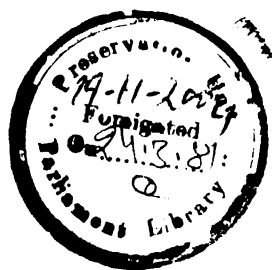


Tuesday, 13th March, 1928

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES
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FOURTH SESSION
OF THE
SECOND COUNCIL OF STATE, 1928



CALCUTTA : GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1928

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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Tuesday, 13th March, 1928.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DACCA-ARICHA BRANCH OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

88. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether the proposal for the construction of the Dacca-Aricha branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway has been finally shelved? If so, why, and if not, when will the Government take up the construction of the proposed line and by what time will it be ready for traffic service?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT: The Dacca-Aricha Railway project has not been abandoned. The field-work of the survey has been completed, and the report and estimates have just been received from the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway. They are now under the examination of the Railway Board.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE BARISAL FARIDPUR RAILWAY.

89. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have sanctioned the construction of the proposed Barisal Faridpur Railway by the agency of the Eastern Bengal Railway? If not, why not, and if so, when will the work be taken up and by what time will it be finished?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT: With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer this question and question No. 105 together.

The Faridpur Barisal Railway project is at present under investigation by the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway.

SCHEME FOR THE ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILWAYS FOR THE CALCUTTA SUBURBAN TRAFFIC.

90. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state how far has the scheme for the electrification of Railways for the Calcutta suburban traffic service advanced?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT: A traffic investigation has been carried out by Major Gordon and Mr. J. N. Roy, and estimates of operating costs have recently been revised by Messrs. Merz and Partners. Further revised figures have been asked for from the latter in addition to certain information from the East Indian, Eastern Bengal and Great Indian Peninsula Railways.

CENTRAL STATION IN CALCUTTA.

91. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to construct a Central Station in Calcutta ? If so, when will the work commence ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Railway Board appointed a special Committee to study the matter and report ? Has the Committee finished its work and submitted its report ? If so, to what purport ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : (a) and (b) The answer is in the negative.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PABNA SADHUGANJ BRANCH OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

92. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether the construction of the Pabna Sadhuganj branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway has been abandoned ; if so, why, and if not, when the construction of the said branch is going to be taken up and within what time is it contemplated to be finished ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : The proposal has not been abandoned. The traffic and engineering surveys which were carried out in 1926-27 indicated that the project would be unremunerative, but the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway, has been instructed to make a further examination of it.

ESTABLISHMENT IN LONDON OF A MARKET FOR THE SALE OF JUTE SHARES.

93. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a market for the sale of jute shares has been recently established in London ? If so, what effect has it made upon the ownership of the jute shares by passing them into foreign hands ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : Government have no official information on the subject.

AMALGAMATION OF THE DUTCH SHELL COMPANY AND THE BURMA OIL COMPANY.

94. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that any arrangement has been entered into between the Dutch Shell Company and the Burma Oil Company for amalgamating their interests ? If so, has the Government enquired about the terms of such amalgamation, and are they in a position to say whether it will harmfully affect or not the interests of India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS : Government have no official information but they understand that the object of the amalgamation referred to is merely to place upon a more permanent basis an arrangement for marketing kerosene in India which has already existed for several years. They have no reason to suppose that the arrangement will harmfully affect the interests of India.

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

95. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Eastern Bengal Railway administration is being carried on at a loss or very little profit? If so, what is the reason for it?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT: Since 1924-25, the Eastern Bengal Railway has been earning a profit which in 1926-27 reached the satisfactory figure of 68½ lakhs.

(1) WANT OF A WAITING ROOM AT FARIDPUR RAILWAY STATION.

(2) SLOW SPEED OF THE TRAINS BETWEEN CALCUTTA AND MYMENSINGH.

96. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether any steps, if so what, have been taken by the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities to remove the grievances of passengers due to—

(a) want of waiting room accommodation in the Faridpur railway station; and

(b) slowness of speed of the Calcutta Mymensingh trains?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT: The Government have no information, but a copy of the question and answer will be forwarded to the Agent.

STEAMER SERVICE MAINTAINED BY THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY BETWEEN GOALUNDO AND NARAINGANJ.

97. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether at any time before this the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities used to ply a steamer between Goalundo and Narainganj in connection with their train service with Goalundo? If so, why was it discontinued?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT: Fifteen or twenty years ago the Eastern Bengal Railway had a steamer service between Goalundo and Narainganj. It was discontinued and the service left to the steamer company, who already had services beyond Narainganj, so that transshipment of passengers travelling beyond Narainganj in either direction should be avoided.

RETURN TO VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR OF THE DREDGER DISABLED IN MARCH 1927.

98. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether the dredger that was disabled at Vizagapatam Harbour in March last is now in working order and is working in the Harbour? If not, why not?

99. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY: Will the Government be pleased to state whether any new dredger is at present working in the Vizagapatam Harbour? If so, does it belong to the harbour authorities? If not, who is the owner of the dredger and how much are the harbour authorities paying to the owner for its use?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer questions Nos. 98 and 99 together.

The dredger which was disabled in March last, returned to Vizagapatam on the 24th December after repairs in Calcutta, and has since been at work there. While the repairs were in progress the small dredger Manar, belonging to the Madras Government, was hired at a cost of Rs. 3,125 per month. This dredger has since been returned.

INSPECTION OF THE VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR BY THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS.

100. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Chief Commissioner of Railways recently visited Vizagapatam to inspect the harbour? If so, has he submitted any report and do the Government propose to publish the same?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : Sir Clement Hindley visited Vizagapatam in the course of a recent tour and went over the harbour works. He submitted no report.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

101. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state who is the Chief Administrative Officer for the harbour construction at Vizagapatam and what is his salary?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : The Agent, Bengal Nagpur Railway, is the Administrative Officer; he receives an allowance of Rs. 500 per month as remuneration.

ELECTRIFICATION OF THE VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

102. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether any, if so, what steps are being taken by the harbour authorities for the electrification of the harbour at Vizagapatam?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : Specifications for an electric installation to work cranes on the jetty, and light the wharves, have been prepared and indents for the plant required have been sent to the Consulting Engineers.

CAPSIZING OF A BOAT USED BY THE MARINE SURVEYORS IN VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

103. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Marine Surveyor's boat at Vizagapatam sank twice in the course of the last six months? If so, whether any casualty occurred on those occasions and what steps the harbour authorities are taking to prevent such accidents?

EMPLOYMENT OF STEAM LAUNCHES FOR PURPOSES OF MARINE SURVEY IN VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

104. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the boats used by the Marine Surveyor's department at Vizagapatam are all country boats? If so, does the Government contemplate the employment of steam launches for purposes of Marine Survey?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : With your permission, Sir, I propose to reply to questions Nos. 103 and 104 together. A boat used by the Marine Surveyors capsized in the surf once in the course of the last six months, but there was no casualty. The boats used are ships' life boats; steam launches are not considered suitable for the Marine Surveyors' work.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE FARIDPUR BARISAL RAILWAY.

***105. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY :** Will the Government be pleased to state whether they contemplate constructing the Faridpur Barisal Railway at an early date? If so, when?

RELEASE OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER REGULATION III OF 1818 AND THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

106. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Government of Bengal has released all persons detained under Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925? If not, how many of them have they released and how many are still under detention?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG : The number of persons under detention at the end of February was as follows:—

In jail under Regulation III	4
In jail under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act	12
In village domicile	25
In home domicile	9

In addition, 17 have either been externed from Bengal or externed from, or confined to, certain areas in Bengal. In addition to these 118 have been released altogether. I would compare these figures with those which I gave when the Honourable Mr. K. S. Ray Chaudhury moved his Resolution in this Council on the 5th September last. At that time there were 40 persons in jail under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Regulation III. That number has now been reduced to 16. The number of releases stood on that date at 60. It is now 118.

VILLAGE INTERNMENTS.

107. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that complaints appear in newspapers against village internments, and do the Government intend abolishing this mode of internment? If not, how many are interned outside the province under orders of the Government of India and where are they interned, and what allowances do they respectively get and what are the latest reports about their condition of health?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG : Government have seen references to the matter. It is not intended to abolish the system. The Government of Bengal are fully alive to the necessity of securing satisfactory conditions, so far as the health of the detenus is concerned and have the matter constantly under review. No persons are interned in villages outside the province under orders of the Government of India. Nine persons, however, have been prohibited under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act from entering Bengal. They are not interned, but are free to live where they please outside the province.

* For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 89.

TRANSFER OF THE TRAFFIC ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY TO DELHI.

108. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that the clerks of the Traffic Accounts Department of the East Indian Railway have not been favoured with the privileges of the State Railways as regards leave, passes, pay, etc., and is it proposed that the said office will be shifted to Delhi ?

If so, why and what concessions are going to be made to the clerks for this transfer of the office ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : Like other staff of the East Indian Railway who were recruited before the railway was taken under State management, these clerks are under the East Indian Railway rules regarding passes, pay, leave, etc.

2. The question whether the local traffic accounts work of the East Indian Railway should be transferred to the Clearing Accounts Office at Delhi has not yet been settled ; and until it is settled it will be premature to consider whether any concessions should be given to existing clerks on transfer.

MODIFICATION OF THE MESTON AWARD.

109. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Do the Government contemplate modifying the Meston Award in the near future so as to give some relief to the finances of Bengal ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : The answer is in the negative. The Government of India do not propose to take any immediate action in the direction suggested.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRAINING SHIP AT BOMBAY.

110. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : How far has the scheme for establishing a training ship at Bombay advanced, how many students and of what nationality are being trained and what facilities for future employment have been arranged for the students ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : The S.S. " Dufferin " has been fitted out as a training ship and is stationed at Bombay. The first course on her commenced on the 1st December 1927 and 30 cadets have been selected for training in the first year of the course. Of these thirty, 18 are Hindus, 8 Christians (including 3 Anglo-Indians), 2 Muslims, 1 Sikh and 1 Parsee.

Eleven Shipping Companies have agreed to accept as apprentices cadets who have completed the course on the Training Ship, and Government consider that apprentices who give satisfaction should be able to obtain employment on the ships belonging to these and other companies. I may also add for the Honourable Member's information that, in addition to the usual appointments as ship's officers, there are appointments under the various Port authorities in India which are open to qualified Mercantile Marine Officers. Appointments as Leadsman Apprentices in the Bengal Pilot Service will also be open to the cadets of the Training ship after a short period at sea after leaving the Training Ship.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT ACTUARY AND LIQUIDATION OF INDIAN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES.

111. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : (a) Have the Government established the office of an Actuary for the supervision of Life Insurance business in India ? If so, what is the annual cost for the establishment of this office and what are its powers and duties ?

(b) Is it a fact that 29 Indian Life Insurance companies have gone into liquidation ? If so, how many are in existence now, and can the Government state the cause of the extinction of so many ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : (a) Yes. There is an Actuary attached to the Department of Commerce, Government of India.

The actual cost under the head " Actuary to the Government of India " during 1926-27 was Rs. 28,794.

The Actuary advises the Government of India in the administration of the Indian Life Assurance Companies Act, 1912, and deals with matters connected with actuarial work of Government.

(b) Yes. The number of Indian Life Assurance companies now in existence is sixty. The liquidation of most of the 29 companies was due to their unsound financial position.

EFFECT OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT AND THE WAGES ACT ON THE REPATRIATION OF INDIANS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

112. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that the operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wages Act in South Africa has effected the hastening of the repatriation of Indians from South Africa ? If so, to what extent ? Is it operating as a great hardship to the Indians ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH : The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative ; the second part does not arise. As to the third part, no information has reached the Government of India or their Agent in South Africa to indicate that the operation of these Acts inflicts hardship on Indians.

CLERKS IN THE AUDIT OFFICE OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

113. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : (a) Is it a fact that there are two classes I and II of clerks in the Audit Office of the Eastern Bengal Railway ? If so, did the Chief Auditor, Eastern Bengal Railway, in his remarks on the employees' memorials dated the 17th December 1924 and September 1926 observe that " The present 50:50 distribution between the two classes is arbitrary and very difficult to work " ? If so, does the same proportion still continue to be maintained and what are the reasons for so doing ?

(b) Is it a fact that the clerks similarly placed in other Government offices, e.g., offices of the Chief Auditor of the East Indian Railway, Government Examiner of Company-worked Railways, the Chief Auditor of the North Western Railway, the Accountant General of Bengal and the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, are in receipt of higher scales of pay than the clerks in the Eastern Bengal Railway Audit Office ? If so, why ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : (a) The number of clerks in Class I is at present the same as the number of clerks in Class II. The question of altering this distribution is being investigated. With reference to the Honourable Member's enquiry as to the observations said to have been made by the Chief Auditor of the Eastern Bengal Railway in connection with this matter, the Government of India are not prepared to publish opinions expressed by individual officers in cases of the kind.

(b) The Government of India do not consider that the circumstances of the different bodies of clerks referred to by the Honourable Member are the same.

PAY OF OUTSIDERS RECRUITED TO THE AUDIT OFFICE OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

114. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that outsiders are being recruited to the Eastern Bengal Railway Audit Office on an initial pay of Rs. 80, 45 and 36 according to the various qualifications while men of similar qualifications already in the employ of that office are not paid the same remuneration? If so, why is it so?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : The facts are as stated. The answer to the second part of the Honourable Member's question is that, in accordance with ordinary practice, the orders introducing the higher rate of initial pay took effect from the date of their promulgation.

DIRECT RECRUITMENT TO CLASS I CLERKS IN THE AUDIT OFFICE OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

115. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that besides recruitment from outside the following means for direct recruitment in class I of the clerks of the Eastern Bengal Railway Audit Office had recourse to, viz.—

- (a) by transfer from the civil side of 5 clerks in lieu of accountants in the scale 100—10—270—30—300 ;
- (b) by filling every sixth vacancy on the scale 80—4—120—5—145 from the training reserve consisting at present of 9 men ;
- (c) by the gradual absorption of 7 men from the office of the Government Examiner, J. P. Railway, on the scale of 60—8—140—6—230 ;

If so, have the clerks made any complaint against this system and what steps do the Government propose to take to redress their grievances?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : (a), (b) and (c) Yes. No complaint has been received from the clerks of the Eastern Bengal Railway Audit Office.

RECRUITMENT OF THE CLERICAL STAFF FOR THE CENTRAL RAILWAY CLEARING ACCOUNTS OFFICE AT DELHI.

116. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that a Central Clearing House Office for the various State Railways is being established at Delhi? If so, how is the clerical staff thereof going to be recruited and will new recruits be taken in preference to those already employed in the Clearing House Department? If so, why are new recruits being taken and how many old clerks are going to be replaced by them and what provisions are being made for their future employment?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : The Central Clearing Accounts Office with its staff for State Railways was transferred from Lahore to Delhi in October last.

2. The clerical staff is mainly recruited from the staff serving already in existing establishments of the various railway accounts offices whose work has been taken over.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. JANAKI RAM AS A SENIOR ACCOUNTANT IN THE AUDIT OFFICE OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

117. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that one Mr. Janaki Ram has been appointed as a senior accountant in the Eastern Bengal Railway Audit Office ? If so, what are his qualifications and has he passed the Railway Subordinate Accounts Service examination ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : Yes. Mr. Janaki Ram has not passed the Railway Subordinate Accounts Service examination, but has passed the Subordinate Accounts Service examination prescribed for Civil Accounts Offices. He was selected owing to the shortage of qualified accountants on the Railway side.

PAY OF CLASS II CLERKS IN THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

118. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that the class II clerks in the Eastern Bengal Railway receive 30—3—69—6—5—75 scale of pay while the scale of this pay in the North Western Railway is 39—3—69—6—5—75 and the new recruits, if graduates, receive 45 and the undergraduates receive 36 rupees in the Eastern Bengal Railway, whereas in the North Western Railway they receive Rs. 54 and 45, respectively ? If so, what are the reasons for such differences ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. BURDON : The facts are as stated. It is only the minima rates that differ, and these are based upon corresponding differences in the rates of pay in force in the offices under the Agents of the two Railways.

EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISH AND INDIAN CAPITAL IN PREFERENCE TO FOREIGN CAPITAL IN MINING ENTERPRISES.

119. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Is it a fact that preference is given to the employment of British and Indian capital over foreign capital in mining enterprises in India ? If so, what is the nature of such preference and under what laws are they given ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS : Rule 3 of the Rules for the grant by Local Governments of Licences to prospect for minerals and of mining leases in British India restricts the grant of certificates of approval, prospecting licences or mining leases under those Rules to British subjects only. Copies of these Rules will be found in the Library.

CONSTRUCTION OF A CENTRAL CITY STATION IN CALCUTTA.

120. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : Will the Government be pleased to state whether they contemplate constructing a Central City Station in Calcutta ? If so, when ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT : The answer is in the negative.

RESOLUTION *RE* TRAINING OF INDIANS IN AEROCRAFT.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI (Burma : General) :
Sir, I move the Resolution which stands in my name and which reads as follows :

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to establish a School to give training to Indians in aerocraft.”

Sir, before dealing with the Resolution I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Director of Civil Aviation for his kindness and courtesy in supplying me with considerable literature on the subject of civil aviation. That does not necessarily mean that I am going to use much of the material which I had occasion to peruse in that literature. I am only desirous of placing the commonplace viewpoint as it strikes a layman. My perusal of the literature impresses me with this, that though aviation is a recent science, all the countries of the world of any importance have made considerable strides in the various aspects of aviation, both military and civil, and all the countries have in some form or other developed their own institutions for giving facilities for the training of their youths in the various departments of aerocraft. I have been greatly impressed by the way in which countries like England and Germany rose to the occasion in meeting difficulties in the way of development and in providing themselves with all the necessary plant, material, aerodromes and other accessories for beginning in right earnest the stupendous fight in the race for aerial supremacy. Under these circumstances I thought it necessary that India should make a beginning in right earnest if we want to get some share in this development that is going on. Honourable Members are aware that the Ministry of Air prepared a memorandum relating to the approach towards a system of Imperial air communications which was laid before the Imperial Conference in 1926. The Air Minister in the course of describing one of the great air routes to the East made an appeal for sympathetic consideration of certain suggestions in these terms :

“ Would it be possible for the Government of India to extend the communications across India from Karachi to Bombay and from Bombay to Calcutta ? Would it be possible for the Government of Burma to take it a stage further to Rangoon ? ”

You are all aware that the Air Minister could not have found a more sympathetic corner than the Governments of India and Burma. But I note that the representatives of the people in the other place were not quite sympathetic because they had certain apprehensions and it was only after some assurances were given by the Government in the other place that they were prepared to vote the necessary grant for the purpose. Personally I am not satisfied even with those assurances, and my object now is to ask for further assurances from the Government, to accept this Resolution and to act upon it and to give training to Indian youths, so that India may take her proper share in the development which is likely to take place in the near future. There are certain considerations which make India a very suitable place for large developments in civil aviation. The vastness of the country with its large commercial centres situated at great distances, its meteorological conditions, conditions of visibility for several months in the year, all these make India a very good field for aviation, and its geographical position provides a junction for the great Empire air routes and provides vital points for the link in the Imperial chain. These and other advantages which India possesses entitle her to a great place in aviation and in developing air communications. I am anxious, Sir, that we should take advantage of our very peculiarly advantageous position. I find that the Government of India are ready and anxious to pay the piper

to some extent in response to the appeal made by the Air Ministry. But I very much doubt if Indian India can call the tune unless Indians are constantly on the alert to see that in the development of aviation which is to take place, Indian interests are not neglected.

Sir, Honourable Members must have perused with interest the memorandum prepared by the Indian Air Board and the notes prepared and circulated by the Industries Department touching the past history of aviation in India and detailing the present policy which is proposed to be pursued. I am thankful to the Air Board for emphasising that in order that India should have a proper share in the future development of aviation, it is necessary that India should be ready with a trained personnel. But they have suggested various devices for securing that trained personnel. But personally I am of opinion that, unless you start a training school in aerocraft straightaway, it will not be possible to have a properly trained personnel readily available when ambitious schemes of commercial aviation are started. The matter of giving training to the youths of foreign countries has been receiving considerable attention, and all the advanced countries of the world have been up and doing and they have turned out of the institutions which they have started for the purpose, efficient air commanders, mechanical pilots with advanced training and aerial mechanics who have been trained after a short course of aerial engineering. I find that Germany especially has made a great advance in this direction. There are a number of private schools all over Germany for giving what is called training in sporting flying and the "A" certificate to pilots. There is one school which is officially recognised and which gives advanced training and the advanced certificate for pilots.

"This school, which uses the old flying ground at Staaken, was formed in the autumn of 1925 by the Reich Ministry of Communications in conjunction with the two big air transport undertakings, Junkers and the Aero-Lloyd, which later merged into the Luft Hansa. There are two main courses:

1. Training of candidates for appointments as 'air commanders'. This course, which begins in April each year, lasts four years; age of entry 18-22. The training is designed to produce pilots for long-distance routes of the international type with large machines. There is an entrance examination which the applicant is only excused on production of a certificate comparable with the English matriculation and certain athletic and physical qualifications.

2. Training of mechanic-pilots. This course, which can be begun in April or October, lasts three years, and is designed to produce pilots for short home routes with small single-engined machines. The first year is devoted to ground mechanics' training, the second to wireless and flying mechanics' training, and the third to training as pilot. The pilot's training is only obtained by a certain number of students who have distinguished themselves during the earlier stages of the course. Age of entry 18-23.

The school also provides an engineering course lasting one year. The cost of the 'air commander' course is 5,000 marks, of the mechanic pilots' course 4,000 marks, and of the engineering courses 3,000 marks. Living, etc., expenses for the 'air commander' and engineering courses amount to about 1,500 marks a year. The mechanic-students have free board and lodging and are provided with pocket-money. The prospect offered to the candidate is an average monthly income of 600 to 800 marks to start with on probationary appointment as pilot."

This is the course which they have in Germany, and judged by the men turned out, this institution has been giving the utmost satisfaction. It has to be remembered that commercial aviation has not become a paying proposition in any country, not even in Germany, and the public exchequer provides funds for offering facilities for further development of aviation. In fact, I find that even after the formation of the Luft Hansa only 30 per cent. of the cost of the total mileage is earned by this organisation and the remaining 70 per cent. is paid out of the public exchequer. In England we have a number of Institutions. The most prominent among is the De Havilland School

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started by the company of that name. It is officially recognised as a training centre for the Air Force Reserve. This school also gives training to civil pupils in commercial, military and other branches of aviation. There is the Gnat Aero Company, Ltd., which before it was turned into a limited company was providing facilities for aero training, aircraft reconditioning and reconstruction. There is the North Sea Aerial and General Transport, Ltd., which operates the R. A. F. Reserve School at Brough, the only seaplane training school in England. We have also the Henderson Flying School, Brooklands Aerodrome, Weybridge, which undertakes flying instruction. During 1923, a number of companies made arrangements with the Air Ministry whereby they undertook to operate schools of instruction in connection with the Royal Air Force and new agreements were entered into on April 1st, 1925. I take it even in England where they have facilities for these private companies to undertake training in various branches they are subsidised by the Government, whereas in Germany it is an officially recognised institution which gives certificates for high proficiency in aerial training. I find also in countries like Australia, the Sydney Club and other aerial clubs have been giving high proficiency training and they have been subsidised by the Government by giving £20 to £50 for each pupil trained by these clubs. In Canada they have various institutions for training. I find even countries like Bolivia and Chili have established military and civil schools of aviation. Belgium has got aviation schools attached to aerodromes at Ostend, Dendne and Charleroi. And the recently formed Republic of Czecho-Slovakia proposes to establish a State school for training civil pilots at Prague. Honourable Members who are interested in finding what sort of schools are provided in the various countries of the world will find an interesting study of it in Jane's "All the World's Aircraft," edited by C. G. Grey. It is a very valuable publication which gives a historical survey of the advance made in aircraft in the various countries. Very shortly there will be considerable advance in civil aviation. I am afraid that Indian capital being very shy, companies with external capital and with predominantly foreign directorates will begin to operate in India, and this field will be exploited mostly by foreign companies. I am only anxious that before these companies begin to operate, we should have a sufficiently large number of Indian youths trained in aircraft so that we may be in a position to insist in any arrangements made by Government with those operating companies upon a clause that they should have large Indian personnel in those companies. Unless you get this trained material beforehand, it will not be possible for you to insist upon such an undertaking. I also believe that Indian capital would after all come out if a sufficient number of trained men are available who will be able to attract the necessary capital to start companies to run commercial aviation concerns. And to create a demand and to attract capital it is necessary that Indians should be trained in aircraft. Sir, in this connection I would like to refer to the great mistakes which are responsible for keeping out Indians in the two great systems of transport, transport on land by rail and transport on sea.

Honourable Members are aware that nothing has been done till very recently to give training in shipping, and as a consequence no stimulus was given to the Indian shipping industry and foreign companies have acquired a monopoly in the Indian coastal waters and they have been entrenched in such a strong position and they are so anxious to keep up the monopoly as to be prepared for any emergency and they take all sorts of means, fair or unfair, to prevent Indians coming in.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I think the Honourable Member had better get back to the air.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI : I am only referring to this incidentally. Foreign companies began to operate by land and by rail and they naturally looked to foreign recruits, and India suffered. Even to-day we are fighting to have a proper institution which would eliminate this extra-territorial recruitment altogether in Railways. In these circumstances I am anxious that we should keep our eyes open when there is an opportunity and not repeat the same mistakes. Small measures like the grant of ten scholarships per annum or more to Indian students will not meet the situation. I cannot see any force in the objection which may perhaps be raised here that there will be no opening for people trained in aerocraft. I believe there will be plenty of scope for employment. Even if a school is started straightaway there will be ample scope for employment in the companies which will begin to operate in India before the first batch of students complete their training. I am anxious that our people should take care that no foreign airship companies operate in India without proper Indian personnel, and we must therefore prepare the ground and get the men ready. For this purpose it is necessary that the training given to our youths should be of a high degree of efficiency so that these companies and other agencies who may employ them may not say that our youths do not come up to the proper standard of efficiency. Fortunately aircraft development is of recent origin. We hear the Britisher saying that the Indian has no sea sense. I trust that it will not be said of the Indian that he has no air sense. I admit there are some difficulties in the way of establishing a school for aerocraft, but those difficulties will have to be surmounted if you have to allow the commercial aviation companies to operate in India and if you solve those difficulties for the purpose of commercial aviation, you will also solve the difficulties in the way of establishing a school for aerocraft, and I believe the time has come when, after providing all the facilities even for experimental flying, we have got the necessary equipment for starting an aerocraft school under Government's guidance and control. It may be said that these schools should be left to private enterprise as in the case of general education. In the case of collegiate and secondary education Government had to come forward first as pioneers in starting these institutions, and it is only later that private enterprise came into play, and in the case of a pioneer undertaking like training in aerocraft Government should naturally come forward first to start an institution and it is not possible for any private individual to start it. The conditions in other independent countries are fundamentally different from the conditions here, and it is no argument to say that in Great Britain and other countries individual private companies have been able to start schools and that system can be very well followed here. The long years of foreign domination in this country have taken out the spirit of initiative altogether, and we always look to the Government for these things. Especially in a matter of this kind, for the purpose of providing specially advanced training, none but the Government can provide the proper institution. In this connection I can usefully quote certain observations made in the course of a leading article in the *Pioneer* of the 12th March under the caption "Political Suicide."

The Pioneer says :

"Let us take the sphere of aviation, where the stock accusation is that the distrust engendered by British policy prevents the Government from giving Indians facilities for learning airmanship and for gaining the air sense. What is there to prevent patriotic Indians from establishing their own School of Civil Aviation ? The cost would be

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comparatively small. Let them turn out their Indian pilots in large numbers. Those pilots would soon be knocking at the door of the Royal Air Force with an insistence which no Government could ignore and the creation of an Indian Air Force would follow with complete certainty."

I quite welcome the views of men of the way of thinking of the *Pioneer*. I do not share the distrust which it speaks of. At any rate I have no reason to share it until I hear the Government reply. If I had shared that distrust, I would not have brought forward this Resolution. I have got every hope that Government will do their best to establish a school for aerocraft. I am glad that the *Pioneer* says that the establishment of a school for aerocraft is patriotic, that is in other words, that it is necessary to establish schools in aerocraft to satisfy the national want. When the *Pioneer* says that the cost will be comparatively small, I do not agree there. I believe the *Pioneer* has got in mind the training as pilots for pilots' certificates of the type granted by private schools in Germany known as certificate A. I want a school of the type of the German Traffic Aviator School of Geisbergstrasse, Berlin. That is the only official institution which gives training in an advanced pilot course. If a country like Germany with all its resources can have only one officially recognised training centre in advanced courses, I do not think it will be possible for any Indian, however patriotic and however resourceful, to establish an institution like that. Apart from it, what is there to prevent patriotic Indians coming forward and establishing institutions of this kind? The answer is simple. Patriotism and resources do not often go together, and even if the two go together, it is not possible for any particular individual to establish an institution of the type which will set a high standard of efficiency. Then, Sir, I am thankful for the optimistic and cocksure remarks of the *Pioneer* in the latter portion of the remarks which I quoted. I am glad that it is generally recognised that giving training and having a trained personnel in aerocraft would necessarily lead to these people coming in large numbers and knocking at the doors of the Royal Air Force and getting admittance. And if the Government is anxious that our people should have admission into the Royal Air Force, they could do nothing better than start a school for high efficiency classes in aerocraft, and if the Government is not prepared to start an institution like that I would be justified in carrying away an impression that they are particularly anxious to avoid a possible contingency of having a number of trained men knocking at their doors and getting admission into the Royal Air Force.

Sir, this question is very important and I would make an earnest appeal to the Government to tackle this problem in a serious manner and not to give some sort of evasive reply or to give some excuse which is always available when constructive proposals of this kind come forward in this Council.

Sir, I would appeal in the words of the Indian Air Board when they wanted the Government of India to take action on their scheme. Sir, my object has been "to suggest a practicable and consistent policy which will enable India and Indians to participate in the business of commercial air transport, and the development of civil aviation generally." I fully realise that "the adoption of this policy will mean expenditure from public revenues on a considerable scale for which there will be no immediate monetary return; and that the pace at which effect can be given to the policy must in the last resort depend on financial considerations." I hope, however, that "if the policy is accepted by the Government of India every effort will be made to find the necessary funds to give effect to it speedily"; for I am "impressed with the danger that if action is not taken speedily, it will be taken too late."

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

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. McWATTERS (Industries and Labour Secretary) : Sir, I have listened with attention to the Honourable Member's speech and I am afraid that his researches into the subject of civil aviation have left me unconvinced that he has put a practical proposal before the House. I think the Members of this House will want a clear answer to a number of questions before they can accept a Resolution in these terms. The questions, or some of them that occur to me, are :

- (1) Whether it is possible at the present moment to found a school such as he suggests?
- (2) Supposing it is possible, what will the cost of it be, and will the results of it be commensurate with the cost ? And will there be employment for the products of that school ?
- (3) Is the foundation of a school in any case the best way to give the training which we desire to give ?

I think, Sir, that possibly the best way in which I can approach these questions will be to give a short account of what Government's own proposals are with regard to the training of Indians and their general air policy, and I think that in the course of that elucidation possibly the answers to some or all of these questions will emerge. In the Budget which is before the Assembly there are a number of important proposals which deal with the training of Indians in aviation. The first of these is a proposal, to which the Honourable Member rather slightly referred, for the training of 10 Indians by way of scholarships in England. I mention this particularly because, although a full account of it is given in the report of the Standing Finance Committee, which is in the hands of all Members, the actual provision for these scholarships occurs in the Demand for the High Commissioner for India, and I have found several Members of the other House somewhat anxious as they were unable to find this provision under the head "Aviation." They thought it had been omitted. So I take this opportunity to say that research under the head "High Commissioner for India" will reveal this particular Demand. We contemplate an expenditure spread over a period of 7 years of something over 2 lakhs of rupees for the training of 10 Indians in aviation. We intend that these young Indians when trained shall, in the first instance at any rate, serve Government. We shall have the first call upon their services for a period of 4 years after their return. We shall use them for the staff of the Director of Civil Aviation, as Inspectors of Aircraft and Engines, as officers to take charge of Government aerodromes, and for investigation of accidents, and so on, all the various duties which fall to the Civil Aviation Department. But I wish to refer to their course of training in some detail because I think a short account of what that training is will indicate to the House what training in aviation really means. These young men will first of all have to undergo a course of flying training at the De'Havilland Aircraft Company's Flying School or some other school of the same standing. The flying training will be combined with ground training in a number of subjects at the aerodrome and factory connected with the Company. Following this training at the De'Havilland Flying School will be a post-graduate course of instruction (2 sessions of 9 months each) in aeronautics, at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the course to cover the following subjects :—Aerodynamics, Design of Aircraft, Material of Aircraft Construction, Construction of Aircraft, Engine Design, Airships, Air Navigation and Instruments, Higher

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Mathematics, and Meteorology. When they finish that course they will be required to undergo 6 months' practical workshop training in aircraft and engine shops at factories to be selected after consultation with the British Air Ministry. Then they will spend 3 months at the Imperial Airways Repair Shops at Croydon, and subsequently they will be attached to the British Aeronautical Inspection Directorate, and finally to the Civil Aviation Traffic Control Department at the London Terminal Aerodrome, Croydon. I think that the mere recital of what we require these young men to do will convince the House that training in aviation is not merely adding a simple subject like arithmetic to the curriculum of a school. It requires, to be really effective, the existence not only of flying facilities but of ground organisation, workshops and so on, and these at the present moment do not exist in India, and if these facilities could be created it would be with great difficulty and at great expense in the absence of actual aerial transport companies operating out here and in the absence of private schools like the De'Havilland Company. I think that this recital alone will go some way to answer two at any rate of the questions I have put, namely, the immediate practicability of starting a school of this kind and the question of its cost. The Honourable Member referred to experience in other countries and especially Germany, but I would point out that even in Germany, which is one of the few countries where Government money is spent directly on training for civil aviation, it is being done in conjunction with two big air transport companies, the Junker Company and the Aero-Lloyd. In the absence of these companies in actual operation it would not have been possible for the German Government to set up a school simply so to speak in the air.

That, Sir, is the first of our proposals. The second proposal is one with which most Members of this House are acquainted and in which many of the Members are interested as members of the Aero Club of India, and that is, the proposals which are in the Budget for giving financial assistance to four light aeroplane clubs. This expenditure will run to Rs. 3½ lakhs in the course of two years, and it follows the model of the assistance given in other countries such as Australia, which the Honourable Member quoted with approval because experience in these countries has shown that these flying clubs are of great value in inculcating a flying sense. They will also, we hope, enable us to give the preliminary training in flying to our own students in India before they go to England, and in order to ensure that these clubs will operate in the best interests of India, they will be affiliated to the Aero-Club of India and that club itself will receive a Government subsidy, which is included also in the Budget, for the services *inter alia* which they will render to us in controlling the operations of these light aeroplane clubs.

Then, Sir, passing beyond these two proposals, the general policy of the Government of India is to develop air transport companies out here which shall be Indian companies and which shall afford training and employment to Indians at all stages. This policy has been openly declared in the other House, and I think this House will realise that the development of that policy requires time, organisation and money. We are continuing the development of the organisation, the preparation of the aerodromes and the general ground organisation. When this is ready for any particular route we shall then be able to invite tenders from Indian companies to operate those routes, and the question of a subsidy will then arise because, as the Honourable Member rightly recognised, there is not a single air transport company, so far as I know, anywhere in the world which is able to operate without a Government subsidy. Therefore, the interests of the tax-payer have to be kept very carefully in

mind and we cannot expect to undertake any large developments without a very considerable expenditure of money.

I think that what I have said regarding this future policy will be sufficient assurance to the Honourable Member that Indian interests will not be overlooked in the development of Government policy in this direction. We will consider the interests of the tax-payer on the one hand, and on the other hand, we shall ensure that these companies are conducted as Indian companies and give training and all practical facilities for employment to Indians. The Honourable Member mixed up, to some extent in his speech, military aviation and civil aviation, and therefore I have the less hesitation in referring to another development, which is known to all Members of the House. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has announced here that a number of vacancies are being opened to Indians at the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell. Honourable Members will realise that this is the first step in enabling Indians to take an active part in the air defences of the Empire. It has an indirect bearing upon civil aviation also, because, as is well known, a large number of the most efficient men who have made names in civil aviation have been drawn from *ex-members* of the Flying Service and I dare say the same will happen in India too. That, Sir, is a brief account of what Government propose to do. We are all laymen in this matter, but we have at our hand the best technical advice. Our proposals have been framed in accordance with that advice, and I must say that, when I laid them before the Standing Finance Committee of the other House, they were received very favourably. I think that Honourable Members will agree that in a matter of this kind we should keep in touch with practical realities, and I think, if I may say so without injustice, that the Honourable Member's scheme is not really based on practical realities. He is wanting to move too fast. Although I hesitate to prophesy and certainly do not wish to dogmatise about the future, I agree with him that India is geographically and strategically admirably placed for the development of civil aviation, and I personally have the greatest confidence that it will develop in this country. I do think that the time is not so very far distant when we shall have air transport companies operating in India. The time will then come to consider whether our schemes for training can be developed and improved. But at the moment I consider that the Honourable Member's scheme is not a practicable one and is in any case premature. I am afraid therefore I am not able to accept it on behalf of Government.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, from what I have heard of the Honourable Mover's arguments, he seems to me to be not very fair. He is practically putting the cart before the horse. There are no aviation companies here existing. Moreover, Sir, he has distinctly stated that even in advanced countries like Germany, aviation has not been a paying business. Well, Sir, when there are no companies existing in India, if you were to start a college, you will have so many trained pilots without any employment. If the Mover of the Resolution will only wait he will get it. There was a time when motor cars came into India when there were very few trained chauffeurs in those days. But when the business improved and there was a demand for it, people came to learn the mechanism of the car and several chauffeurs came into existence and there is no dearth of them now in the market. You must wait till these companies are formed. But at the same time I fail to understand why he says that companies should be formed when he himself admits that they are not a paying proposition. I suppose he means that foreign companies must come here and invest their capital and lose their

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amount and India should be benefited by their failure and then he will begin to form his own companies. Well, Sir, the question always is, who comes first into the field? If he is successful, then he makes money and if he loses, he loses his capital. My friend is not willing to start his own companies. He wants to see that foreign companies come here and run the business for him, and that they should train the pilots for him. Well, Sir, if a company were to come here, it will be their business to see that they have their own pilots and not Indian pilots as suggested by my friend. If my friend wants to have Indian pilots, then the best way for him will be to start an Indian company where to train his pilots. But if he means, Sir, that cadets should be taken into the Royal Air Force, I will say to him that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the other day made an announcement and for the first time to my knowledge he has stated that Woolwich is about to be opened to Indian cadets for training in Engineering and Artillery, and that Indian cadets will be permitted to qualify themselves for the Royal Air Force. It has

further been said by the Honourable Mr. McWatters that 10
12 NOON. cadets will be taken on and that they will be trained in some central place in England. To the best of my knowledge there is a college or institution in Cornwall and there are some aviation institutions in the county of Middlesex at Uxbridge where the Indian cadets could be trained. If he will only wait until these cadets join the Royal Air Force, there will be a time when on their retirement from service they can open schools where aviators could be trained. But the Honourable Mover wants to build Rome in a day, and that I think is not very possible.

Sir, one further point as regards the selection of cadets for the Royal Air Force in India. I would suggest that the cadets selected should be from the martial classes, because they will have to face some day different nationalities of the world as hostile forces, and unless they have their own etiquette and their own traditions to stick to, they cannot have the courage to face the different nationalities of the world, for they have first to take stock of their own traditions in order to face the hostile forces with the courage for which men of this class are credited, and their only chance is to defeat the hostile forces and thereby establish the reputation of their ancestors. If the worst comes to the worst, they are prepared to sacrifice their lives like men rather than undergo the humiliation of being beaten and thereby not only bringing discredit on themselves but on the whole of their families and nationalities as well. If the Duke of Wellington could say to his forces on the battlefield of Waterloo, "Steady my lads. What will they say of this in England to-day?", or Marshal Ney could say to his opponents at the time of the Retreat of the Grand Army from Moscow "As a Marshal of France I can never surrender."—there are a good many family traditions on the Frontier which could produce even more wonderful feats than those already enumerated by me in the presence of more overwhelming odds, and who carried the day simply by their tenacity, doggedness and invincible courage. Sir, the history of Rajputs, and especially Todd's Rajasthan, is full of their glorious traditions and whenever the Rajputs have been surrounded they have destroyed their families and their valuable properties and in desperation have accomplished the deeds which will always remain the guiding spirit of the Rajput race. Sir, instances are not needed, but there have been men on our own Frontier who did not hesitate to face the invincible armies of Nadir Shah. There is a Persian saying :

"*Surat-i-Nadir garift shamat-i-amaalai-ma.*"

which means :

"Whenever Nadir Shah appeared on the battlefield it was a sure sign of the destruction of his enemies."

But, Sir, there have been men on the Frontier who in order to inculcate courage amongst their followers quoted these words :

"If Nadir is invincible there is Kadir, the Almighty, over his head and the destinies of war are in the hands of that Kadir and not in the hands of the invincible Nadir."

Well, Sir, when those men attacked Nadir they were not unsuccessful in getting a very big sum out of him. Personally I would always like the martial classes of India, and especially the members of the historically famous families amongst them, to be candidates for the Indian Army and would not like to see a cadet of the non-martial classes of India. First of all, it will be hard for them to get on with the rank and file who are generally the poor members of the martial classes. Secondly, the officers of the martial classes would not like to serve under the non-martial classes. Thirdly, the military expenses of the army officer are very heavy in comparison to the pay of the junior ranks of the Army, i.e. Lieutenant and Captain, and as such they have to get some allowance from their families in order to maintain themselves decently along with the other British officers. Fourthly, if men of the non-martial classes are admitted into the Army, it is not for their love of this profession that they take to the military career, but they will have to maintain themselves on the pay of their junior rank which is inadequate for their expenses, with the result that either they will have to resign their appointments or reduce the status of a British officer.

Well, Sir, fortunately or unfortunately we have different classes for different professions in India. (1) A Brahmin or a Mullah is a preacher and is an intellectual person and consequently fit to be a courtier pleasing his master by his advice of his arm-chair profession. (2) Kshatriyas or the martial classes have to prove themselves to be men of the armed profession in the presence of hostile forces. (3) Vaishyas have to carry on the grand commercial schemes and projects to bewilder the world. (4) The Sudras or Kamins, if these Kamins do not become Mullahs amongst the Muhammadans, have to serve the other three classes. Well, Sir, I have no objection if cadets for the Royal Air Force are selected from the Kshatriyas, that is, the Rajputs, both Hindu and Muhammadan, the Jats, including the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities, the Mahrattas, the Pathans and Panjabee Mussalmans who are all akin either to Rajputs or to Jats. But, Sir, to enlist Mullahs or other religious worthies as officers of the Indian Army does not seem advantageous to this profession in any way. If, however, the Government of India has to satisfy these religious worthies for their diplomatic services their ambition could be satisfied by admitting them into other departments besides the Army ; but to my mind the Army career should be reserved for the martial classes of India. In the Army a subordinate has to carry out the orders of his superiors and it is not for him to discuss the merits or demerits of those orders, but our holy worthies are imbued with this criticism from their very childhood. In spite of these facts it is strange to see that whenever the selection of an Indian cadet is required in the Army or Navy, it is always the lot of these scions of these holy worthies. It reminds me of a Pushtoo saying :

"*Mutai mai lila vohai, ohu Nourai dai Abiullah vohie,*"

which means :

"When it comes to the use of the fist, it is the lot of my elder brother, but when it comes to the delicacies of the table, Abdulla steps in."

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The admittance of these holy worthies like the stepping in of Abdullah at the time of feast is quite incomprehensible to me.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member is sadly reiterating his own argument in regard to the one point which he seems to attempt to make in his speech. The question before the Council is the establishment of a school for ærocraft and his point is—I do not know whether he objects to or supports the establishment of the school—that the Indians who are to be admitted to the school should be of the martial class. He has been on that point for fifteen minutes and I must ask him to bring his remarks to a close.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: The training of these non-martial classes is quite incomprehensible to me, and I would therefore take the opportunity of requesting His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to have a due regard to the martial classes whilst making selection of the Army cadets including the Royal Air Force. Sir, with your permission I would like to remind this House, and especially His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, of the well known army toast of Marshal Blucher when he was surrounding Paris after the defeat of Napoleon :

“May the pen of the diplomats not spoil what we soldiers have rightly earned by our swords.”

May I appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief something after the same toast :

“May this Indian Army be not turned into a football for the Indian diplomats to play with.”

With these words I strongly oppose this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT (addressing the Honourable Mr. P. C. Desika Chari) : Does the Honourable Member wish to speak ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI: I want to say a few words by way of reply. I am thankful to the Honourable Mr. McWatters for giving a very sympathetic reply, but I am not satisfied on the whole that the scheme of starting a school for ærocraft is either impracticable or is bristling with such difficulties as cannot be overcome. He was talking about the organisation of the airways, workshops and ground organisation that are necessary. I said in my opening speech that my reading of the literature that was supplied to me impressed me with the difficulties connected with the subject, and I am glad that the Honourable Mr. McWatters agrees with me in thinking that these difficulties could be overcome. I quite well recognise that steps have been taken to give some sort of help to Indians to go abroad and to get some training, but I want an indigenous institution. I want, if possible, to have a large number of people trained in this department, and you cannot do it unless the Government start a school straightaway in our own country. Mr. McWatters has been referring to the case of Australia where subsidies have been given to some clubs for training people in ærocraft. He said that the Government of India is also giving subsidies to some clubs here and that it will serve the purpose. I would like to remind him that in Australia it was considered that the training given by these clubs is not quite enough, and they have started, as early as 1921, what are called refresher schools for giving further training to pilots and other people of the Air Force reserve. If they found that these air clubs, even if they are specially provided with schools, are

not in a position to turn out efficient air commanders and air pilots and they had to start what are called refresher schools, I want to take advantage of their experience and to have a school in India on the model of the Traffic Aviator School in Geisbergstrasse in Berlin, and it is only such an institution that could give proper training for pilots and air commanders which will be really useful in international and long distance home flights and that only such an institution will give the preliminary training to enter into the Royal Air Force. I heard the Honourable Mr. McWatters say that in my speech I was mixing up civil and military aviation. I was dealing mainly with civil aviation. What I said was that if you trained men in large numbers, it would be possible to have sufficient men who could get admission to the Royal Air Force. I wanted to prepare the material for this purpose. Mr. McWatters also referred to the announcement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I distinctly remember His Excellency stated that the Government's objection to the time table scheme recommended by the Skeen Committee was really due to the fact that they were not quite sure that the right type of man would be coming in large numbers in future years. That being the case, I only want to have an institution which will train up a large number of men so that there may be a large field of recruitment for the Royal Air Force, and so that it may not be said later that India cannot provide enough men, and that may not be made an excuse for admitting as few as possible into the Royal Air Force. My Resolution may appear premature, but in view of the fact that commercial aviation on a large scale is bound to come in the near future, you must have a trained personnel before it comes into operation, so that these companies operating with foreign personnel may not say, "We are sympathetic to you. We will take the Indian personnel as vacancies occur but in the meantime we cannot send our men home". I do not want such an excuse to be available to these foreign companies.

As regards Major Akbar Khan, I only want to say a few words. He has wholly misunderstood my remarks. If he will read my speech in print, he would have no reason to disagree with me. I am not anxious that foreign companies should come here and operate and lose. He is aware that these pioneer companies never lose.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAṢAB MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: Sometimes they do.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI: They will be subsidised and there will be a guarantee. When those people are to be guaranteed, we must be in a position to dictate our terms as regards the employment of Indian personnel. Sir, my friend was anxious that the martial classes should be given preference. If he is anxious that the martial classes should be given preference, I have no objection. I do not however understand what he means by the martial classes. I followed his speech closely. He is very anxious to exclude the Brahmin. I find that he was saying that merely incidentally, but I would like to remark that in the battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas the important Commanders-in-Chief were Brahmins. And if you go to ancient days, it is only the Brahmins that were the Commanders-in-Chief and all the teachers in the various armies were all Brahmins. Sir, there is no force in saying that there is some sort of inherited trait in a particular community which entitles it to be called a martial class. I may also mention for the information of the Honourable Major Akbar Khan that it is only after the Kshatriyas took to dispensing with their Brahmin Commanders-in-Chief that they fell a victim to the Muhammadans when they invaded India. But all this is ancient history and I do not want to deal with the question because it does

[Mr. P. C. Desika Chari.]

not directly arise. And one other matter also I noticed in the course of his speech. He enumerated various classes and he thinks it is only the Mussalmans of the Punjab and some of these classes that he enumerated who were the martial classes.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I shall be glad if the Honourable Member will spare us a debate as to what are martial classes. It has nothing whatever to do with the subject before us.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI : Very well, Sir. I merely wanted to give a reply to something which he said. I would only request permission of the Chair to say one word more, and that is this. In Vellore and Trichinopoly and other places, almost every other man I come across is a Subedar-Major or Subedar and these people are not of the Punjab, and I find several of them come from the villages. That would show that some of these centres can boast of more military officers than any one single centre of the Punjab.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. As the Honourable Member will not come back to his reply, I am putting the Resolution to the Council.

The question is :

“That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to establish a School to give training to Indians in aerocraft.”

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL OR IMPERIAL CONFERENCES.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay : Non-Muhamadan) : Sir, I beg to move :

“That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Indian representation on the League of Nations and other International or Imperial Conferences should be by a delegation predominantly Indian in its composition and led by an Indian.”

Honourable Members will notice that the scope of this Resolution is wider than the similar Resolution which I have been moving since 1924. It refers to Indian representation and leadership not only at the annual sessions of the League of Nations but also to all International or Imperial Conferences to which the Government of India are asked to send delegations. I regret very much that the necessity for moving a Resolution of this kind still exists, so slowly do we move, and so inconsiderable is our progress, in attaining the full height of our national stature. In 1924, I first moved a Resolution urging that Government should recognise the principle that the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations should be led by an Indian. For the last four years, I have been continuously and persistently asking for the recognition of that principle. On the first occasion, I withdrew my Resolution on a very sympathetic assurance being given, on behalf of Government, by the then Law Member, Sir Mahomed Shafi. In 1926, I again tabled the Resolution. Government did not oppose it and it was passed by the House. The sympathetic assurance given by Government in 1924 as well as the fact that in 1926 the Resolution was adopted without opposition on the part of Government naturally gave rise to the expectation that the Indian delegation to the Assembly of

the League of Nations held in that year would be led by an Indian for certain. That expectation, however, was doomed to disappointment. On the 24th August of that year, the Honourable the Law Member, Mr. S. R. Das, made an announcement that in the present circumstances, it was thought unnecessary to depart from the existing system or arrangement. It was a disappointing statement that the Honourable the Law Member made, and, curiously enough, as if to bring into more striking relief the injustice involved in the existing system, and in the denial to India of its just right in the matter, the Indian delegation of that year was not led by any British statesman of outstanding merit or position as on some previous occasions, but by a member of the India Council, Sir William Vincent. I entertain respect for Sir William, who is no doubt a retired officer of great experience, but, with all respect to him, he cannot be said to be in the first, or perhaps even the second, flight of British or International politics. Last year, therefore, on the 9th March, I once again moved the Resolution and this time, as if by a process of what may be called "reactionary sympathy", Government opposed the motion but I am glad to say the House passed it by a majority of 25 to 18 votes. Again Government set at naught the wishes of the House and last year as well, the Indian delegation was not led by an Indian.

This, Sir, is the history of this Resolution and of the important question which I have been pressing every year. Undeterred by the changed attitude of Government, but fully conscious of the moral strength arising from the inherent justice of our cause and from the knowledge that both Houses of the Central Legislature and Indian public opinion are behind me in the matter, I have again come forward with a Resolution which, not only reiterates the old demand but goes further and urges that every Indian delegation to every Imperial or International Conference should be composed predominantly of Indians and led by an Indian. Demands feed and grow on opposition and it should not surprise Government and the House that, in spite of the attitude of Government in rejecting the smaller demand, this larger demand is now made. The moral is obvious if Government really wish to be national in spirit and in policy, as they certainly ought to be.

Having regard to the generous sympathy shown with the object of my Resolutions on former occasions by Law Members like Sir Mahomed Shafi and the Honourable Mr. S. R. Das, it is strange that the decision arrived at by Government in 1926 should be in utter variance with those expressions of sympathy. I do not understand what has brought about this change of attitude on the part of Government. It may be that they themselves would like to carry out the wishes of the House and see Indians appointed as leaders of such delegations, but that they find themselves helpless before the Secretary of State. No doubt in strict constitutional theory, the Indian Government is a subordinate Government, as Lord Morley was never tired of impressing upon the then Viceroy, Lord Minto. But I venture to submit that this subordination of the Indian Government, though perhaps it might have been absolute, in the days of Lord Morley and Lord Minto has been modified and relaxed by the new constitutional position arising out of the constitution under which we are functioning. That position is that when the considered decisions of the Indian Parliament, as the Indian Legislature is so often called, are in harmony with the views of the Government of India themselves, or *vice versa*, the Home Government should not interfere with those decisions and turn them down, but give full and ungrudging effect to them. This is one of the basic principles of the existing constitution. From the sympathetic replies given in the past I am loth to believe that Lord Reading when he was Viceroy would have liked or that His Excellency Lord Irwin or his Government would like that the Indian

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

members of these delegations should always play second fiddle to their European colleagues and that they should never be given an opportunity to show what they are capable of by leading the delegations. We must therefore urge upon the Indian Government to go on pressing our case until the Secretary of State is persuaded to raise no difficulties in the way of the realisation of a natural and reasonable desire on our part.

I am glad to say, that so far as the principle that the delegations should be predominantly Indian is concerned, it has been acted on in the matter of the delegation to the League of Nations. As the Honourable the Law Member pointed out in his speech last year, out of six members who formed the delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1926, four were Indians, and I believe, the same was the case last year. This is a step in the right direction and we are grateful to Government for taking it. We now want that a further step should be taken. Why should Indians be debarred from leading delegations on behalf of their own country? I do not wish to repeat the ~~same case~~ ^{argument} which I advanced last year in support of my Resolution, and against action taken up by Government. Indeed, the question has been discussed ~~there~~ ^{before}, and there is little new that I can contribute to the debate. The Honourable the Law Member in his speech last year remarked :

"In this particular instance, that is to say, the Delegation to the League of Nations, the Government, for reasons which I have stated in my announcement, do not feel or do not find that it is absolutely necessary in the interests of India that an Indian should lead the delegation on all occasions."

Sir, I ask Government do they feel or do they find that it is absolutely necessary in the interests of India that an Indian should not lead the delegation on any occasion? Does their view of the requirements of Indian interests demand that the delegation must on all occasions be led by a Britisher? What are those requirements of Indian interests that an Indian—a son of the soil—cannot adequately and effectively represent or safeguard that a Britisher alone is competent enough to do.

To be frank, there is only one argument by which the present system can be defended. The British are the rulers, they are in a dominant position, the Indians are the ruled, therefore the prestige of the ruling race demands that the delegations must be led, not by an Indian, but by a Britisher. If this is the real reason for setting aside the repeated wishes of this House, we can understand it. But in that case we would prefer that it should be expressly stated instead of being camouflaged by the absurd argument that it is not necessary in the interests of India that the delegation should be led by an Indian. But, when you accept the principle of a mixed delegation, you really abandon the principle of racial superiority or inferiority. The members of a delegation are equals, whatever their race and the leader of the delegation is the first among equals. Why should an Indian be debarred from being *primus inter pares*, why should he be deemed incapable of holding the first place, why should it be always filled by a Britisher? Distinguished Indians who if only they get the opportunity, would rise to the highest positions in any sphere as so many like the late Lord Sinha, the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir Dadiba Dalal, Sir Atul Chatterjee and others have done as members of the delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations and otherwise and have discharged the duties that devolved upon them with distinction, bringing credit to themselves and to the land of their birth. What objection was there or is there to their appointment as leaders? Can they not lead the delegation with the same ability and distinction? On

what ground can they be justly excluded from leadership, unless it be the racial ground which is, however, an unjust and unrighteous ground? It has been said that Dominion delegations to the Assembly of the League of Nations are led by members of Dominion Governments. Well, we can have Indian members of the Government of India to lead the Indian delegation. Is it impossible that the Indian delegation should be led, say, by the Honourable Sir Mahomed Habibullah or by the Honourable Mr. Das. We are fighting for a principle, for the honour and status of our motherland; it is not a personal question. You can have competent non-official Indians to lead the delegations. If you insist that they must be led by members of the Government or other officials, you can have Indians enjoying such positions. Surely, the time is now come for discarding all racial discrimination, or for proceeding on lines of racial superiority or inferiority? The partnership between England and India is now a constitutional fact, and that fact calls for perfect equality between the two races in all international Conferences. India is an original member of the League of Nations; she pays a handsome sum towards its expenses. Why then should Indians be eternally condemned to a position of inferiority? Will not India be justified if she decides to withdraw from the League or refuse to pay a single pie towards its expenses, if this inferiority is to be for ever branded on her brow? It would seem as if the just and magnanimous spirit of the War is dead and gone, that reactionary tendencies are again gaining ascendancy over British statesmanship. Whatever that may be, in a matter like this, I deem it my duty to make a special appeal to Indian members of Government. They are the trustees for, and the custodians of, the self-respect, the honour and the status of their country, and they must do their best to get this unjust and unmerited discrimination removed. With persistent efforts, I have no doubt they will succeed. Recently the Honourable Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer who has been a member of the delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations for the last two years said in an address he delivered at Madras on "India's place in International Affairs":

"It is true that India is not a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth. But on account of the farsightedness of Mr. Montagu, she has been placed in the same position as Canada and Australia. It would be remembered that Canada had already asserted in accordance with the decision of the Imperial Conference her international status, and if Indian public opinion is behind the efforts made to improve the position of India in the League of Nations, she can equally make herself felt as an international factor of importance."

It is precisely this object of improving the position of India in the League of Nations that we all have in view, and I sincerely trust that this year at least, the responsible authorities will be persuaded to respect the wishes of the House and of India, to conciliate Indian public opinion and to appoint an Indian to lead the delegation to the League of Nations. Already the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission has embittered the feelings of the Indian people and alienated the good-will of even the moderate section of opinion. Let not Government adopt the unwise and narrow minded course of swelling the rising tide of discontent by persisting in an attitude which can only make us feel a sense of deep national self-humiliation.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to move the amendment that is against my name:

"That in the original Resolution, the words 'and led by an Indian' be omitted."

I am sorry, Sir, that I could not see eye to eye with the Honourable Mover of the main Resolution and accept the same on all fours.

[Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy.]

Sir, it goes without saying that this Resolution is a very important one and touches the most vital issues of the nation. I am not one of those who judge things and institutions only by their visible output. But, Sir, I belong to those who would penetrate far beyond the outer crust of things and take stock of the ideas and ideals, however feebly represented in the palpable coarse world of realised facts, that inspire the institutions of

“Thoughts hardly to be packed into a narrow act,”

of fancies “that broke through and escaped”. The coarse world would say, “Nothing succeeds like success”, but I would be one of those, Sir, who would have the courage and conviction to say, “Nothing succeeds like failure”.

Judged by this criterion, Sir, of the ideal, there can be no gainsaying the fact that the League of Nations and other International or Imperial Conferences, despite the detractors or unbelievers calling them Leagues or Councils of Robbers, Cabals of the Big to rob the Small, contain the germs of International amity, of universal fraternity, that would defy and transcend at no distant epoch the barren exclusiveness of narrow Nationalism and make for the realisation of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

Sir, it cannot be gainsaid that India has a part, a very important part, to play in the realisation of the universal Ego between nation and nation. Light has always come from the East and I fervently believe Sir, that light shall once more emanate from this ancient land of light—a light that would kindle the lamps of nations and consummate their Devali ceremony.

Hence, Sir, it is absolutely essential that there should be people in these Leagues and Conferences to represent India, her cultural and political aspirations. Sir, when I say this, I am not to be misunderstood as a petty trafficker for national bargain. But, Sir, it is to be understood that it is both for the best interests of India and of England, I might even say, for the best interests of all living nations, coloured and colourless, that India should have a full representation for herself.

But, Sir, I am sorry that up till now this most important view of the Indian representation has not received the attention that it well deserves from the constituted authorities of the land. India has not been up till now adequately represented whether in the League or in the Conferences by people inspired with the best traditions and cultural ideals of this nation,—people independent of political preimpositions. And I believe, Sir, that this woeful drawback can be done away with only by making the Indian delegation predominantly Indian. Sir, when I say “Indian” I hope I am not to be misunderstood. To me, an “Indian” means whoever will truly represent India—India with her unique cultural and political ideas and aspirations. According to this interpretation I would rather welcome a Mr. Andrews of the Santi-Niketan to represent India than any upstart son of the soil in the favour of the Government. Sir, I would submit that my very amendment is a lucid commentary on my unbiassed mentality.

Now what I was going to say, Sir, was that Indian representation has been up till now very poor. This seems very iniquitous when I notice that India is not only an original member of the League but pays, if I remember aright, not only more than any of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, but many of the independent nations of the West, barring, of course, only a few of the biggest powers there. I submit, therefore, Sir, that in the light of these facts the scantiness of the truly Indian representation is not only illogical but iniquitous.

But when I say all this, Sir, I beg to draw the attention of this House to the narrow exclusiveness of the original Resolution. Nationalism I adore, but sentimental nationalism is an abomination. Efficiency should be our standard. Ours is not the question of the colour; whosoever's it may be, let it be; it is not ours, Sir. Brown, black, yellow, or white,—what I want is, what justice requires is, that India should be truly and fully represented. Let the Indian Delegation be led by a European, no matter, if he truly represents India. I think I have outgrown that blind and sentimental nationalism that would always cry out, "My country, right or wrong". To me such maxims bespeak a perverted mentality. The right man in the right place, the right thing in the right place—that should be our principle. What we want is that India with her wonderful cultural heritage, with her treasured ideas of the past, with her nascent aspirations for the future, should be fully and efficiently represented, her interests should be safeguarded for the best interests of the world. And, Sir, whoever shall represent them shall have the divine right of precedence to all others whether bossed up by the Government or by any other interested institutions. With these few words I commend my amendment to the favourable consideration of this House.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Amendment moved:

"That the words 'and led by an Indian' be omitted."

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY (Central Provinces: Nominated Non-Official): I do not propose to discuss in detail this Resolution. This is the third time that this Resolution has been before this Council and the arguments on both sides are familiar to Honourable Members. The whole question has been thoroughly threshed out on the floor of this House. I am sorry that both sides have adopted an unreasonable attitude. My Honourable friend, Sir Phiroze Sethna, has persistently sought, in his former Resolutions as well as in this, to make a racial distinction. On the other hand, Government have been unreasonable in not conceding some of the modest demands of Sir Phiroze Sethna. I made it very explicit on the last occasion when this question was debated here that, unless both the Government and Sir Phiroze Sethna adopted a more reasonable attitude, it would be impossible to come to any definite conclusion in connection with this matter. My Honourable friend, Sir Phiroze Sethna has very rightly said to-day that the time has come to discard all racial distinctions—I am using his own words, he said, "unjust and unmerited distinction should be removed". And yet what does he say? Let us consider the language of his Resolution. His Resolution contemplates the perpetuation of racial distinctions which he has denounced in such vehement language; he emphatically proposes to make a racial distinction in this Resolution by insisting on the use of words "and led by an Indian". If this delegation is to be led by an Indian always and you want Government to concede that unreasonable proposition, are you not making a racial distinction in the matter? I think this attitude on the part of Sir Phiroze Sethna is not defensible. My own personal view is that so far as the leading of the Delegation is concerned, the best man must be selected. He may be an Indian or he may be an Englishman. The best man qualified by knowledge and experience in the matter of international law—a man of that attainment—should be selected. It makes very little difference to my mind what nationality he belongs to. If that sound and cardinal principle is observed I think India's best interests will always be maintained and safeguarded. I think it is such narrow views like these that have been now propounded that unfortunately go against us. I notice, however, that my Honourable friend, Sir Phiroze Sethna, has modified substantially the language of the Resolution on this occasion; but on the other hand, he has unfortunately

[Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy].

extended its scope and has made a material departure from his previous Resolutions. I do not see any objection to the insertion of the words "predominantly Indian". In a matter like this, where Indian interests are to be represented before the League of Nations or International Conferences, it is just as well that those interests should be represented by the foremost Indians in the country. So far I am in full agreement and sympathy with him. I do not therefore propose to detain the Council any longer. I trust that my Honourable friend will agree to the deletion of the words "and led by an Indian", and I also hope that Government will adopt a more reasonable attitude on this occasion and bring this controversy to a speedy and suitable termination.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras : Nominated Non-Official) : I do not know what exactly the Government are going to do in this matter, but I think in justice to my Honourable friend, Sir Phiroze Sethna, and others who take his view, it is better that I should try to remove a misapprehension which my Honourable friend, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, has unconsciously made in regard to Sir Phiroze Sethna's proposition. He is not attempting to make racial discrimination. He is obviously attempting to remove it if there was any such intention on the part of the Government. If the Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy will refer to the history of this question, he will have noticed that Government themselves have accepted the principle on former occasions. Sir Muhammad Shafi when he was Leader of the House, recognised the soundness of this principle and if I am not mistaken he gave a definite assurance that they were thinking of an Indian to lead the Delegation. There might have been some difficulties in the way of getting an Indian that year. The simple question is this. Ever since India began to be represented on the League the leadership has been in the hands of Englishmen. I have personally nothing against the Englishmen who have led this delegation. The question is whether during all these years Government have not been able to find an Indian to whom the task of leading this Delegation could have been entrusted. My Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna has pointed out that Government have made the choice of the best Indians available. Yet almost every one of them has returned with the feeling that some of them could certainly have led the Delegation with credit and that India has been denied the opportunity. Sir Phiroze Sethna pointed out that the Honourable Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, who has represented India twice, gave expression to such a feeling. Then there is the public pronouncement of a great Indian, whose work here and elsewhere, particularly in the matter of solving difficult questions connected with South Africa is well known. He said that among the 56 States represented in the Assembly of the League, India alone was led by non-Indians and the question was naturally asked whether there was no competent Indian to lead the delegation. The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri said : "How long shall we appear as people the highest men among whom still require to be shepherded by non-Indians." I would ask my Honourable friends Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy and Dr. Suhrawardy, who gave us a discourse partly in prose and partly in poetry, to remember that the attitude an Indian may or may not take upon this question depends upon his own mentality and his idea of self-respect. I do not think my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna made this a racial question at all. To give it a turn like that would be doing him an injustice. He drew pointed attention to the fact that for the last six years no Indian has been sent as the head of the Delegation and that it was high time that the task should be entrusted to a competent Indian. I have no doubt that there are Indians who can be entrusted with this task and who will do their work in a manner which will do honour to this country.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG (Home Secretary): My Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna has reminded the Council that this question has been before it, I think I am right in saying, four times previously.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA: Three times.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: I beg your pardon, three times. I make no complaint of the reappearance of this question to-day, for it is one in which Honourable Members naturally take considerable interest. Previously, when this matter has been discussed, it has been discussed as a question of the Indian representation on the League of Nations and the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna has explained that to-day he has widened the terms of his Resolution by including other International or Imperial Conferences and, as he himself recognises, that is a decidedly larger demand. The Resolution asks that in all these Conferences the Delegation should be predominantly Indian in its composition and led by an Indian. Well, Sir, I think we have to recognise that at the present time Government in India is, if we are to speak in racial terms, a racial partnership and the proportions of that partnership are not immutably fixed. Whether we look at the Government of India itself or its services or its delegations, one can see that the whole matter is in a state of flux. But the Government must, so long as it is responsible, as it always must be, for selecting its delegations be free to select those whom they consider most suited for the particular purpose in hand. One day it may be an Indian, one day it may be a European. Now, Sir, that is my first objection to this Resolution that it asks the Government to bind its hands under all circumstances to constitute all its Delegations predominantly of Indians and that they should always be led by Indians. I may mention, as a small illustration of the difficulty of accepting such a proposition, the case of the International Labour Conference. It is laid down in the Treaty of Versailles that the members undertake to nominate non-Government delegates—I should explain that the delegation consists of Government delegates and non-Government delegates—and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or work people, as the case may be, in their respective countries. That means that the Government of India have not an entirely free hand in selecting the delegates to represent the workers and the employers. In the past, the representatives selected have sometimes been European, sometimes Indian. On the last occasion I think I am right in saying that both the employers and the workers delegates were Indian, but we cannot be sure that that will always be the view of the body of employers or even of the body of workers. Again, on the point of leadership, we are asked to subscribe to the proposition that these delegations should always be led by Indians and if we are reluctant to accept that proposition, we are attacked as if we were asserting the contrary proposition that the delegations should never be led by Indians. That is most emphatically not the position we take. There is a middle position between "always" and "never" and that is "sometimes," and that is the existing position of the Government of India. It is hardly necessary to remind the Council that when an exceedingly important delegation was sent from India to discuss questions which I venture to submit without any disrespect to the League of Nations were much more vital to the interests of India than any questions that are likely to arise before the League of Nations, I refer to the delegation to South Africa—the leader of that delegation was the Leader of this House. I would also remind the House that for I think the last 3 years the leader of the delegation to the International Labour Conference has been Sir Atul Chatterjee. He happens to be clearly marked out as the most suitable representative and accordingly he is chosen. Therefore, Sir, I maintain it is not a question of

[Mr. H. G. Haig.]

always or never. It is a question of selecting the particular individual who in the particular circumstances happens to be the most suitable for the work. I am in this difficulty, Sir, that Government are not unsympathetic to the ideas that underlie this Resolution to-day. But they cannot fetter their discretion. They cannot lay down an absolute rule and say, in the case of all delegations Indians must always be predominant, and all delegations must always be led by Indians. These are days, Sir, when a large number of people spend their time in hunting about for pledges which Government is asserted to have broken. Well, Sir, we really cannot give a pledge in a matter like that. We should be immediately attacked. We could not fail to break such a pledge. It is hardly reasonable for the House to ask it of us. But getting back to the substance that underlies the Resolution, to take first the point of delegations being predominantly Indian, I have been looking through the lists of delegates in recent years to various Conferences, and I do not think it is an unfair claim to make that usually the delegation has been predominantly Indian. Take, for instance, the League of Nations. I think my Honourable friend, Sir Phiroze Sethna, mentioned that point. During the last 2 years, out of the 6 delegates 4 have been Indians and 2 have been Europeans. That is a substantial Indian predominance. Again, in the case of the Imperial Conference, I think on the last occasion out of 3 delegates 2 were Europeans and one was an Indian, but on the two previous occasions, 2 were Indians and one was a European. Then again, take the International Labour Conference. I have already mentioned that in 1927, out of 4 delegates 3 were Indians and one was a European. Therefore, Sir, I claim that in substance what this Resolution is asking us to do is to maintain the existing practice. But it is asking us to make an absolute rule, and that Government cannot pledge itself to do. So far as the selection of representatives is concerned, I do not think there is likely to be criticism. Looking through the names of these delegates I have been struck by the distinction of the names of these successive Indian delegates to the various Conferences. The real claim, therefore, for anything in the nature of an innovation is that the delegations should always be led by an Indian. Now, Sir, one of the Conferences which is specially mentioned in this Resolution is the Imperial Conference. That is a Conference of the various Governments of the Empire and the practice in the past—and I think Honourable Members will admit that it is a very reasonable practice—has been that the delegation representing the Government of India is led by that person who under Parliament in the existing constitution is the ultimate authority in matters relating to India, namely the Secretary of State. Well, if we admit that it is reasonable under the existing constitution that the Government of India should at the heart of the Empire be represented by the Secretary of State, there is an obvious difficulty in pledging ourselves to say that it should always be led by an Indian, unless the view is taken that the Secretary of State should always be an Indian. Then, so far as the International Labour Conference is concerned, as I have already mentioned, for the last three years the delegations have actually been led by a distinguished Indian, Sir Atul Chatterjee. I come finally to the League of Nations, which I understand is the point to which the Honourable Member attaches most importance. That point has, as has already been stated by several Honourable Members, been discussed threadbare in the course of the last two or three years. I am not myself very familiar with the details of the case, but I think that all that is to be said on the subject has already been said in the past by the Honourable the Law Member. If the object of the Resolution is to keep before the public the claims of an Indian to be appointed as leader of the delegation to the League of Nations, that object, Sir, has been obtained by this debate. I should be sorry if, in order to achieve

his object, the Honourable Member forced the Council to divide, for I am convinced that, apart from questions of form, to which as I have said Government must attach scrupulous importance, for they cannot bind themselves to things that they cannot be sure of carrying out, apart from these questions of form, it appears to me that there is very little difference in substance between the Government and the non-official Benches. And it seems to me unfortunate that, owing to the particular form in which his Resolution is cast, the Government should be forced to divide against my Honourable friend opposite.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Will you suggest an alternative ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG : I am afraid, Sir, I cannot. But, as I have already explained, the position is that the Government are not able to accept the Resolution as worded.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Sir, I will in one or two sentences endeavour to reply to the criticisms on my speech made by non-official Members. All I can say in regard to what fell from the Honourable Mr. Suhrawardy as to his not being able to see eye to eye with me, is that he entirely forgets that he did see eye to eye with me this time 12 months ago and voted with me. At any rate I could make neither head nor tail out of what he said to the House except that he called my mentality perverted. How it was perverted he did not endeavour to explain. (*The Honourable Mr. Suhrawardy interrupted*). I wish the Honourable Member would let me speak without unnecessary and meaningless interruptions from him. I am glad my Honourable friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy did not find my mentality perverted. As regards the point raised by my friend, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, it was answered by another non-official Member, the Honourable Mr. Natesan, and I will not therefore take up the time of the House by referring to it again. Sir Maneckji, I am glad to say, finds as much fault with me as he does with Government. That is a matter of great consolation to me.

I shall now come to the remarks of the Honourable the Home Secretary. In the first place, the House will notice that whilst on the three previous occasions it was always the Law Member who spoke on behalf of Government on this Resolution, this time it is the Honourable the Home Secretary who has spoken.....

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG : May I explain, Sir ? The reason why it has been taken by the Home Department is the extension which the Honourable Member has given to his Resolution. He has not confined it to the League of Nations which is dealt with by the Legislative Department, but has included other Conferences which are the concern of the Home Department.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : I am obliged to the Home Secretary for this explanation, but I wish that he had dealt with only the extensions in my Resolution and that the Honourable the Law Member had dealt with what falls within his province. However, I will not be surprised if the Honourable the Law Member has now come to the conclusion that there is great force and justice in our contention and that consequently he has not the heart to oppose me again, and that may be the reason why the Honourable the Home Secretary has taken up the reply not only on the points which fall under his purview but also the point which falls under the purview of the Honourable Mr. Das.

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

The Honourable Mr. Haig said that it was natural that the House should take much interest in this question. It certainly does, and as the Home Secretary must know, there is equal interest taken in the other place judging from the questions put and from the supplementary questions asked and answered there just the other day. Mr. Haig says that a larger demand is made by me to-day, I have admitted it. He added that, as the Government is constituted to-day, a sort of racial partnership has been established but that no proportions are fixed. I admit that as well. If it is the intention of Government to fix racial proportions to judge from what fell from Mr. Haig let Mr. Haig on behalf of Government say that they are prepared to appoint an Indian leader alternately. Mr. Haig does not want me to press for a division. I am afraid I will not be able to accede to his request unless, when he speaks again, as he will have the right to do, he gives an assurance to this House that if not alternatively, at least immediately some if not all of these delegations, —certainly not the minor ones however to which he attached importance but the delegation to the League of Nations or the delegations to Imperial and International Conferences, will be presided over by an Indian.

The Honourable Mr. Haig has said that he was struck by the distinction of Indian names who were members of such delegations and not leaders. That is exactly my argument. If he is struck by their names, I take it that he for one, as a member of Government, will not object to any one of these being leader of any one of these delegations, and therefore, I trust he will prevail upon his superiors to get some such distinguished Indians appointed in the next delegations that will be sent this year. The Honourable Mr. Haig observed that the object of Government was to select the most suitable men to go as leaders. I have not denied that. Does Mr. Haig desire us to draw the inference that the most suitable men, the ablest men, cannot be found amongst Indians and that is the reason why Government so far have not chosen Indian leaders for these important delegations? What he said simply amounts to this and nothing more and it is therefore that I am pressing my Resolution.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy very rightly said that neither side could advance any new arguments because this question has been discussed threadbare. I admit I have no further arguments to advance. My position, Sir, is that of a plaintiff in a law suit. I have put forward a claim for a certain sum of money. Government in their first reply, and also in their second reply, admitted the amount of my claim but what defence they then put up was tantamount to asking for time for payment. It was only on the third occasion, that is last year, when the Honourable Mr. Das replied for the second time that he went further and there was some attempt on his part to wriggle out of what was practically admitted on the first two occasions, namely, the demand made in my Resolution, and to-day there is a still further attempt made to wriggle out. I am perfectly agreeable—and I repeat my assurance—that if Mr. Haig tells me that there is even a likelihood that the next delegation to at least the League of Nations is to be led by an Indian, I am prepared to withdraw my Resolution here and now. I know he cannot bind himself, but if he will assure me that an honest endeavour has already been made or will be made this year by the Government of India, if he tells me that they will put forward the claims of Indians, if he is prepared to assure me in this House to-day that, so far as the Government of India are concerned, they have once again put forward our claim very strongly and that the decision is left to the Secretary of State, I am prepared to withdraw my Resolution, but not otherwise. If we are not satisfied on this point to-day, I promise the House a repetition of this Resolution next year perhaps in an amended form to meet the point raised by my

friend Mr. Haig. I shall then move my Resolution by asking for fifty fifty, and instead of saying "led by an Indian" I shall say "led at least alternately by an Indian" and that will be my Resolution next year, if between now and this time next year the Secretary of State and the Government of India will not accede to our very legitimate and perfectly fair proposals as they were pronounced to be by Sir Muhammad Shafi and also a year later by the Honourable Mr. Das. Mr. Haig said that he cannot give a pledge nor was what was said before to be construed as a pledge. I request Mr. Haig to look up old reports which if he does, he will find that what Sir Muhammad Shafi said in 1924 and what the Honourable Mr. Das said in the following year was tantamount to a pledge and nothing short of it. You cannot get out of that.

I do not know whether Mr. Haig referred to me, when he said members talked of pledges and promises being broken. I certainly during this Session said, not once but twice, that the public cannot help but form the opinion that Government are breaking their pledges and promises. I said that in regard to far more important matters, namely, in regard to the Simon Commission and in regard to the Skeen Committee's Report. The subject-matter of this Resolution is, comparatively speaking, not as important, but if you break your pledge in regard to this matter as well, certainly the public will have greater reason to distrust the promises and pledges given by the representatives of the Government of India in this House.

Sir, on the last occasion I pressed the motion to a division, as I shall also do this time unless Mr. Haig gives the assurance that I have asked for. On the last occasion, I may remind the House that 25 Honourable Members voted for the motion including Mr. Suhrawardy and 18 against. But the most interesting point is, that out of these 18, as many as 17 were officials and the eighteenth, I am sorry to say, was an Indian non-official nominated Member. Of the European non-official Members, of whom there were two present, I may inform the House that following the example of my friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoi—they abstained from voting. I trust that on this occasion they will do likewise and I rely on every nominated Indian as well as every elected Indian Member to prove to India that he stands by this Resolution and will not rest content until the Government of India and the Secretary of State have acceded to our very fair and legitimate demand.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG : I had not intended to inflict any further remarks on the House so shortly after I had concluded my original speech, but the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna has asked me to give the House certain assurances. He has suggested that I should give an assurance which would free him from the necessity of moving a Resolution next year, that the delegation to the League of Nations will be led alternately by a European and an Indian. I think that the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna cannot have altogether appreciated the point which I tried to make, that the Government must be free to select those for leadership whom for the particular purpose in view and at the particular time it may hold to be best suited. That obviously is not consistent with any rigid rules or pledge of that description. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna said that the fact that no Indian had yet been appointed to lead the delegation to the League of Nations.....

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : I will go further. If the Honourable Member will tell us on behalf of the Government of India that they have made a strong representation to the Secretary of State that the leader of the next delegation will be an Indian I shall be content, never mind what the Secretary of State does.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG : I am afraid I am not in a position to reveal what the Government of India may or may not have done in this matter. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna suggested that the fact that no Indian has hitherto been appointed leader of the delegation to the League of Nations meant that we had come to the conclusion that the ablest men were never to be found among Indians. That is a proposition which I entirely repudiate. The Honourable Member's own Resolution, as a matter of fact, would ask us to assert the contrary proposition that never, under no circumstances, would you find a European of sufficient ability to lead the delegation to the League of Nations, and I trust the House will not wish to assert that proposition. Finally, I wish to repudiate most emphatically the suggestion which the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna has made, that in the past the Government of India gave any pledge in this matter other than a pledge to give it their consideration, which they have done.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The original question was :

"That the following Resolution be adopted :

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Indian representation on the League of Nations and other International or Imperial Conferences should be by a delegation predominantly Indian in its composition and led by an Indian.'

Since which an amendment has been moved :

"To omit the words 'and led by an Indian'."

The question I have to put is that those words be omitted.

The motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

"That the original Resolution be adopted."

The Council divided :

AYES—16.

Abdul Karim, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Chettiyar, The Honourable Sir Annamalai.
Desika Chari, The Honourable Mr. P. C. Khaparde, The Honourable Mr. G. S. Mahendra Prasad, The Honourable Mr. Moti Chand, The Honourable Raja. Mukherjee, The Honourable Sriyut Lokeshath.
Natesan, The Honourable Mr. G. A. Nawab Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.

Ram Saran Das, the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Ray Chaudhury, The Honourable Mr. Kumar Sankar.
Sankaran Nair, The Honourable Sir. Sethna, The Honourable Sir Phiroze. Sinha, The Honourable Mr. Anugraha Narayan.
Umar Hayat Khan, The Honourable Colonel Nawab Sir.
Zubair, The Honourable Shah Muhammad.

NOES—20.

Akbar Khan, The Honourable Major Nawab Mahomed.
Burdon, The Honourable Mr. E. Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Sardar. Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the. Corbett, The Honourable Sir Geoffrey. Das, The Honourable Mr. S. R. De, The Honourable Mr. K. C. Froom, The Honourable Sir Arthur. Godefroy, The Honourable Sir George. Gray, The Honourable Mr. W. A. Habibullah, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad.

Haig, The Honourable Mr. H. G.
Hatch, The Honourable Mr. G. W.
Latifi, The Honourable Mr. A.
McWatters, The Honourable Mr. A. C. Misra, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Pandit Shyam Bihari.
Suhrawardy, The Honourable Mr. Mahmood.
Symons, The Honourable Major-General T. H.
Vernon, The Honourable Mr. H. A. B. Weeton, The Honourable Mr. D.

The motion was negatived.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 14th March, 1928.