to re-open the Punjab Commission to the military, and you will have to open the Bombay Civil Service to the military also. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Abdur Rahim (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I have listened with great patience and great consideration to the speech of the Honourable Mover. I am sorry to find that he did not make any sort of distinction between the civilian and the military officer. He does not say that importance should be attached to the civilian only, nor does he say that importance should be attached to the military officer. I know a good many friends who have gone up for the Indian Civil Service, and when they come out here, they cannot see the difference between civil and military people. In such a case, there is hardly any difference, except that one is a civilian and should be called so, and the other is a military man and should be called so. When a military man and a civilian enter the judicial life and start from the very beginning, there is no difference, except that the civilian knows that his promotion will go on without any hinderance, while the military man knows that his promotion depends on his own merits, and a good many instances are to be found on record that the military man has proved the more successful.

Now, coming to my own Province, where I have considerable experience of military people, the Honourable Mover has referred to one officer, and I think he means Colonel Blakeway. I can tell him from my own experience that he was one of the best Revenue Commissioners we have had. He was very painstaking and was well versed in revenue work, and was in no way inferior to any civilian members. Unfortunately the Honourable Mover does not know our Province. Our Province has got three sorts of life. We have got agencies, then we have executive and judicial work combined, and then purely judicial work. As far as these agencies are concerned, they are altogether cut off from society, are not in touch with the civilisation, and the Political Agents there never get the chance to hear the English language spoken for months and months.

Referring to the other point which the Honourable gentleman has touched upon, namely, the Foreign and Political Department, take the case of the late Peace Treaty made with the Amir of Afghanistan. At the time there was unrest all round; the Amirs were surrounded by Bolshevists, and the great success of the Mission was due entirely to the Foreign and Political Department. Every effort had been made by the Germans to draw their sympathies away from the British, and it was entirely due to the Political Department that the German agents were not successful. I can say that the success was

mainly or greatly due to the Political Department. I can say this much, Sir, that in India we have not up to now come to that standard which is the final aspiration of Indians, when the judicial and executive should be altogether separate services and we will not come to that till we have got men experienced in the different departments of India. Each province has its own traditions, its own history. So, I can say this much, Sir, that, if we did not have this Political and Foreign Department, the British Government would have been deprived of its great success as a ruling nation, because these are the two Departments, Sir, where you can get practical knowledge and practical experience. In others you have got routine work. I myself am a barrister and the Honourable Mover is a pleader, so we belong to the same profession and we are guided by the rulings of High Courts and Chief Courts. Here we are dealing with a practical feature of life. I can say this much, Sir, that we ought to be thankful to these military people that they have been doing so much for us. Instead of being courteous to them, to come down upon them like this is, I think, not fair. If the Honourable the Mover will look at it from the proper point of view, I think he will agree with me that he did not mean it in that spirit in which it was taken. The Resolution does not clearly say what men should be transferred; it simply says that the men from the Political Department should not be taken to the judicial and administrative line. There is not a special class upon which we can depend. It cannot be said that a civilian should volunteer himself and should say he will rule the whole of India neither will men from the bar do for the whole of India. I have much pleasure in opposing the Resolution as it has been moved, and say that the Political and Foreign Department should be kept as it is.

There is another matter which I should like to mention. Two Honourable gentlemen sitting on the official benches are permanent heads of their respective Departments. Both Honourable gentlemen belong to the Royal Engineers, a service which it has been admitted by the whole civilised world has conferred great blessings on us. Why should a civilian or a barrister be put at the head of a railway line? Why should it not be those who are trained who should be put at the head of that Department?

I have again much pleasure in opposing the Resolution.

Colonel Sir S. D' A. Crookshank (P. W. D. Secretary): Sir, since my Honourable friend has dragged military engineers into this Resolution, and, since the position they occupy in the Public Works services is rather unique, perhaps it will interest the House if I explain the why and the wherefore of their being there.

Now, Sir, when I sit quietly in my bench and listen to the debates in this House, I very greatly admire the lofty sentiments and the high ideal which my Honourable friend from Allahabad so eloquently expresses, but at the same time, and in the present case I am afraid I cannot always give them practical expression. It is merely a matter of theoretical *versus* practical reasoning with no malice aforethought on my part.

Well, Sir, the position of military engineers in India is that a century or so ago, they commenced constructing the Grand Trunk Road, and other great road arteries of India, the great Ganges Canal and other irrigation works, which have laid down the foundation of those works which have brought India to the very high engineering position in which she now stands. Those engineers have since been followed by a number of Royal Engineer Officers

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whose services have been lent—I lay emphasis on the word 'lent'—to the Public Works Department. And why have they been lent? The reason is that on active service the cry is always for engineers and yet more engineers. There are never enough engineers and they have to turn their hand to anything, whether it is for burying the dead, and burning stinking camel corpses, as I had to as a subaltern in Chitral in 1895, or whether it be in running the whole transportation services with the British Expeditionary Force, as I did as a General in France in 1918 with 1,60,000 engineers, pioneers and labourers to assist me. The cry is always for engineers and more of them.

Well, Sir, the Army Department in India cannot maintain and employ in peace that number of Royal Engineers which it requires on field service, whether it be on the frontier or outside India. Consequently, a certain number of these military engineers are lent to the civil department where, not only do they gain very valuable experience indeed, but they also give their services to the civil department, so that far from impairing the utility of the military engineers, as my learned friend is rather inclined to have the House believe, they help the civil administration and also acquire great experience which is useful to them on service. It would be quite out of the question to lay down that these military engineers who are giving their whole service to the civil departments should be absolutely debarred from obtaining administrative rank, because they naturally would not see the force of going into the civil departments if they saw no prospects of promotion. Moreover, the administrative ranks in the Public Works Department are not purely administrative, but also entail heavy technical duties and responsibilities. So that it will be seen that there are great advantages in utilising the services of these military engineers in the civil departments in that they are there, as a reserve of engineers in case of war and also that their pay during the time they are lent to the civil departments is a relief to the weight of the military budget, as to which so much exception is, I notice, taken in this House.

I therefore, Sir, oppose this Resolution tooth and nail in so far as it relates to military engineers, not so much on behalf of those engineers but in what I consider to be in the circumstances the best interests of the country which I myself have served as a military engineer in a civil department for over thirty years.

Sardar Gulab Singh (West Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, I support the Resolution in the sense that experience and training are necessary things for every profession. The Honourable Mover has shown in his speech that institutions for every sort of business in the service are required for the training of different services. The question is that of selection. Sometimes unworthy Indians are taken into the service simply because their fathers or relatives have done some service to the Government, but would at the same time venture to make some remarks in this connection in order to dispose of some of the misgivings which may arise in the minds of my Honourable friends. Sir, what I mean is this, that my supporting the Resolutions should not be construed to mean that all the military officers who have been employed heretofore in administrative posts were as a class bad or unworthy. The Province to which I have the honour to belong contains some military officers of the type of Colonel Douglas, Colonel Montgomery and Colonel Young, who I venture to say were in no way inferior

to but rather superior to many of the present day Indian Civil Service administrators. Government does not only consist in the training of officers in the art of administration, but also in their temperament and good heart. We know the common saying that it is the hearts of the Governors that rule a people and not their training and culture. So though I support the Resolution, yet, at the same time, I want to impress upon the minds of my Honourable friends here that I do not want to depreciate the services of military officers in administrative posts in terms of a sweeping generalisation.

Sir Godfrey Fell (Army Secretary): Sir, I confess that I was somewhat surprised when I saw this Resolution standing in the name of my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran. I refer especially to that part of the Resolution which seeks to preclude the employment of military officers in any administrative posts in British India. It seems rather curious that a responsible legislative body should be asked at this juncture to limit the sphere of employment of military officers. I do not know what my Honourable friend means exactly by the expression 'military officers', but I should like to remind him that we have only recently emerged from the greatest War in history, and that every young Englishman, every young man in the Empire, who was worth his salt, served in the Army during the War either in the ranks or as a commissioned officer. My Honourable friend accused us of recruiting more officers than we need; he sought in fact to place us upon the horns of a dilemma in this respect. I can only say that we had to recruit all the officers that we could get during the War, to lead our enormous Armies and to make them effective. We now have unfortunately to get rid of a large number of officers. These are not all of them young men who intended to make the Army their profession. They were for the most part men who were impelled by a sense of patriotism and devotion to the Crown and the Empire to join the Army, whatever their own predilections might be, in order to help to win the War. My Honourable friend complains of the employment of military officers in railways and in Public Works. That aspect of the case has been already dealt with by Sir Sydney Crookshank. He went on to complain to this Assembly that we had actually taken officers for the Forest Department. Now, Sir, what are the facts? The facts are that here in India we are confronted with a surplus of officers in the Indian Army, a surplus which may be taken roughly at between 2,000 and 2,500. These officers were recruited in the circumstances to which I have just referred. We do not now require their services, and we cannot afford to keep them on; and naturally the first thing we did was to see whether we could find employment for them in any of the civil departments of Government. I have here the report of a Committee which examined this question; and as the result of a reference to all Departments we found, to our great regret, that only 24 appointments—10 in the Imperial Police, 10 in the Imperial Forest Department and 4 in other miscellaneous departments—could be found in the whole length and breadth of India to offer to these 2,000 or 2,500 officers. What are these officers whom the Honourable Member complains we have put into the Forest Department? They belong to the class of young men who very likely would have gone into the Forest Department in any case, who have a natural aptitude for Forest work and would perhaps have joined the Department long ago but for the War. Does this Assembly object to our finding employment for such officers in the Forest Department?

The Honourable Member went on to say that appointments of this kind are unfair to the officer himself and unfair to the public. I entirely disagree

[Sir Godfrey Fell.]

with him. I think, on the contrary, that it would be very unfair to the officer for the State not to find employment for him if it can do so. And I certainly cannot agree that it is unfair to the public to employ officers of this class. It does not matter what an officer's immediate origin is. What does matter is that he should receive the necessary training for the appointment into which he is put; and it is immaterial if his training has had to be postponed because he joined up during the Great War.

Then my Honourable friend went on to complain about the employment of military officers as Cantonment Magistrates. Well, in that connection he also made a statement which I think is based on misapprehension. He said that the law is not a matter of pure intuition. There I agree with him. He went on to say that the soldier comes fresh to the Bench. I can assure him that that is not the case. No officer, whether civil or military, obtains judicial powers until he has passed the necessary qualifying examinations. However, in connection with Cantonment Magistrates, I would mention a point that I think I touched upon in this Assembly in reply to a question yesterday, namely, that Government are now considering the question of the separation of their judicial and executive functions; and it is possible that there may be a change in the status of the officers now employed as Cantonment Magistrates.

Finally, I should like to touch upon one other point in the Honourable Mover's speech, and that is where he commented upon the employment of military officers in the Punjab and Burma Commissions. I cannot, Sir, speak for the Punjab, but I have some right perhaps to speak of Burma, for I joined the Burma Commission myself in 1895. Now what are the facts? The facts are that at the present moment, or anyhow a few months ago, there were 13 military officers in the Punjab Commission and 28 in the Burma Commission. The recruitment of military officers for the Punjab Commission ceased some time ago, and it ceased comparatively recently in Burma. These officers are a disappearing class, and personally I shall very much regret their disappearance. I have had the honour to serve under and with many military officers in the Burma Commission. I entirely share the high opinions expressed about them by one or two speakers in this debate. There are some here in this Assembly who will remember Colonel Aplin, who served in the old Imperial Legislative Council. He was a specimen, a good specimen it is true, of the class of military officer whom we have had the good fortune to recruit into the Burma Commission. And I should like to point out that there is a great deal to be said in favour of recruiting officers from this source. If you recruit an officer solely by a literary competitive examination, you may be sure of getting an officer with a certain standard of literary knowledge and a certain amount of ability. What you cannot be sure of is getting an officer of character, one who possesses the gifts of leadership and of sympathy with the people, one who will make himself acquainted with their language and their customs. But when you have the opportunity of selecting young officers from a large body like the Indian Army for prize appointments, such as those in the Punjab or Burma Commissions, it is entirely the fault of Government if they do not select officers possessing not only ability but also those qualities of leadership and so on to which I have referred. The Burma Government is certainly to be congratulated on the high level of officers whom they have obtained from this source in the past.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Meerut Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I do not agree with my Honourable friend's Resolution, that portion of it where he said that members of the Foreign and Political Service should not be given judicial appointments. I have had the honour of knowing several members of the Foreign and Political Department whom I found quite efficient and who discharged their duties well as administrators. Members of the Foreign and Political Department are not specially trained for that purpose but we find that in that Department are people who possess several qualifications and they are trained in different lines. One reference has been made by our Honourable friend, Mr. Bray, that a judicial post was filled by a Colonel who was also a barrister. I do not see anything wrong in this that if a Colonel is also trained in law why he should be deprived from holding judicial posts for which he is quite well qualified. Of course the limitation in this respect that all members of the Foreign and Political Department should not be given a chance to hold a post in the administrative or judicial department is not correct. There might be an objection if a man who is, as a favour, given a post of a judicial or administrative kind simply because a man has served well on the political line that would be objectionable ; but if he is efficient and if he possesses the necessary qualifications, there is no reason why he should be not given a chance of holding a post in these departments. There is also one thing with which I do not agree, though it does not form part of the Resolution, when my friend says that cantonment magistrates should be recruited from amongst the civilians. Those people who are living either in the cantonments or close by know very well that administration in the cantonment is very necessary to be left in the hands of those people who know about the military discipline. A cantonment magistrate is not sitting only to preside over the bench and deciding cases ; but his duties are several and manifold which cannot be performed efficiently by a civilian ; and to keep up discipline within the cantonments that can be kept up only by a man who knows about military discipline too. Therefore it is very necessary at this stage that the cantonment magistrates should not be recruited from the civilians until there is absolutely a want of such men and we cannot get hold of proper persons from the military department. Of course one point has been very clearly explained by my Honourable friend, Sir Sydney Crookshank, that military officers though they might be holding the names of 'Colonel', 'Major' and so forth, are really Royal Engineers ; it does not mean, as my friend suggests, that a 'Colonel' or Major is only fit to fight in the field and is not fit to do anything else. There is of course that point, as has been very clearly explained, that they are Royal Engineers and nobody can better understand about the running of railways than those people who have laid down the lines. There is another point considering which I would not like that the railway should be touched at present. There is one thing which is greatly lacking and I am really afraid that some of my friends might not like it, but it is an unfortunate fact that one thing which we are greatly lacking in India is that of a man's sticking to his duty and people do not here in this country receive sufficient education by which they might know their duty well and they might carry on their duty knowing it as their duty. There may be some people who do their work through some other temptations, but it is only by English education that we find that an Englishman is doing his work thinking it as his duty only ; in railway lives of course this is very essential, that proper duty and proper discipline should be kept and a man who

[Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

has lived in the military department, who is always accustomed to proper discipline above the ordinary civil English education, that is the only person who is really wanted to carry on these railway lines. If a person, who is lazy, sleeping and neglecting his duty, carries on the railway administration, we shall have every day, some collision or other and everything going wrong. Therefore at this time of course this is not the proper Resolution to touch about the railways.

Undoubtedly one portion of the Resolution is such that I give it my whole-hearted support and that is this portion that military officers should not be appointed to Judicial posts. I am not touching administrative posts, but I am touching Judicial posts. Our friend, Sir Godfrey Fell, has explained that some of the young men during the war enlisted as officers and it would be a great hardship if they were not provided in the civil department. I quite agree with him there if the matter had rested only at that point; unfortunately up to a very recent moment we find that in the Punjab and other places, there had been this custom that judicial posts had been given before the war to military officers and they are still held by some of them. I remember myself, Sir, when I used to attend lectures in the Inns of Court in London, I had one day found a gentleman sitting quite close to me who looked very elderly to me and just in conversation I gathered from him that he was a Major in the Army and he was recently appointed a District Judge in one of the districts in the Punjab; because he could not do his work properly, therefore he had come to the Inns of Court to attend lectures to study law there. That is a deplorable fact undoubtedly for any kind of this suggestion that a man about 50 years of age should go to attend lectures in the Inns of Court because he had not been able to discharge and he could not do his work efficiently. This thing of course should not be done. Otherwise I do not agree with the other portions of the Resolution.

Mr. H. Sharp (Education Secretary): Sir, there is just one little point in the speech of my Honourable friend from the United Provinces which it is my duty to clear up. He turned and appealed to me, and his voice thrilled with horror, when he spoke of the employment of military officers in the Educational Service. I was not quite sure to what officers he was referring and so I went round and asked him and with his usual good nature and candour he showed me the name of a certain officer. The officer in question was apparently the only one

Munshi Iswar Saran: Not the only one; there are others.

Mr. H. Sharp: It was the only one that was shown to me and I can assure the Honourable Member that the officer in question is a civilian who volunteered at the beginning of the war, as I am proud to say many other men of the Indian Educational Service did (Applause); and he got a commission and now he is again doing the work of a civilian. I quite admit that my Honourable friend's mistake was quite a natural one and I do not in the least blame him for it; but those are the facts.

Mr. K. B. L. Agnihotri (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I am surprised to find that feeling of suspicion often crops up in the minds of Members of the Government whenever anything in the nature of criticism is levelled against the Government in this Assembly; and

they begin to say that it has become fashionable for Members to criticise the Government and say that the Government does not know its business. The Members for Government forget for the time, the feeling that prevails in the country, on the point, which the non-official Members only express in this House.

It is not merely to criticise that a responsible Member of the Assembly brings up the matter before the House for discussion, but he does so to draw attention of the Government to the impropriety of their action. 4 P.M. I am much more surprised, Sir, when I find that the criticism that has been levelled against Government has been levelled by a gentleman of such moderate views as Mr. Iswar Saran—at least I regard him so. If the criticism made by such a Member meets with such a reply from Government, I do not know how the criticisms from other Members of the other party, will be treated. Sir, so far as the principle of the Resolution is concerned, I find that the reply given by the Members of the Government is based on three points,—namely, efficiency, economy and gratitude. It is on the principle of efficiency itself that my friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, has raised this point and brought up the subject for discussion. He gave out in the very beginning that a man from the Military Department could not be expected to be quite efficient in Judicial or Administrative line. It is just possible, and also probable, that certain Members of those departments may have done well in the judicial or administrative line and may have worked efficiently. That cannot, however, be said of all Members who have been posted to the Civil Department; many of them have not shown themselves to be equally capable as the civilians in judicial or administrative matters. Sir, I come from a province which had also the misfortune or good fortune, or whatever it may be, of having certain military officers employed on such work,—I mean in the sub-province of Berar which is attached to the Central Provinces. My friends from Berar will be in a better position to say as to, what efficiency and capacity such officers in such lines generally have, but so far as my information goes, many of them have not proved as capable as the civilians. Sir, efficiency is the word which is flung at Indians whenever they demand any benefit for themselves or whenever they attempt to encroach on the preserves of the Europeans and military people. Sir, whether the standard of efficiency is viewed differently by the Government or by the Europeans on the one hand and by the people of my country on the other, I do not know, but in practice it often differs. One is regarded as efficient by us, and the same is regarded by the Europeans as inefficient. The angle of vision is not the same. Now look to the standard of efficiency that has been put before us by my Honourable friend, Mr. Denys Bray. He says that the lawyer's province and the lawyer's business is to go and appear before a Judge in Court; and not to come to the Assembly and criticise the action of the Government. I do not agree with him. Lawyer is also wanted to be in the Assembly. May I remind the Honourable Mr. Denys Bray that it is also the business of this august House to legislate and to frame laws for the guidance of the administrative and executive officers. May I ask Mr. Denys Bray as to who would be in a better position to do that duty. According to Mr. Denys Bray's standard of efficiency, if that standard is correct, the military officers would be equally competent and suited to make laws in this Assembly. If this is the standard of efficiency by which the military officers in judicial line are judged, then I bow to him, and would admit that military officers could be efficient judges; but my standard of efficiency differs from his.

[Mr. K. B. L. Agnihotri.]

I say that even though the military officers be found quite efficient in the judicial lines, it is not desirable on principle to post them to judicial and administrative posts. Sir, from the 'Recollections of Lord Morley', we find that a certain high military officer was not given the Viceroyalty of this country. Why was it? Nobody could deny his capacity; nobody could deny his experience; nobody could deny his diplomacy and efficiency also, then how was it that it was not thought proper to appoint him as the Head of the Administration in this country? The same principle should also apply in posting military officers and officers of the Foreign and Political Departments to the judicial and administrative branches of the Indian services. Sir, my friend, Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim, has said that so far as his province was concerned, military officers holding such posts have been found quite capable. It may be so, but the Administration Reports that were quoted in this very House by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer during the Frontier debate gave a different version. They showed that there is much that was wanting in such officers so far as judicial and administrative lines are concerned.

Sir, the second point raised by some speakers is that of economy. Colonel Waghorn, and if I mistake not, Sir Godfrey Fell, have said that it is for maintaining a reserve that the military officers have generally been so employed. If that is a fact, I do not understand why should not they be kept on the military side, why the same men are to be shown on the civil side also. Their reply is that they would have to pay double; have to maintain a double set of officers, one on the civil side and another on the military side, and thereby incur double expenditure. But, Sir, look to the aspirations of my countrymen also. Many Indians do not get any chance of appointment to high judicial and administrative appointment as they are given to military officers. Therefore, I submit that, so far as possible, the military officers and the officers of the Foreign and Political Departments should not be posted on the civil side. Indians cost less than military officers and the employment of Indians is more economic than military officers. I fully appreciate the feelings that have been given expression to by Sir Godfrey Fell; he says it is out of feelings of gratitude that we should employ those who offered their services for the war. I admit that it is but right that these persons who came forward to help and render assistance in times of need and crisis should be repaid for their kindness, but, Sir, I may also add that for certain branches of services, this even cannot be desirable at all—and those services have been enumerated by my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, in his Resolution. Sir, may I ask a question from the Members of the Government, if the military officers are so experienced, if they are so very capable and efficient, how many such military officers are in such services in their own country, of England—I mean in the administrative and judicial services? I think the standard of efficiency does not differ in England and India, but is the same.

Sir, with these few words, I support the Resolution so ably moved by my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran.

Colonel W. D. Waghorn (President, Railway Board): Sir, I should like to offer a few remarks in regard to the aspect of this Resolution which has been so ably dealt with by Sir Sydney Crookshank. In the first place, I was a little surprised to find that the Honourable Mover dealt on somewhat different lines with the technical services, in that presumably he intended

that though military officers might be employed in those services during the junior period of their service, they were not to rise to administrative rank. I do not know whether that was really his intention. I can hardly think so.

But, to deal with the other aspect of the case, the broad aspect, namely, as to whether military officers should be found employed on railways and public works and on surveys during peace time. I would point out to this Assembly that these officers are being trained in duties which are essentially military duties. In war time, the number of officers required for carrying out these works on service has to be very largely increased, and it is therefore necessary that a reserve of officers should be maintained in those branches and employed economically and efficiently during peace time. It is therefore an economy to thus maintain your reserve of military officers, and employ them in your civil cadres. These officers are on exactly the same scales of pay as civil officers, so that they really cost nothing more than would be the case if purely civil officers were employed.

I think the Honourable Mover referred to another point. He said, why should you find it necessary to employ additional officers in peace time? They are not additional officers; they are required to complete the cadre of your railways and your services. In time of war, you reduce that cadre; you carry on the work by promoting your subordinate ranks, by employing temporary officers and by other means for a short period. You do thereby save but if such measures are continued for any length of time you are going to force yourself into a position from which only inefficiency can result. We have been through the war and we know perfectly well how our railways have suffered from the shortage of officers on their being taken away for military duties, and indeed many civil officers were taken as well.

The Honourable Member referred to specialization. Well, if you are going in for specialization, that will just double the number of your officers. You will have to keep your military officers ready as reserves in time of war and you will have to supply civil officers on the same rates of pay during peace time. Specialization is a very costly matter. I think it would be well to bear in mind what that cost is going to amount to, and, in applying specialization, bear in mind the conditions under which it is to be employed.

Mr. W. C. Benouf (Punjab: Nominated Official: Sir, as a Punjab Civilian who has served for over 30 years in a Commission partly recruited from the Military Department, I associate myself entirely with Sir Godfrey Fell in the tribute which he has paid to the Military Civilians. In levelling ridicule at the bare circumstance that officers with military titles hold posts as Deputy Commissioners and as Judicial Officers in the Punjab, the Honourable Mover has entirely forgotten to inform the House that these officers are selected men, that they received the same administrative and judicial training as their civilian colleagues, and had to pass the same exacting Departmental examinations. If they had not passed those Departmental examinations, they would not have been retained in the Punjab Commission. They have served continuously in the Civil Department since the age of 24 or 25, and, taken as a whole, they are just as competent to discharge their civil duties as the average member of the Indian Civil Service. It is probable that the Indian Civilian generally makes a better Judge than the Military Civilian, but I can point to many military officers in the Punjab who have been and are excellent Judges. One of them, Colonel Beadon, became a Judge of the Chief Court, and, but for a bar in the rules regarding appointments to the Chief Court,

[Mr. W. C. Renouf.]

which was waived after much difficulty in the case of Colonel Beadon, I think that many other military officers in the Judicial Department would also have been promoted to the Chief Court. I am glad to see that in my estimate of the merits of military officers, I am supported by Sardar Gulab Singh. The Resolution however has no bearing whatever on the Punjab at the present time, as the recruitment of military officers stopped when the Frontier Province was created. I for one regret that it ceased. I think the Punjab owes a great deal to the many eminent men who came to the Punjab Commission from the Army.

As regards the alleged expense of employing military officers, I can only say that they receive precisely the same salary as civilians and cost no more. I earnestly trust the House will reject this Resolution.

Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din (East Central Punjab : Muhammadan) : Sir, if the Honourable Mover meant to disparage the military officers who were appointed as judicial officers and did work in that capacity, I disagree with him very emphatically. But if he meant that those who started their career as military or political officers should be allowed to acquire efficiency and experience only in their own lines, and that the Judicial Department should be confined only to those who began their careers as such, I am entirely with him. These two propositions, I regret to find, have to some extent been mixed up. In the Punjab I have known military officers who have acquitted themselves more ably on the Bench as District Judges than many of the civilian Judges, or even better than many of the lawyer Judges who have been appointed recently. That has been my experience. I recall the fact that I once appeared before a military officer in a murder case in which the hearing continued for a number of days. I can say that I have never found in all my experience a more patient Judge than that officer, and he understood law better than many Judges before whom I have had the opportunity of appearing as a lawyer. To hold therefore that military officers, because they started their careers as military officers, should not be appointed at all to the Judicial Department is, in my opinion, a preposterous position to take up. If a certain person starts his career as a military officer and after a couple of years or so his services are transferred to the Judicial Department, where he acquires a sufficient training and is then raised to the higher posts in that Department, I for one see no objection. I do not think that the Honourable Mr. Iswar Saran ever meant that military Judges were either mediocre or in any way inferior to other Judges after they had acquired sufficient experience in the judicial line. But, as I take it, I think he simply meant that the Judicial Department should be reserved only for those who start their career in that line. In this I entirely agree with him.

As regards the Frontier Province, my Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Rahim, said that he wanted none but military officers. I think that there he was going to the other extreme. Sir William Clark was one of the ablest Judges we had on the Chief Court, and he was District Judge at Peshawar for more than five years. Of course the local circumstances of the North-West Frontier Province are such that military officers are better fitted to fill very many posts there than civilians. Because in connection with their military duties they pick up the language of the Province and come to know the people, and they are, therefore, in my humble opinion, better fitted to fill certain

posts in that province than civilians, who of course have not picked up the language and do not know the customs of the people of that part of the country.

The separation of that province from the Punjab has been only incidentally hinted at. I think that is a big question. It has already been discussed here, but there is one thing which I will certainly say without fear of contradiction that the judicial separation of that province from the Punjab was a retrograde step and I regard it still as a very retrograde step and a blot upon the administration, because the province which had been under a regular judicial administration for 70 years was cut off. New rules, new regulations and new laws we made for that province. If that province had been separated for administrative or even military reasons, I would have no objection. I went there in April last with Sir Godfrey Fell. Lawyers, very many (not all) of that place approached me and I also tried to fathom the feelings of laymen as to whether they wanted the judicial administration to be assimilated with that of the Punjab and I found that they were very anxious. Of course I do not think that that province can safely be put administratively under the Punjab Government, but judicially it can be put under the High Court of Lahore, and I am a strong advocate of that course. Mr. Iswar Saran's Resolution states that military officers should not be appointed to judicial posts even where the exigencies of the service so require and even where their ability and efficiency make them the fittest judges. As the Resolution is so ambiguous, I am very sorry I am unable to lend my support to it as it stands and, therefore, I oppose it.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent (Home Member) : I hope, Sir, that the House will not accept this Resolution, because it is, as I think many Members will see if they examine it themselves, of much too sweeping a character. There may be a good deal to be said, as was said by the last speaker, about the recruitment of judicial officers and the judicial administration in the North-West Frontier Province. That is a matter which I understand is to be the subject of a special inquiry and it is unnecessary for me to dilate upon it. But when it is suggested that no officer of the Military or Foreign and Political Service should be appointed to any high administrative office, then surely the Mover of this Resolution must realise that he has gone a little further than the facts justify. Let me for one moment take the case of high officers in the Frontier Province and its neighbour Baluchistan, and mention the name of Sir Robert Sandeman. Has anyone ever suggested that a man of that capacity and that sympathy and that great ability was not fitted for the work which he was called upon to perform? Would not the acceptance of this Resolution deprive Government in future of the services of such a man? I will take another case, that of Sir George Roos-Keppel. (Hear, hear.) Is not a man of that character worthy of occupying the highest administrative post? Indeed, they occupied the highest administrative posts to the great advantage of India. Is it fair to ask that this Assembly should now decide finally that whatever be the character, whatever be the capacity, whatever be the ability of these officers, they must be precluded from holding administrative offices, because they have the misfortune to belong to the Foreign and Political Service? That, seriously considered, is a proposition which I am quite sure this House will not endorse. Similarly arguments may be adduced in respect of military officers in the Railway, Irrigation and Public

[Sir William Vincent.]

Works Departments generally. Have they proved so inefficient? Have not the Military officers done much to build up a great system of canals and roads in this country? Have not their services been of the greatest benefit? Is it right to say that we will never take officers of this class again into any administrative posts?

Again, let us see who is to take the higher administrative offices in a province like the North-West Frontier Province, for instance, if such appointments are prohibited. Is it to be a civilian from some other province or is it to be a lawyer like my friend, the Mover? I do not know whether it would be a greater disaster to the province if I were to be appointed to a high office in the province or if he were.

Munshi Iswar Saran : I would do very well.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : The Honourable Member has every confidence in himself, I am glad to see.

There are, however, many of us here, I think, who might say that someone who knew something of the tribesmen, who had worked for years in that territory, who was familiar with their customs, habits—their very violent habits—might be better fitted to administer the province than someone who has no experience of them. Now, let us take another administrative post, the Foreign Secretaryship, in the Government of India. What has been our experience of officers of the Foreign Department here? It is impossible for an officer like Mr. Bray to speak for himself, but I can assure this Assembly that I do not believe that anyone who had not been trained in the work of the Frontier and Foreign affairs generally could do his work half as efficiently as my friend here. (Applause.) I do not think the Mover could have ever realised the difficult character of the work in that department when he made the suggestion that he did. Does he suggest that an outsider should go in and deprive the Foreign and Political Department of one of the plums of the service, although the man whom he proposes to put into the appointment would necessarily have no practical experience whatever of either frontier affairs or of foreign politics in so far as they relate to the frontier. Sir, I believe that the attack on the Foreign and Political Service in so far as administrative posts at least are concerned—I refrain from making any observations as regards the judicial posts, because that subject is under inquiry—is entirely undeserved. More undeserved, however, are the attacks on the military service. Sir, I often think that there is truth in the charge that it is only in times of war that we remember our soldiers at all. (Hear, hear.) When it is proposed to put a soldier into the Indian Police, the Government is asked what he has done to deserve special consideration. The answer is that he has only risked his life. That is all he has been doing for us for the last 4 or 5 years. And when it is proposed after the war is over, in a time of peace to admit the soldier into any service in this country, the argument is 'No, no'; somebody else must be appointed, some gentleman who has been sitting at home and passing examinations while the soldier was fighting. That is the spirit in which this question is often approached, although the soldier candidate may be fitted in every way for the career which he subsequently takes up. This, I submit, is an attitude that is unworthy of this Assembly and I am quite sure they will not take it for one moment. As for the Punjab and Burma Commissions, Military Deputy Commissioners have in the past done admirable work in

Burma and in the Punjab. I think I am right in saying that when Upper Burma was first annexed, their work was of a peculiarly valuable character and indeed such work demanded great military knowledge and skill. At the same time, conditions have changed in Burma and in the Punjab and I may say that we now no longer recruit Military officers either for the Punjab Commission or for the Burma Commission.

But, as to the police, we do recruit a large number of young British officers at present and have done so in the past and I believe that they are officers who are deserving of the support and encouragement of this Assembly. They are young men who have worked and fought for the country during the war. Nearly all the men we have taken in are what they call war-service men. I put it to the Assembly that if this Resolution is adopted, their services will be lost in future to a service for which they are peculiarly fitted.

I may say also that this principle of enrolling war-service candidates to various services has not been confined to Europeans, but the principle has also been applied in the case of Indians who served in the war. I may add that in the police military officers are particularly needed, particularly in connection with the military police where their military knowledge is of special value. Nor is it unusual in other countries to use military officers for such services as the police. If you go to England, you will find half the chief constables recruited senior military officers. You will find a large number of military officers employed in various capacities of a similar nature. Of course, if it is a necessary assumption that because a man is a soldier, he is, therefore, incompetent, no argument can be adduced in favour of appointing military officers, but the fact is that many of these young soldiers would ordinarily have entered Government service in any case and entered the Army temporarily merely because they were anxious to serve their King and country during a period of great difficulty and danger.

Sir, the Honourable Mover the other day accused me of professing sympathy when I really did not feel it. I have heard many expressions of sympathy in this Assembly, but I have seldom heard one as unconvincing as the Honourable Member's exposition of one of his motives in bringing this Resolution, when he said that it was his desire to help the political and military officers that he brought this Resolution (Laughter) and I hope the Assembly will not accept his views on the point.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, I regret that the Honourable the Home Member should have permitted himself to use language which was rather strong. Sir William Vincent is very particular about the choice of his language, but being human he has forgotten himself on this occasion, and I can well understand the reason of it; but I shall let that pass.

I am deeply indebted to Sir Godfrey Fell for the most valuable help and assistance that he has given to me. His is really the most powerful support to my Resolution which I have received during this debate. I had the impudence to suggest that military officers should not be appointed to various judicial and administrative posts. Honourable Members have tried to tear me to pieces; I suppose some of them would have been delighted to do it physically; but at any rate they have tried to do so intellectually. But this wicked suggestion of mine has been acted upon by a wicked Government, Sir Godfrey Fell tells us, in the Punjab Commission and in the Burma Commission, military officers are no longer taken. I say that the Government itself

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

has recognised the validity of the position which I am putting forward before this Honourable House to-day. If my submission is valueless, if it is irrational, I ask this House to consider why is it that Government itself in the Punjab Commission and in the Burma Commission has made a rule that it will no longer take military officers? I, therefore, contend that there is force at least in this part of my Resolution. It was with a sigh of relief that I heard that part of the speech of Sir Godfrey Fell where he simply contented himself by saying that, as regards Cantonment Magistrates, the Government of India had appointed a Committee, and he held out a sort of vague hope that it was possible that what I am contending for, might perhaps in some measure be given effect to. As far as the appointment of military officers as Cantonment Magistrates is concerned, you find that Government itself, if it has not accepted my principle, at any rate has considered it important enough to appoint a Committee which will submit a report on it.

We have heard references to the great war. One would have thought that the system I complain against was brought into existence only after the great war. I ask my Honourable friends on Government Benches, has this system been brought into existence after the great war, or was it in existence before the great war. If it was in existence before the great war, then I say that it is no good dragging in the great war in order to justify a system that has been long in existence, much before anyone heard anything about the great war at all. (Hear, hear.)

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: May I give the Honourable Member the information? The system of recruiting military officers for the Punjab Commission ceased before the war. Since the war we have admitted over one hundred candidates who have served in the war, under special conditions, to the Service.

Munshi Iswar Saran: This leaves my position unaffected.

Then it has been suggested, not only suggested but stated, that I have found fault with—I shan't say, abused the members of the Foreign and Political Department and the military officers. Sir, I have done nothing of the kind. It is absolutely foreign to my purpose to say anything about the work done by these particular officers. My only submission before the House is that they should consider this question of principle, and should say whether in the Year of Grace One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty Two this system should be allowed to continue.

I was rather amused to hear Sir Godfrey Fell, a distinguished and brilliant member of the Indian Civil Service saying: 'Oh, by competition you get only intellectual men, educated men; but if you want men of character and sympathy, then you have to select.' I suppose, Sir, Sir Godfrey Fell will do well to agitate about it that the service which he adorns to-day should be abolished, and that there should be no more competitive examination, and that all these officers should be selected for their sympathy and for their character.

Mr. Bray—if, Sir, it is not impertinent for me, I should like to congratulate him on his most admirable maiden speech—referred to me with that skill which I shall now learn to associate with his utterances; referred to my speech as having wafted him into cloud-land, and then most dexterously

proceeded to defend the much maligned officers. The whole point is that Sir William Vincent and Mr. Bray mentioned a few names and said: 'Look at these brilliant administrators,' but that didn't touch the question at all. Did I mean for a moment to suggest that no military officer or no member of the Foreign and Political Department had risen to eminence, or had given a good account of himself? Did I mean to contend that no member of the Foreign and Political Department, or that no military officer had the capacity to become a good officer? I did nothing of the kind. I repeat I did nothing of the kind. Why then name these distinguished officers whose record of work every one appreciates and admires, and thereby confuse the issue? The issue is, should you or should you not continue this system? Sir William Vincent, who spoke last, said: 'Oh, this takes place in England too.' Will Sir William Vincent, with his vast knowledge and vaster experience and still vaster tact, be pleased to enlighten me as to how many military officers are occupying seats on the Bench in England. I shall feel grateful if Sir William Vincent will be pleased to confer that great boon upon me by giving the information I ask for. I pause for a reply. Not a word has been said in defence of the principle that I am asking the House to attack. If the submission that I have been making is unsound, reject it, but do not, I pray you, be misled by the names which have been mentioned by these distinguished officers representing various departments of Government. The issue is simple, will you continue this system which, without the least fear of contradiction, I say, is peculiar to India and cannot and will not be considered to be sound by any civilised system of Government?

Rai G. C. Nag Bahadur (Surma Valley *cum* Shillong: Non-Muham-madan) May: I suggest, Sir, that the Resolution be split up into two parts and that you allow each part to be put separately?

Munshi Iswar Saran: I agree to the suggestion.

Rai G. C. Nag Bahadur: May I suggest the way in which I would like the Resolution to be split up into two parts?

Mr. President: I do not think we can separate judicial and executive functions in that way.

Rai G. C. Nag Bahadur: I suggest that it be split up in this way, that military officers should not be appointed to judicial posts in British India and that members of the Foreign and Political services should not be appointed to judicial or administrative posts in British India.

Mr. Denys Bray: I beg to point out that the Foreign and Political Department, as the Honourable Member has pointed out several times, consists largely of military men. Therefore, I hardly see how the Resolution can be split up.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member should have thought of that before and moved an amendment. The Resolution stands as one whole on the paper and he could have moved an amendment dividing it up in a different way. It is not possible for me now to say that the Resolution is in two parts.

Rai G. C. Nag Bahadur: If I am in order now, I would like, with your permission, to move an amendment splitting up this Resolution.

Mr. President: I cannot take an amendment now. The debate is over. The question is that the following Resolution be accepted :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that members of the Foreign and Political services as well as military officers should not be appointed to judicial or administrative posts in British India.'

The Assembly then divided as follows :

AYES—18.

Agarwala, Lala G. L.
Agnihotri, Mr. K. B. L.
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Bhargava, Pandit J. L.
Bishambhar Nath, Mr.
Gour, Dr. H. S.
Iswar Saran, Munshi.
Jatkar, Mr. B. H. R.
Man Singh, Bhai.

Misra, Mr. P. L.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Samarth, Mr. N. M.
Singh, Babu B. P.
Sinha, Babu Ambika Prasad.
Sinha, Beohar Raghurir.
Subrahmanayam, Mr. C. S.
Subzposh, Mr. S. M. Z. A.

NOES—33.

Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
Abdul Rahim Khan, Mr.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Amjad Ali, Maulvi.
Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
Bradley-Birt, Mr. F. B.
Bray, Mr. Denys.
Bridge, Mr. G.
Bryant, Mr. J. F.
Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
Crookshank, Sir Sydney.
Dalal, Sardar B. A.
Dentith, Mr. A. W.
Fell, Sir Godfrey.
Habibullah, Mr. Muhammad.
Hullah, Mr. J.
Jejeebhoy, Sir Jamsetjee.

Kamat, Mr. B. S.
Keith, Mr. W. J.
McCarthy, Mr. F.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Muhammad Ismail, Mr. S.
Nabi Hadi, Mr. S. M.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Rao, Mr. C. Krishnaswami
Renouf, Mr. W. C.
Sapru, the Honourable Dr. T. B.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Sharp, Mr. H.
Vincent, the Honourable Sir William.
Waghorn, Colonel W. D.
Way, Mr. T. A. H.
Zahiruddin Ahmed, Mr.

The motion was negatived.

MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Mr. President: The Secretary will now read the Messages from the Council of State.

Secretary of the Assembly: Sir, one Message runs as follows :

'I am directed to inform you that the Council of State has at its meeting of the 23rd February agreed without any amendment to the Bill further to amend the Indian Lunacy Act, 1912, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 8th February, 1922.'

The second Message runs as follows :

'I am directed to inform you that the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to income-tax and super-tax, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting of the 28th January, was passed by the Council of State at its meeting on the 23rd February with the amendments indicated in the attached statement.'

The Council of State requests the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly in the amendments.'

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 27th February, 1922.