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OF THE

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 17th February, 1923.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STATEMENT OF "NEW INDIA" ON RESOLUTION RELATING TO INDIAN AUTONOMY.

358. ***Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas:** (1) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the following paragraph headed "Which is true" in *New India* of the 29th January?

"Sir Malcolm Hailey told the Legislative Assembly that no despatch was sent by the Government of India to the Secretary of State along with the Resolution of the Assembly demanding the curtailment of the ten-year limit. But the *Bengalee's* Special Correspondent at Delhi is responsible for the statement that the wishes of the Government of India, and particularly of Lord Reading, have been overridden by Lord Peel not only in connection with the appointment of the Services Commission, but also in the matter of the proposed revision of the Reforms Act. The *Bengalee* understands that the Viceroy submitted "a reasoned despatch" to the Secretary of State "urging a further extension of the Reforms," and our contemporary is disposed to accept this statement as likely to be accurate. If it is a fact that Lord Reading's Government was in favour of an extension of the Reforms Act, it would only place the Government right with the people of India, and we are entitled to know who is our enemy and whom we have to attack. The people of India would like to know whether the statement of the *Bengalee* correspondent is accurate."

(2) Is the statement made by the Special Correspondent of the *Bengalee* true? If not, will the Government of India be pleased to state the true facts?

Mr. H. Tonkinson: The statement of the special correspondent of the *Bengalee* is not correct. The Resolution was sent to the Secretary of State with a forwarding letter only.

INCHCAPE COMMITTEE.

359. * **Mr. K. O. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state the probable date of the termination of the work of the Inchcape Committee?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I understand that the Committee hope to finish their inquiry by the end of this month.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Is it a fact that a part of the Report has been received by Government?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Yes, Sir.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: When is it going to be published?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: About the time of the Budget it is hoped to publish it.

WITNESSES EXAMINED BY INCHCAPE COMMITTEE.

360. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the names of witnesses examined by the Inchcape Committee?

(b) Was there any non-official among the witnesses?

(c) Will Government publish the evidence given by these witnesses?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am informed that no record has been kept of the witnesses. In some cases when the reports given by departments to the Committee required to be supplemented, the Heads of departments were informally examined.

The answer to the second and third parts of the question is in the negative. No complete record has been kept of the informal discussions above mentioned.

Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary: Is it a fact that it was first given out that the Committee would not examine any witnesses, but would receive only written statements of those who desire to give evidence?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am afraid I am not in a position to answer that question; I do not know.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Were the witnesses who were examined named by the Government of India specifically or was the matter referred to the Local Governments to send in witnesses to be examined by this Committee?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not think the Local Governments had anything to do with the question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: The Honourable Member did not understand the first part of my question, Sir. Did the Government of India name those persons who were examined, and if so what was the principle that was adopted in selecting persons to be examined *in camera*?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative, and the second part, therefore, does not arise.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Then, how did these people come here and how were they examined? Did any unknown person whisper in the ears of those persons who were examined as witnesses to come and give evidence here?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member has asked so many questions that I do not know which one to answer. But the Inchcape Committee examined such witnesses as it desired to examine.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Who decided the point? Was it the Committee which selected the witnesses or was it the Government? If it was done by the Committee, under what principle, and if it was done by the Government, how did Government select the persons?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Inchcape Committee, on the principle of examining those people who they thought would be useful, examined those people.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do I understand that Government was not a party and that the Chairman and the Members of the Committee selected the persons?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government gave the Committee free scope to make such inquiries as the Committee thought desirable.

Mr. K. Ahmed: That is not the answer. The Government should have given the names.

STAFF OF INCHCAPE COMMITTEE.

361. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) How many Secretaries, and Assistant Secretaries have the Inchcape Committee got?

(b) Is there any Indian in any responsible position in connection with the Inchcape Committee, excepting as Members thereof?

(c) What are the positions of Messrs. Mant and Brayne respectively in connection with the Inchcape Committee, and what are their respective salaries?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) There is one Secretary (Mr. Howard) and an attached officer (Mr. Milne).

(b) No Indian officer has been formally attached to the Committee, but amongst other Indian officers who have been connected with the investigations I may specially mention Mr. Mitra, Financial Adviser, Military Finance, who has been closely associated with the Committee in their enquiry into military expenditure.

(c) Mr. Mant was Secretary to Government in the Retrenchment Office during the preliminary enquiry and since the Committee has been sitting, he has discharged the duties of liaison officer between the Departments of Government and the Committee. His pay is Rs. 4,000 a month, as Secretary to Government. Mr. Brayne is an officer of the Finance Department deputed to afford the Committee such assistance as they may require. His pay is that of his regular appointment as Deputy Secretary, i.e., Rs. 2,350 a month.

CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

362. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Have Government received any proposal from the Government of Bengal for the amendment of the constitution of the Calcutta Port Trust, specially with a view to increase Indian representation thereon?

(b) If so, are Government in a position to make any statement indicating the views of Government in this matter?

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) No. The legislation necessary to give effect to any changes in the constitution of the Calcutta Port Trust is a matter for the Government of Bengal.

MOTOR HAULAGE AND ALLOWANCE IN DELHI.

363. ***Rai Bahadur G. C. Nag:** Is it a fact that Members living in Metcalfe House are allowed motor haulage and motor allowance of Rs. 75 per mensem? Is it a fact that Members living in Delhi city are allowed no conveyance allowance of any kind? On what ground is the discrimination justified? Who made the rule, and when was it made?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: Members living in Metcalfe House are entitled to draw motor haulage but not the conveyance allowance of Rs. 75 per mensem. If the Honourable Member will refer to Legislative Department Circular No. LXV, dated the 18th May, 1921, he will notice that the conveyance allowance of Rs. 75 per mensem is admissible to those who live at Raisina. It is a fact that Members living in Delhi City are not entitled to conveyance allowance. As Members living in Metcalfe House are not entitled to conveyance allowance there is no discrimination.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is there any allowance given for haulage, Sir, to people living in Delhi but neither at Raisina nor at Metcalfe House?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: I must ask for notice of that question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: If that is so, is there any sense, Sir, in not paying conveyance allowance to people living anywhere in the town?

Mr. President: That is a matter for argument.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I should like to know, Sir, the reason why people living in Metcalfe House should be given motor haulage, if it is not a conveyance allowance. I should also like to know from Government whether they remember that during the last Budget discussion, the Honourable the Law Member at that time promised to inquire into the question as to why a Delhi Member should not get conveyance allowance.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The Honourable Member's question seems to mix up two separate things. Motor haulage is given to a Member to enable the Member to bring his motor to Delhi. The conveyance allowance is given to a Member to enable him to run his motor about Delhi. With regard to the Delhi Member, I have not got the papers, and I should like to have notice of that question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it the principle followed here that Members coming here and living in Metcalfe House will get motor haulage and not the people living in the town?

Mr. S. C. Shahan: Will a Member coming from the mofussil to Delhi and residing in the city of Delhi be entitled to motor haulage?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: Certainly.

CANCELLATION OF MANGALORE MAIL.

364. ***Mr. K. Muppil Nayar:** 1. Is the Government aware that by cancelling the Mangalore Mail, the South Indian Railway has done a great disservice to the travelling public of the West Coast of India.

2. In view of the great trouble and worry to and consequent dissatisfaction of the public, do the Government propose to advise the restoration of the Mangalore Mail as soon as possible?

Mr. C. D. M. Hindley: 1 and 2. The attention of Government has been drawn to a letter in a newspaper indicating that the changes in the time table have not met with public approval but beyond this they have no information. The matter is one which is within the competence of the South Indian Railway Administration, but has been taken up with the Agent.

Mr. K. Muppil Nayar: Do I understand, Sir, that we have no control in the matter? Has the Assembly no jurisdiction in the matter?

Mr. C. D. M. Hindley: I have already stated that this is a matter which is within the competence of the South Indian Railway Administration.

SIND MOHAMMADAN CONSTITUENCY FOR COUNCIL OF STATE.

365. ***Mr. Ahmed Baksh:** Will the Government be pleased to state the following:

- (a) The date on which the nomination papers for the Sind Mohammadan Constituency for the Council of State were put in during the last bye-election;
- (b) The date of scrutiny and polling;
- (c) The date on which the result was announced;
- (d) The date on which Mr. Ali Buksh Mohammed Husain, M.L.A., put in his resignation and also the date on which it was accepted;
- (e) Is it fact that under the Council of State Electoral Rule 5 (c) a person is not eligible for election if he is a Member of any legislative body; if the answer is in the affirmative will the Government be pleased to state how Mr. Ali Buksh Mohammed Husain was elected to the Council of State?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: (a) 21st November, 1922.

(b) 23rd November, 1922, and 20th December, 1922.

(c) 21st December, 1922.

(d) 25th December, 1922, and 10th January, 1923.

(e) Yes. The Bombay Electoral Regulations do not allow the returning officer to reject a nomination on the ground that the candidate is barred under rule 5 (1) of the Electoral Rules.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is not that, Sir, a violation of the rule under which, if a candidate stands for election, his seat should be left vacant?

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member expects an answer, he must make his question intelligible.

Mr. K. Ahmed: A violation of the rules under which a candidate is to be returned to this Assembly; that is that, unless he vacates his seat in the Legislative Assembly, he cannot be a candidate for the Council of State.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: What is not a violation of what rule?

Mr. K. Ahmed: A violation of the electoral rules of the Council of State.

Mr. Ahmed Baksh: Does this rule apply only to Bombay or to other Provinces as well?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: I believe the position is the same under all the electoral regulations. I may as well admit that this recent case has revealed a defect in the rules, and the matter is receiving attention.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it not a fact that the Commissioner of Sind referred this matter by a telegraphic message to the Government of India asking whether nominations cannot stand according to the rules of the election of the Council of State.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: So far as I am aware, Sir, that is not a fact.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: What will be the position of the present Member who has been elected to the Council of State? Will it be considered to be a valid election or not?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: If no election petition has been presented against his return within the period allowed his election is presumably valid.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: What will the Government consider it without an election petition? Will the Government consider it to be valid or not?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The Government is not concerned in the matter; it is the electors of the constituency who are concerned.

Mr. Ahmed Baksh: Under the electoral rules a person who is already a member of another body cannot stand for election, also a female cannot. Supposing a female has been elected, if there is no election petition what would be the situation then?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: As regards the female it would be a matter of opinion. As regards the case of a Member who is already a member of a Legislative body, I have already said there is a defect. In fact the electoral rule which says that a Member who is already a Member of a Legislative body shall not be eligible for election to another Legislative body is possibly inconsistent with a section of the Government of India Act which distinctly contemplates that a sitting Member of one House of the Indian Legislature may stand for election for the other House. That is section 63E (2).

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ARMY MARRIAGE ALLOWANCES.

184. **Rai Bahadur G. O. Nag:** (a) In the Army Budget what are marriage allowances to families in England, of British personnel serving in India? Since when have these allowances been granted, and why?

(b) Will Government kindly furnish a statement showing the marriage allowances paid to families of British personnel during the past 10 years?

(c) Are any such allowances paid to Indians? If not, why not?

(d) Are amounts paid as marriage allowances recoverable?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) and (b). Marriage allowance forms part of the remuneration of the married British soldier, wherever serving. The allowance was introduced from the 4th October, 1920, and has its origin in certain allowances which had to be paid to the British soldier during the Great War in order to secure the personnel required. The conditions on which marriage allowance is granted are stated in an Army Order a copy of which I will give to the Honourable Member separately.

A statement showing the rates of marriage allowance paid to the families of British troops serving in India when the families are respectively (a) in the United Kingdom and (b) in India, is laid on the table.

(c) No. Marriage allowance is merely a part of remuneration and the terms of service at present in force for the Indian soldier are sufficient to secure efficient recruits in adequate numbers.

(d) No. It is only the family allotments which are recoverable, i.e., the amount which the soldier himself is required to contribute in order to qualify for marriage allowance.

Statement showing the rates of marriage allowance paid to the families of British troops serving in India when the families are respectively (a) in the United Kingdom and (b) in India.

	(a) In the United Kingdom.			(b) In India.		
	When not in public quarters.	When in occupation of public quarters. (Rent is charged at 7s. a week.)		Government quarters or tent always provided. Rent payable by certain U. L. ranks only.		
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		
Wife only.	22 12 0	<i>Nil</i>		30 0 0		
Wife and 1 child	45 8 0	22 12 0		40 0 0		
Wife and 2 children	61 12 0	39 0 0		50 0 0		
" 3 "	68 4 0	45 8 0		60 0 0		
" 4 "	74 12 0	52 0 0		65 0 0		
" 5 "	81 4 0	58 8 0		70 0 0		
" 6 "	87 12 0	65 0 0		75 0 0		
" 7 "	92 12 0	70 0 0		80 0 0		
Each additional child	4 14 0	4 14 0		5 0 0		
<i>Where no issue is made to the wife and for motherless children.</i>						
1st child	22 12 0	<i>Nil</i>		10 0 0		
2nd "	16 4 0	16 4 0		10 0 0		
3rd "	6 8 0	6 8 0		10 0 0		
4th "	6 8 0	6 8 0		5 0 0		
5th "	6 8 0	6 8 0		5 0 0		
6th "	6 8 0	6 8 0		5 0 0		
7th "	4 14 0	4 14 0		5 0 0		
Each additional child	4 14 0	4 14 0		5 0 0		

RAISINA HOSTELS.

185. **Rai Bahadur G. C. Nag:** Is it true that both Eastern and Western Hostels are proposed to be given over to the Postal and Telegraph Departments? If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government kindly state the reasons for the decision?

- **Colonel Sir Sydney Crookshank:** The Honourable Member is referred to paragraph 22 of the Report of the New Capital Enquiry Committee, 1922, copies of which have been placed in the library for the information of Members. The recommendations of the Committee are under consideration.

LONGWOOD HOTEL, SIMLA.

186. **Rai Bahadur G. C. Nag:** Is it a fact that the Longwood Hotel at Simla was originally purchased for accommodation of the Members? If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government kindly state how many rooms there are in the Hotel, and how many of them were given to the Members and how many to outsiders during the past two Simla Sessions?

Colonel Sir Sydney Crookshank: "Longwood" was originally purchased for the accommodation of Members of the Indian Legislature. There are 54 quarters in all, 3 of which are reserved for management and superintendence. Of the remaining quarters in 1921 the whole were placed at the disposal of the Members, but only 31 were occupied. In order to reduce the annual loss to Government on these quarters, 15 have been made available for occupation by Government officials throughout the year and certain other quarters during non-session periods. Of the 36 quarters available for Members of the Legislature, 31 quarters were in occupation during the autumn of 1922.

LOSSES ON ASSAM-BENGAL RAILWAY.

187. **Rai Bahadur G. C. Nag:** (a) Is it a fact that the Assam-Bengal Railway has been working at a loss since it was opened in 1895 to date, and under terms of contract with the Company, the Government have been bearing the losses which amounted to Rs. 30 to 40 lakhs annually in addition to paying interest in sterling at 3 to 3½ per cent. on the Company's share-capital of £1,500,000? If the figures are incorrect, will Government kindly state what the correct figures are?

(b) Will Government kindly state what was the amount paid in interests and losses separately to this Company during the past 5 years, and under what head of budget the payment appears?

Mr. C. D. M. Hindley: (a) The Assam-Bengal Railway has been working at a loss since it was opened in 1895, the annual losses being in respect of interest charges; except that in 1895 there was a small loss in working. Attention is invited to the figures given in the History of Indian Railways, copies of which are available in the Library of the Legislature.

(b) The amount paid to the Company annually for interest is £45,000 being the guaranteed interest at 3 per cent. on the Company's share capital of £1,500,000. There have been no losses payable to the Company during the last five years. The payment of guaranteed interest appears under the head "Interest on Capital contributed by Companies" and is included in the figure for interest charges shown in the Demand Statement presented to the Assembly.

IMPORT OF MOTOR CARS, BICYCLES AND TRICYCLES.

188. **Mr. Darcy Lindsay:** 1. Will Government state if it is a fact that during the first 9 months of the present fiscal year whilst the number has increased the value of imports of motor cars has considerably decreased in comparison with the same period of 1921-22 and is nearly four crores less than in 1920-21 and that the import of the British car has become reduced to only 10 per cent. of the total.

2. Is it a fact that during the same period the value of imports of bicycles and tricycles is in round figures 12,57,000 as against 3,89,000 in 1921-22 and 25 per cent. of the 1920-21 imports.

3. Do Government propose to re-examine the position with a view to re-adjusting the import duty on motor cars on a more equitable basis.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes: 1 and 2. The figures given by the Honourable Member are substantially correct.

3. The effect of the present rates of customs duties has been fully considered by the Government of India in connection with the forthcoming budget, but the Honourable Member will not, I am sure, expect me to anticipate my Honourable colleague, the Finance Member's budget speech.

RESOLUTION RE KING'S COMMISSIONS FOR INDIANS AND INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY.

Mr. President: The Assembly will now resume the discussion of the Resolution moved by Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan, which is as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commissions for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

To which an amendment has been moved:

"That for the word 'and' the word 'or' be substituted, and that the word 'all' before 'vacancies' be omitted, the word 'only' after the words 'Indian Officers' be omitted, and the word 'wholly' before the word 'Indianised' be omitted."

The question is that that amendment be made.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Sir, with your permission I desire to make a statement to the House. Speaking in this Assembly on the 24th of January last, I expressed the hope that it would be possible to announce at no very distant date what measures are to be adopted in regard to the Indianisation of the Indian Army. In the short interval that has elapsed the correspondence which I then said was proceeding has been concluded, and I am able to announce to the House the following decision. The Government consider that a start should be made at once so as to give Indians a fair opportunity of proving that units officered by Indians will be efficient in every way. Accordingly it has been decided that eight units of cavalry or infantry be selected to be officered by Indians. This scheme will be put into force immediately. The eight units to be wholly Indianised will be mainly infantry units, but there will be a proportion of cavalry. They will be chosen judiciously so as to include as many representative types as possible of Indian battalions and cavalry regiments of the Indian Army. Indian Officers holding commissions in the Indian Army will be gradually transferred to Indianising units so as to fill up the appointments for which they are qualified by their rank and by their length of service, and the process of Indianising these units will then continue uninterruptedly as the officers gain seniority and fitness in other respects, which will qualify them for the senior posts. I have given the House these few details because I think they will be of interest as revealing some of the practical aspects of the change. There is one other point, however, which it is necessary for me to explain. It is that, simultaneously with the Indianisation of these selected eight units, Indians

[H. E. the Commander-in-Chief.]

who qualify for the King's Commission will continue as at present to be posted to the other units of the Indian Army. The number of Indian cadets now sent to Sandhurst each year, if all pass out successfully, is more than sufficient to replace the normal wastage in the eight units alone. I draw attention to this matter as it is of significance which the House I am sure will not fail to appreciate. Once more, before sitting down, I wish to express my gratification that this great step forward has been made. I hope that the people of India will appreciate the importance of this step and will realise also that it now rests with them to justify the decision of the Government. I hope that no effort will be spared to make the measure which has been approved a solid and a conspicuous success. The responsibility which lies before these young men who will officer the Indianised regiments, is no light one. They will have in their hands not only the lives of their men, but also the task of maintaining untarnished the high and ancient traditions of the regiments to which they are appointed. I can assure them that in the new and in the wider career which will now lie open to them, they will have the active and the generous support of the Government of India and of their British comrades in the Army. Their success or their failure will mean much to India. The initiation of this scheme constitutes an entirely new departure which, though limited in its scope, is one which may have far-reaching results. I trust that the Members of this Legislature and that the people of India as a whole will support the Indian officers of these Indianised regiments with living and with practical encouragement, for by this means only can Indianisation hope to deserve and to command success.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): May I ask His Excellency one question? How many units are there out of which these eight units are to be Indianised?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I thought I made it clear that there would be eight units.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I wish to know how many units there are in the Indian Army out of which these eight units are to be Indianised?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: The total number of units in the Indian Army are 120 infantry and pioneers and 21 cavalry.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the information which His Excellency has given this morning and the speech which he delivered on the last occasion render it absolutely necessary that I should press the amendment of which I have given notice. Sir, His Excellency has just now told us that the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on this subject has been concluded; and, therefore, there ought to be no difficulty in placing that correspondence on the table of this House. Sir, more than a year ago I asked a question in this Assembly of the Government as to whether they would be prepared to publish the correspondence relating to this subject

Mr. President: Is the Honourable Member moving his amendment?

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar: Yes.

Mr. President: I think I must dispose of Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary's amendments before we come to that. I understood he was rising to meet the new situation which has been created by the statement of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The question is that for the word " and " in the second line of the Resolution the word " or " be substituted.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is that the word " all " before the word " vacancies " be omitted.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is that the word " only " after the words " Indian Officers " be omitted.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is that the word " wholly " before the word " Indianised " be omitted.

The motion was negatived.

(Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar rose to continue his speech.)

Mr. S. C. Shahani (Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars: Landholders): Sir, I have been authorised by Munshi Iswar Saran . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar: I will resume my remarks. Sir, as I said, the information given this morning renders it necessary that this House should have before it all the correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. His Excellency has told us that out of 141 units in the Indian Army the Government of India have selected 8 units for being officered by Indians. That gives a proportion of 1 to 17. Sir, it is not doles of this kind that this House and the country would value. What we want to know is what is Government's definite programme which they and the Secretary of State have agreed upon, and whether that programme should not be laid on the table of this House for our criticisms and our suggestions. Unless they give us the details of the scheme sent by them to the Home Government, and, unless they tell us what their considered opinions were, and how far they have been either accepted or rejected by, what Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas would have called " the gentleman at Whitehall," until we know something of the nature of the correspondence that was carried on between the two departments of the same Government, we will not be in a position to give our adhesion to the scheme that may be outlined. Sir, this is a matter of great constitutional importance. I take it, Sir, that this Legislature, the Government of India and the Secretary of State are the three component parts of a united administration. If that is so, I do not see what necessity there is for one branch of the administration being kept in ignorance of what is going on between the other two branches of the administration. The Government will recognise in what a false position they are placing this Assembly by not placing before it all that passes between themselves and the Secretary of State. We have often been told by those who are not friends of the Government, by others who consider that we are not being treated properly, that we are not really representing the people and that the Government has no confidence in us. That accusation

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receives strength from the fact that the Government do not take us into their confidence. We have been asking times without number to be informed of what is passing between them and the Secretary of State. Every time they return the answer that it is in the correspondence stage and that they are not prepared to publish the correspondence. Why should not the correspondence which passes between the Secretary of State and the Government be laid on the table of the House, so that we may be in a position to know whether they represent the wishes of the people, whether they voice the considered opinion of the people; we want to be in a position to offer them such suggestions as may enable them to make further representations to the Secretary of State. If they do not do that, what is the position? We are considered as of no value by a certain section of our countrymen and the Government are regarded as irresponsible; it is believed that it is the Secretary of State who is ruling the whole country and that it is he and he alone can determine what our fate should be. Sir, the other day the Leader of the House made a statement which has enabled many a newspaper to have it as the headline of an article, namely, that this House is often not proceeding on facts but on suspicions. I wish, Sir, that the Leader of the House may soon be here and that his illness may soon be cured, because nobody feels his absence more than Members on this side of the House. Sir, who is responsible for the Assembly and the country basing their conclusions upon suspicions and not upon facts? Do the Government give us any facts? Do they ever place before us any data? Do they ever admit us into their confidence? Naturally, the result is that we are groping in the dark. We get some information from newspapers occasionally. The newspapers seem to have their confidence more than the Members of this House. We take our facts from these newspapers and we begin to spin out a theory which we believe is the one which has commended itself to Government. Under these circumstances, is it any use twitting us with proceeding upon suspicions and not upon facts, when we are not enabled to have the facts before us? I say this is a matter of grave constitutional importance and I ask Government how long are they going to keep the Assembly in ignorance, and how long are they going to keep everything that passes between them and the Secretary of State from us? If they continue in this mood, we shall regard it that they have no faith or trust in us; that feeling will be reciprocated; we cannot trust them if they do not trust us. Sir, that is the reason why I have added to the Resolution which was moved by my Honourable friend an amendment in these terms. There is, by the way, a printer's error in it. Instead of the word "substituted" the word should be "added."

That for the Resolution as it stands the following be added:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to lay on the table of the House the scheme, if any, for the Indianisation of the Indian Army and the correspondence, if any, that has passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the subject."

Sir, it is no news to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, nor is it news to the Government of India, that the whole of Asia is waking up. You will find in Japan, in China and everywhere there are National Armies officered by men belonging to the nation. It is only in India that we do not find the same thing; and unless Government enable us to officer our Army, unless they Indianise the Army itself, it will be impossible for us to be able to resist any invasion that may come to India from those quarters;

and I think it is in the best interests of the Government that they should take the people of India into their confidence and enable us to assist them in giving our own views as to the best means of Indianising the Army. Until they do that, there will be no feeling of trust or confidence in them. Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the last occasion said that he was exceedingly pleased with the conduct of the Indian Army, exceedingly pleased with their discipline; and he paid a glowing tribute to their general conduct. May I add to the testimony borne by His Excellency the testimony of one of his predecessors, Sir Charles Monro, in regard to the Indian soldier? There is no doubt there is good material in this country which can be developed and from which officers can be drawn who will be able to command the various units. This is what Sir Charles Monro stated in one of his despatches :

"The character of the terrain combined with arduous and trying climatic conditions alone presented difficulties before which the most hardened troops might well have desisted. The resistance of the enemy has been broken and the difficulties successfully overcome by a force composed almost entirely of Indian troops. No British troops, except for the Royal Air Force and a British Battery of Mountain Artillery was employed."

This fact has without doubt considerably raised the prestige of the Indian Army on the Frontier and increased the *esprit de corps* of the troops engaged.* Sir, as I said, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has paid a similar tribute to the Indian Army.

Now if you find that the rank and file of the Army are so well equipped and so well able to withstand the enemy and in a position to render a good account of themselves, what is the difficulty in finding men from the ranks, what is the difficulty in promoting men from the ranks, to be officers in the Indian Army? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief seems to think that it is almost impossible. We used to hear the saying in our schooldays that in France every soldier carries with him the possibility of becoming a Marshal, and if it was possible in France to get superior officers from the ranks, it should be equally possible in India to promote men of acknowledged ability from the ranks to be officers. I read sometime ago that in England there is a scheme for promoting from the ranks persons to the position of Captains and so on. If that is to be done in England, why should you not make the same attempt in India? The answer is "It is an uncertain factor and we do not know whether it will prove successful or not." My reply to that is this: If you do not try, if you never make the attempt, you will always be labouring under this difficulty. You must make an attempt, you must honestly endeavour to give Indians a chance of proving their mettle, a chance of showing that they can be not only good fighting men, but also good leaders of men. Government have not given them the least chance of doing that, hitherto, and that is the reason we do not find them holding important positions. I ask Government, Sir, to remove these suspicions from their mind and by their confidence in our soldiers, and by promoting them to responsible positions take the country with them. Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the last occasion used this language, namely:

"Do not try to run before you have begun to walk."

Sir, I agree with that maxim; but I would say: "Please give us an opportunity of standing up." If you do not help us to stand up, how can we walk at all? Government do not give us any chance, any opportunity of showing that we can stand up and walk a foot or two. If they do not enable us to do that, there is no use in telling us that we are trying to

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run before we can walk. When you give us the chance, if you find us stumbling in walking, you can then say "Do not walk so fast." But when you do not enable us even to get up, then you have no right to say that we are trying to run before we can walk.

Sir, I will conclude as I began. There is no use in giving us a few dribblets as was promised this morning. What we want to know is, what is Government's considered scheme? What is it they are going to do with the Army, and in what period of time do they expect that the whole Army will be Indianised? What is the suggestion, the advice, given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief? How has it been received by the whole Council of the Government of India, including the Indian Members who have been in the Executive Council? What has been the advice that they have given? Has that advice been accepted by the Secretary of State or has it been turned down? That is what we want to know. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief just now turned his pencil towards my friend the Honourable Mr. Sarma, and I think he might as well point to the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee. They are no doubt there in the Executive Council. But, Sir, you will find that when Indians are in such responsible positions, it is almost impossible to get the slightest information from them. I can get some information from you, from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I can occasionally go to the Honourable the Finance Member, and also to the Honourable the Commerce Member for some information. But if I go to Mr. Chatterjee or Mr. Sarma, all that they tell me is "Don't jeopardise the position of Government, don't embarrass the Government." Those are pet expressions of theirs. You cannot get any thing out of them. Under these circumstances, I say it is impossible to ask any of my countrymen in the Council of the Government of India to give us any information as to what has happened. They will not; and if the Government of India come to the conclusion that no correspondence is to be placed on the table, the whole country will be in the dark, and nothing about the steps which have been taken will ever come out from the Indian Members of the Council. I ask Government seriously and in all earnestness to place the whole correspondence on the table so that they may not allow us to remain in this unfortunate position of being told by our countrymen that we are not in the confidence of Government. Sir, it is necessary to enable us to attain Dominion Self-Government in future that we should have all the information available to the Government and the Secretary of State. Sir, I move the amendment which is standing in my name.

Mr. President: Before I put the motion, I must draw the Honourable Member's attention to the fact that his motion is in the form of a Resolution which he himself sent in and which is, so to speak, meant to stand on its own feet. Now as an addition to the Honourable Member's Resolution it does not fit very well. I do not rule it out, but I think it will require some change to make it a reasonable amendment. I do not think the Honourable Member has quite taken into account the fact that it is not a good practice to use a substantive Resolution as an amendment to another Resolution.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar: May I say, Sir, that the only word which it will be necessary to add is the word 'further'?—"That this Assembly further recommends, etc., etc." If you would allow me to add that word there, it will make matters clear.

Mr. President: Even with the addition of that word, what the Honourable Member appears to contemplate is the laying on the table of the scheme and subsequent discussion of that scheme, whereas the Resolution asks, not for laying on the table or for discussion, but for instant action. If one is really an amendment of the other, I would assume that the word "substituted" was the correct word.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar: May I explain, Sir, even before the original Resolution came up for discussion I informed the Secretary of the House that I did not want to substitute mine for the original Resolution, but that I wanted it to be an addendum to the original Resolution. I gave that information long ago; it was not yesterday or the day before yesterday; I did this about a fortnight ago. My object in putting this amendment forward is this: it is not only the Indianisation of the Army we want; we also want to know the exact programme, the scheme of Indianisation which the Government of India and the Secretary of State have resolved upon. It is for that purpose that I want that the correspondence should be placed on the table, so that we may be in a position to know not only how far Indianisation has proceeded, but also what were the concrete proposals made by the Government of India which were either accepted or rejected by the Secretary of State. That is why I wanted to have the correspondence laid on the table. Under these circumstances I think, Sir, that my Resolution may be regarded as an amendment in the sense that it is an addition to the existing Resolution. And it does not contravene the main Resolution; it only adds to the requisition contained in the original Resolution.

Mr. President: Then it is the Honourable Member's intention that the scheme should be laid on the table for discussion and that at the same time, the Governor General should be recommended to take instant action in the direction recommended in Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution?

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar: Yes, Sir. The language is perhaps not quite clear, but that is my idea.

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That to the Resolution the following be added:

'This Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to lay on the table of the House the scheme, if any, for the Indianisation of the Indian Army and the correspondence, if any, that has passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the subject.'

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: May I ask, Sir, if the Honourable Member who has moved the amendment in addition to my Resolution is willing to number my Resolution as (a) and his amendment as (b)?

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes (Commerce and Industries Member): Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, expressed his regret at the absence of the Leader of the House to-day. I can assure him and this House that his regret is nothing as compared to mine. If Sir Malcolm Hailey were here, I should be sitting in my seat and watching Sir Malcolm Hailey intervening in this debate with that debonair unconcern which marks all his interventions. As for me, I feel just like a man who is about to poke his head into the proverbial hornet's nest. Fortunately, Sir, my task, though it may not be a very palatable one to this House, is not a very difficult one. I propose to confine myself entirely to Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar's amendment. Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar asks that all the correspondence

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relating to this subject may be placed on the table of the House. He has complained that unless we do this, the constitution under which we are working is bound to breed only suspicion in the Members of the House. Sir, it is not my purpose to discuss that constitution. I see no useful purpose in discussing that constitution. Whatever the defects of that constitution may be, the constitution is there, and we have to work it and we have to make the best of it. There is only one answer to this amendment of Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar. Even if the Government of India wished and were prepared to meet Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar and to lay this correspondence on the table, we could not do so. We cannot lay that correspondence on the table without the express and previous concurrence of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. We have not got that concurrence and that is the only answer I can give to Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar. If the House passes this amendment, naturally it will be communicated to the Secretary of State, but I can give no indication of any sort or kind as to what the Secretary of State's answer may be. I am afraid, Sir, I can give no other answer to Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar's amendment.

Mr. B. S. Kamat (Bombay Central Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I shall venture to offer a few remarks with reference to the action which Government have been good enough to announce that they are prepared to take, and I shall also venture to indicate the lines on which the aspirations of the people are at present running. In the first place it is my duty, I think, to thank His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the announcement he has made and for the small mercies which Government have decided to show to this country. I do not wish to go into general propositions, but shall go into a few details, chiefly with a view to elicit more information from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. In order to do so I think I shall have to take stock of what this House decided two years ago, what Government did during the interval and whether what Government are prepared to do at the present moment meets with our satisfaction. This House two years ago in 1921 on a Resolution of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer decided, and Government also accepted, that His Majesty's Government should admit Indians to all the different arms of His Majesty's forces. Now that means that Indians should be admitted to the Air Force and to the artillery among other branches. In the announcement which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to make this morning, I find he has not told us whether, as a result of the correspondence which Government had with His Majesty's Government, they have come to any decision on those two points. If I understand Indianisation of the Army aright, Indians must be trained to defend the country in all its branches. They must be trained to use their intelligence in the Air Force and in the artillery and to command in these arms. I wish to know whether any decision has been arrived at on these two points. During the last two years I recognise that Government have done something; a Military college has been opened at Dehra Dun; a few military schools in connection with that college are contemplated and Government have also framed certain regulations for admission to the Dehra Dun college which is a preparatory and preliminary college for cadets being sent up to the Sandhurst College at Home. Now, when the Proposer of the Resolution and the Mover of the amendment opened up the principle that the vacancies in the Indian Army should be all filled up by Indian officers, I do not know whether they threw any light, or sufficient light, on what we wanted, or what they meant by Indianisation on the principle of filling up vacancies.

As far as I can find out the figures, Sir, the present British officers in the Indian Army are as follows: In the cavalry they are 548, and in the infantry they are 2,688, making a total of something like 3,200 British officers in the Indian Army. So far as the artillery is concerned the whole of that arm of the forces is officered by British service men. It is not open to officers of the Indian Army, if I am correct. Taking therefore this figure 3,200 as the total of officers which eventually according to the goal we have in view we have to replace by Indians, I am not quite able to follow His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief when he announces that 8 units will be thrown open to Indians. I want to know in terms of so many officers what proportion it bears, not to the total number of units or regiments but to the total number of posts of British officers, because after all what we want to do is to replace eventually all these British officers in the Indian regiments by Indians; what we are more anxious to know, therefore, is how soon this total of 3,200 officers, or at what reasonable date this total number of 3,200 officers will be capable of being replaced by Indians according to the present process of intake at the Sandhurst College, or the intake and the flow at the Dehra Dun College. That is precisely the position. Now, in order to understand that and in order to find out whether our process of Indianisation by training at Sandhurst is adequate, whether the pace is rapid or slow, we must know how many cadets have been turned out, how many have passed out of the Sandhurst College during recent years. Now, I do not know whether it would be perfectly relevant to go into the figures before the year 1919. But I believe for the purpose of comparison it is germane and pertinent to know how many cadets are being turned out from the Sandhurst College and whether the flow is adequate enough to replace the 3,200 officers in a reasonably short period of time. Now, the number who passed out of the Sandhurst College in 1919 were 2 in the spring term and 4 in the autumn term, in all 6. Those who passed out in 1920 were only 2. Those who passed out in 1921 nil. And I believe in the spring of 1922, 2 people were under training there. So that at the present moment only 18, or to take the most up-to-date figures perhaps 23 people are under training in Sandhurst. Now, if my figures are correct, I should like to know whether you can replace 3,200 people, by the process of filling vacancies occurring amongst them; I doubt if this process will Indianise the Army at a reasonably early period. Now, I do not know what the percentage of vacancies per annum is to the total number of officers. I am not aware whether it is taken on the actuarial basis or on some other basis, but, even taking the ordinary actuarial basis of the percentage of vacancies to be say 3 or 4 per cent, the vacancies after all will be very few; I think it is no use attempting to Indianise the Army by filling in only the vacancies as and when they occur. In other words, the process of Indianisation by filling in vacancies is rather a very very slow process indeed. What, therefore, is necessary is to withdraw British officers from the Indian regiments and replace them, irrespective of vacancies, if you really want to Indianise the Army very quick. Now I am glad to hear this morning that a principle like this, namely, to replace, irrespective of vacancies occurring, some British officers by Indian officers, has been accepted and that 8 units will be replaced by this process of entirely withdrawing British officers and putting in Indians in their place. Sir, grateful as I am for these small mercies, even so I think that the process will be a very slow one indeed, taking into consideration the fact that you have to replace sooner or later no less than 3,200 officers. Now, having shown that the percentage of passes and people admitted into Sandhurst College is very small

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and therefore the intake would be very small, I would now like to deal with the second question, namely, whether the regulations which are framed by Government with reference to admission to the Dehra Dun College are likely to satisfy the requirements of the country. Because, the Dehra Dun College is after all a College for preliminary training for the ultimate training to be given to Indians at Sandhurst. Now, I fully recognise, Sir, that the education for a military career ought to be very sound; it ought not only to look to educational attainments of the candidate; a man destined for a military career must have character, an instinct for leadership and other qualities as well, and, if possible, must be trained in the environment of Sandhurst where he can rub shoulders with his British comrades. But, taking all these facts into consideration, there still remains the question whether the present rules are in the circumstances of India fair enough to attract a large number of people. Now, looking into these regulations, I find that the age of the boys who will be admitted under the regulations in the first year class in Dehra Dun College is 12 to 13. Boys over 13 are not to be admitted. Now, I consider, Sir, that, considering the habits and customs of the people of this country, this is rather too tender an age for Government to lay down. I recognise that the military career, if it is to be successful, ought to be begun at a very early age. But to imitate the public school regulations in England and to transplant them here and to lay down that boys in so vast a country as India should be admitted to a place like Dehra Dun at the tender age of 12 or 12½ years is I think a very hard condition. Now, I want to say a word about the allotments in the admissions. The total number of people to be admitted into the Dehra Dun College is at present about 40 and eventually, finances permitting, Government hope that it may be raised to 70. I want the House to realise whether the present number 40 is adequate for the needs of the country. If we have to Indianise the Army very quick, the total minimum number of 40 laid down or even 70 for next year or the year after that is, I believe, a very small number to fix, if at all we are to go on with the process of Indianisation fairly quick. Now, even with this number of 40, which is the utmost number allotted for admission at the Dehra Dun College, we have to remember the sources over which this number of 40 is distributed. The sources are three. These 40 students to be admitted into the Dehra Dun College are distributed firstly between the different provinces of British India, (2) the Indian States, and (3) the sons of Indian officers of good service in the Indian Army. Now, my point is that, if 40 is to be distributed over these three sources, the number that will eventually be allotted for the sons of the middle classes or the other classes in the different provinces of British India, the share that will go to them will be very small indeed and, therefore, in order that the 9 different provinces in British India should get an opportunity to send a larger number of boys for a military career, I think the number to be admitted into the Dehra Dun College and to be eventually sent up to Sandhurst ought to be increased, whether the finances at the present moment strictly allow it or not; for the simple reason that we are spending on the military side of our Budget no less than 62 crores of rupees and I think it is but just and fair that, if the country is spending so vast an amount, the Military Department ought to spend for the training of cadets much more than the Dehra Dun College is doing at present.

To sum up, then, Sir, in the first place, I want to know whether Government have arrived at any decision whether Indians will be admitted and

trained for the Air Force, I want to know, secondly, whether the Artillery will be thrown open to the Indians. Thirdly, whether the 8 units in which of course Government are now prepared to replace Indians, whether that bears a reasonable proportion to the total number of officers, 3,200, if that figure of mine is correct, and fourthly, whether the regulations for the admission to the Dehra Dun College are sufficiently elastic as to give the fullest opportunity in the different provinces to Indian boys who are to be educated for a military career.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): Sir,

12 Noon. the subject-matter of the Resolution that we are discussing to-day very closely concerns the future of the community which I have the honour to represent in this House, for as permanent residents of this country and statutory natives of India, or, as I would prefer to call ourselves "Indian citizens" we claim and rightly claim a participation in the Indianization of all the Services in general and the Indianization of the Army in particular. I say Army in particular because from the very inception of my community, it has played an important and unique part in the defence of this country for which, I regret to say, it has received very scant recognition until quite recently when His Excellency Lord Rawlinson was good enough to recognise it publicly. Sir, I submit, that the claims of my community are all the more necessary for I take it that I am right in prognosing that, when the British Army quits this country,—which I hope it never will— at that time will take place the disappearance of the Auxiliary Force, of which force my community, I am proud to say, forms about $\frac{1}{3}$ rd. Should this happen, what Military Service and employment, I ask, would be left for the Members of the Domiciled Community. It is because I apprehend the effect on my community so far as the Military defence and employment in this country is concerned that I make this pointed reference to it and to make my point quite clear. I wish to draw the attention of this House as also the Government to the Select Committee that sat on the Esher Report two years ago and whose report was, in the main, accepted by this Honourable House. I was mainly responsible for the framing of Resolution No. 15 which Resolution runs as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that 'Anglo-Indians' should be included in the term 'Indian subjects' or 'Indians' whenever such terms occur in the above Resolution."

That Resolution, Sir, was unanimously adopted by this Honourable House and I here again thank the Indian Members of that Committee for acceding to my request. I was therefore rather surprised and disappointed, when listening to my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, to find no mention whatever in the Resolution of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community. Its inclusion, Sir, may be implied. (*An Honourable Member*: "The word 'Indian' covers it.") That may be, Sir, but the wording of the Resolution and the way he remarked on it leads me to infer—if I am wrong, the Mover can correct me when he replies—that this recruitment was entirely for Indians. Well, Sir, when Resolution No. 15 was accepted by this House, my community seemed at ease as regards its future military safeguards, but I regret to say that events have not proved this to be the case. Let us see what the Government has done in the way of giving practical effect to that Resolution since its passing. The prospectus of the Prince of Wales Dehra Dun Military College was published, I do not think there is even mention of the words "Anglo-Indian" or "Domiciled European" in it.

Mr. W. M. Hussanally (Sind : Muhammadan Rural): Don't you come under the term "Indian"?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: After repeated inquiries from the Military Authorities I was told that as it involved a question of policy, the matter had to be deferred and referred to higher authorities, and to-day, i.e., two years after this Honourable House unanimously accepted Resolution No. 15 I am told that I cannot get admission into the Dehra Dun College, that the doors of Sandhurst are open to my community for admission into the Army, and that if I require admission into the Dehra Dun College, I must now give the Government some further guarantee that Resolution No. 15 is accepted by the whole of my community in India, and to satisfy this curiosity of the Government, I am now collecting information, but I can assure the Government that as far as I have been able to ascertain, my community prefers to enter the Indian Army *via* the Dehra Dun Military College. I can assure the Government just now that the community realises that as the Army becomes more and more Indianised, the need for Sandhurst will *pari passu* with that development decrease and it will be closed so far as the Indian Army officers are concerned. Therefore, it is only a fool who will expect to enter the Indian Army through Sandhurst when the Army is completely Indianized. I therefore say on behalf of my community that as far as I have been able to ascertain, we would like to enter the Army *via* the Dehra Dun College. But, Sir, I have something further to say regarding the position of my community, which to-day is not only an extraordinary one but which to me is unintelligible. Let me explain my point. When the domiciled community are employed in the defence of this country, be it internal or external, they are called "European British subjects," but when so employed, and an occasion arises, we are denied in many cases the jury privileges given to Europeans, when not so employed, they are called "Statutory natives of India," *vide* article 37 of the Civil Service Regulations. Sir, what I now want to know from the Government, so far as this Resolution is concerned, is what are they pleased to call the domiciled community—"European British subjects" or "Statutory natives of India"? If the former, then according to the terms of this Resolution my community is distinctly debarred from participating; if the latter, then I would like to know from Government what policy is it that actuates the Government of India in debarring my community from entering the King's Commission Ranks of the Indian Army *via* the Dehra Dun Military College, and at the same time I would like to remind the Government that Resolution No. 15 which was accepted by this House gives my community the same privileges as every one else in India. It is therefore for the future guidance of my community that I ask the Government now and here to tell me what is the status of my community so far as Indianisation of the Army and other Services is concerned. How can we be "European British Subjects" when employed on Military Defence and "Statutory Natives of India" when employed in the Civil Services of India? It is obvious we cannot be both Statutory natives of India and European British subjects at one and the same time. It seems to me that the Government cannot make up their minds, and in consequence (so far as the revolutionary change which is taking place in India is concerned, and in which my community must take a part) we as a community are neither flesh, fowl nor Red Sea herring. It is therefore only natural, Sir, that until I receive some positive assurance from the Government of India as also this Honourable House, I must view this far-reaching Resolution with some degree of apprehension in more ways than one.

especially after hearing what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said on the 24th instant and the momentous pronouncement he has just made. I wish, however, that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's reply on the 24th instant had been more of the decided "Yes" or "No" order, instead of only advice—sound advice no doubt—but which, unfortunately, I am sorry to say, this House does not always seem in a mood to accept. Let me now more closely examine the Resolution that we have before us. But before doing so, I wish to make it perfectly clear that I take a second place to no one in this House in its desire to obtain Self-Government within the British Empire nor do I ignore the fact that Indianization of the Services including the Army is a "*sine qua non*" to this goal. This claim is only the natural sequel and as a citizen of this Empire I desire to wholeheartedly associate myself with this aspiration. But where I find myself at variance with the Mover of this Resolution is whether it is necessary for the Indian Army to be Indianized at the same speed at which the other services are to-day being Indianized. This is the question which agitates my mind and compels me to issue a note of warning so far as the Indian Army is concerned. Is it the proper time—Is it safe to Indianize the Indian Army at the speed which the Mover of this Resolution demands? I take it, Sir, that this Resolution is the outcome of Mr. Jamnadas's Resolution moved last year on the Indianization of the services. (*Some Honourable Member*: "No, no") If it is not, Sir, then the word "Indianization" as viewed by my Indian friends is possessed of two interpretations one by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and one by the Mover of this Resolution, Mr. Yamin Khan. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, when he moved his Resolution regarding Indianization of the services, distinctly laid it down that this meant participation, in the entrance to every Service, by everyone in India. That would include those who were permanently domiciled in this country. I now realise that Mr. Jamnadas said about two weeks ago that it includes any one so long as recruitment is in this country.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): On our terms.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: On the terms of pay or whatever it be, and recruitment being in this country, the field should include all communities in this country. (*A Voice*: "Certainly.") I see my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution does not as far as I can see bear a similar interpretation of the word "Indianization" because the wording of it is such that it implies that no one else but Indians will come within the scope of his Resolution. I hope I am wrong in my interpretation. If I am wrong I shall be very glad to be corrected. But, Sir, however much I am in agreement with the Indianizations of the Services, it is in the acceleration of speed that I see the first danger signal of this Resolution. I will ask this House to remember that it was barely two years ago since the Select Committee report on the Esher Committee Report was brought before this House and it made a modest proposal of 25 per cent. of King's Commissions to Indians. That was accepted, and here we have His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to-day, our expert adviser, telling us what the Government of India has done, what the Government of India is doing, and what the Government of India will do. He has told us very clearly that there are 371 Honorary King's Commissioned Officers, 60 Indians holding full King's Commission in the Indian Army, 23 Indians under training at Sandhurst and 38 Indians in the Dehra Dun College,

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and to-day he has made the announcement which has evidently not satisfied the House, that eight separate and complete Indian units will be officered entirely by Indians. This gives you a total of about 500 Indians who are to-day or will in a very short time be holding King's Commissions and after these eight units are officered by Indians the total will be over 600 giving a rough proportion of one Indian to fourteen British officers. Does not this satisfy the House for the present? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told us that there are certain peculiar qualities that a British officer or any officer requires before he can take up command in any army or in any regiment, especially in the Indian Army. He also advised us to learn to walk before we attempted to run. I wish he had told us to learn to crawl. He has also explained to the House how violent and sudden would be the change and how strained would be the efficiency of the Indian army if we carried the scheme into effect at the speed advocated by this Resolution. He pointed out that India is still in a disturbed condition and that there are signs of danger both outside and inside, and he told us that the time is not opportune for so sudden and drastic a change. He told us also that the Government of India is desirous of satisfying the aspirations of this country, and, to-day he has given us the news that eight units are to be officered entirely by Indians and Indians alone. And here we are, in the face of all this, sitting down here in comfortable chairs—as far as we are individually concerned we are “babes” considering our ignorance of the Army—sitting down here and discussing and trying to make an army within 10 or 25 years, imagining that an Army like a mushroom is the product of a night or even a period of 10 or 25 years. No, Sir! Much as I am an advocate of Indianization of the Services and of Self-Government yet I am not an advocate of (what I consider this Resolution if passed would create) wrecking the Indian Army, an army that has taken England over 100 years to build up and an army which to-day even is not perfect. I submit with all respect that it is not the Indian army officer or Sepoy who is asking for this change. It is the Indian politician who demands this extraordinary speed of Indianization of the Army,—the Indian politician who in his race for Swaraj has evidently become dyplopic and myopic regarding the defence and safety of his own country. Sir, it is not my desire to decry or belittle the ability and the courage of the Indian officer for he has proved his worth in the battlefields of the world, but let me ask the Honourable Mover of this Resolution, has he asked the Indian officer what he thinks of this Resolution? Would he welcome it? Would Jack Sepoy welcome it? No, Sir, the *bon camaraderie* and good feeling between the British officer and his men in the Indian Army is the secret of its success, the cementing influence which, if taken away, I think will within a short time sow the seeds of disintegration. It will surely be necessary for the Honourable Mover of this Resolution to take into consideration how he is to obtain officers for the King's Commissions. It will certainly be by open competition. You cannot on that occasion exclude any class. You will there have the learned communities of India, if I may say, the Pandits of India topping the list and securing appointments as officers in the Indian Army,—I see my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar as a Member of the learned Brahmin Community appreciates this fact. You will have army officers recruited from classes who unfortunately have not got martial traditions and martial instincts while the rank and file will be recruited mainly from the martial races in India. Can you visualise an army, if we go at the rate that we are asked to do, say of Sikhs commanded by a scribe

from Bengal,—he may be an excellent civilian officer, but he may not be any good as a commanding officer in the Army,—of an army of Gurkhas commanded by a Bania who would make a most excellent man at the stock exchange, but would not be much good in an army. It is this, Sir, that makes me think that the speed of this Resolution is much too great. It is not practical, at least not just now for India. That *Nirvana* which my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, so spectacularly talks of is not of our life time or within the visual perimeter of the present century, and till that *Nirvana* is reached, we should be satisfied with taking over what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has given us, and let us go slowly especially so far as the Indian Army is concerned. If this Resolution were carried I predict that within 25 years there will not be one united Indian army as we have to-day but different Territorial armies, such as the Sikh Army with its own Sikh officers, the Gurkha Army with its own officers, the Rajput army with its own officers and so on. I am certainly in favour of allowing more Indians into the King's commissioned ranks of the Indian Army, but it is with regard to the speed that I wish to draw a line. I therefore oppose this Resolution and of all the amendments I am more inclined to favour Dr. Gour's because it asks for a progressive Indianisation compatible with efficiency and the retention of the British officer who, as is well known, is the only man to whom every caste and creed of Sepoy in the Indian Army will willingly go for advice and help knowing that such advice and such help will not be subordinated by the unfortunate prejudices of any caste or creed, which we now find. Sir, it may be of interest to Members to know what our friend, the late Law Member, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has to say on Indianisation of the army. In an interview which he accorded to the "Times of India," in its issue of 18th January, he said:

"To my mind the question of the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the Army is even more important than any question of immediate constitutional advance. Without an efficient Indian Army officered by our own nationals self-Government for India must be a very unreal and shadowy thing. It is for this reason that I have always laid the greatest possible stress upon the subject of the Indianisation of the Army being tackled by the Government of India seriously. I realise that we cannot Indianise the Army as quickly as some people could wish. At the same time it cannot be postponed indefinitely or for a very long time. If I were a non-official Member of the Assembly I would concentrate all efforts in bringing pressure to bear upon the Government to bring into existence a proper machinery for the training of Indian officers in this country, and if it involved any heavy expenditure I would willingly submit to it."

These are the sentiments to which I would subscribe and that is the point of view from which I approach this Resolution. I oppose it but I am inclined to support Dr. Gour's amendment as it stands. I think this Honourable House will be well advised if it takes His Excellency Lord Rawlinson's advice and went slowly, in order that it may learn to walk before it attempts to run.

Sardar Gulamjilani Bijli Khan (Bombay Central Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to make a few observations on the motion before the House.

Sir, I submit that any proposition likely to bring about an innovation of such a serious nature without making an experiment will not appeal to this House. The safety of a country depends upon a powerful Army which is well equipped, and well organized, and further it is an established fact that no Government can satisfactorily carry out its functions unless it possesses a strong Army.

[Sardar Gulamjilani Bijli Khan.]

With regard to other Departments of a Government, inefficiency is not such a great factor, compared with the Military Department, considering that the destiny of a nation depends upon the efficiency of that department.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has already assured the House of his sympathy with all reasonable aspirations of this country and the statement made this morning is proof of that sympathy. With regard to the subject matter of this Resolution His Excellency has satisfactorily explained that a beginning has already been made and high hopes are entertained by him regarding the future of the college at Dehra Dun and the present and future admission of cadets to Sandhurst. I submit, Sir, that it is the duty of all interested in this subject, to be grateful to His Excellency for this beginning, however small it may appear, because I feel confident that the ideal aimed at in the Resolution before this House will be gradually realised, consistently with efficiency, which is highly desirable, as the destiny of India and the realization of her aspirations depends upon internal as well as external order which necessitates an up-to-date army.

It might be suggested that an institution similar to Sandhurst be established in India for the convenience of Indian cadets.

That, I submit, is a matter of detail, since we are assured that the doors of the King's Commission are not closed to eligible Indians and it may be safely left to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who has, I venture to say, the fullest confidence of this House. In conclusion I cannot associate myself with the Mover of this Resolution and confess that I am fully convinced by the observations so ably addressed to this House by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Further, Sir, if this Resolution were given effect to, the result would be that after about 22 years the doors of the Indian Army would be closed to British officers, who have, it is universally acknowledged, built up the Indian Army and brought it to the present state of efficiency. I submit, Sir, that this is a wrong principle. To ensure a high standard of Indian officer, it is essential that the criterion of recruitment to the Indian Army would be similar to that of the other services.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the remarks made by the two previous speakers call for some reply. In the first place I must hasten to express the thanks of the whole of the Indian community for the first step which has been taken to-day in the announcement given to us this morning by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. In all these matters, as we were told by the Honourable Mr. Innes, it is the first step which counts. When once the first step is taken, I am sure that public opinion will assert itself and those Indian officers who are going to be put in charge of these eight units will give such an excellent account of themselves in their work that at no distant date, probably within my own lifetime I will see all the Indian units officered by Indian officers. Man is the creature who exhibits himself according to the environments in which he is brought up. When I heard the last speaker, a true Indian, bemoan the fate which may happen 22 or 25 years hence when the Indian units will be officered by Indian officers I recalled to my mind the truth of the saying that we are all so brought up in such surroundings that we cannot look beyond them. We cannot soar as high as we ought to do and therefore it is not in anger I listened to his speech. It is more in sympathy and pity that I listened to the

remarks which fell from my distinguished friend. Sir, it requires some imagination and some patriotic sentiment in us to rise above ourselves and our surroundings. I may assure my Honourable friend that it will not be an evil day at all either for India or for England if the Indian Army is officered entirely by Indian officers. On the other hand the Empire will be the better for it. As for my friend, Colonel Gidney, he was blowing hot and cold. I listened very respectfully and attentively to all that he said. Is he an advocate of the Resolution? Is he advocating the Indianisation of the Army or is he not? Or is he only for Anglo-Indianising the Army? It appeared to me the latter is the truth. He asked what about the attitude of the Indian community towards his community. He put that question to the Government and not to the Indian community. So long as he looks to the Government for help, so long as he looks only in that direction, he can guess the answer of the people of India. Let him feel like an Indian. Let him yearn like an Indian. Let him share the aspirations of Indians. Then he need have no fear as to what his place will be in the Swaraj that is bound to come. So long as he does not look to India, so long as he does not look to the place of his birth, so long as he does not look to his own people among whom he lives, so long as he does not ask them what their attitude is going to be, what answer can we give? Well, the truth is out. Let him ask the question 'Am I an Indian or am I an European'? Well, he must answer it himself. It depends upon his community. Sir, we had a most distinguished Anglo-Indian in our province, Mr. White of revered memory. He never bothered himself about this question. He considered himself an Indian first before he considered himself anything else. If your community is composed of Whites, I mean in that sense, if your community would not consider themselves whites, in the other sense, then you need have no fear as to the treatment you will receive at the hands of your fellow countrymen. Remember that you are a fellow countryman of ourselves. Work with us, fight with us, for all the rights, for all the privileges, which a citizen in His Majesty's Empire should enjoy. Fight for equal rights, don't fight for difference of pay, difference of treatment, don't ask for pay as a European and claim privileges as an Indian. Don't claim recruitment as an Indian and ask for European pay. Then, there is no difficulty as to what the attitude of your neighbours will be to your community. Don't look down upon the sepoy, be a fellow sepoy with him. Don't look at his colour, and wherever you go, consider yourself an Indian first. Be a neighbour to your fellow-Indians, then there will be no difficulty, and no anxiety need be felt as to your position.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must now bring his remarks into order. He may assume, for the purposes of this debate that 'Indian' includes 'Anglo-Indian.'

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar: It does, but it is more because of the remarks which fell from my Honourable and gallant friend. Sir, I have said enough. As a Member of that Committee which sat on the Esher Committee's Report, I was at one with him in including in the term 'Indian' the term 'Anglo-Indian' also. Therefore, we do not want to go back upon the understanding which we came to. Sir, what we mean by 'Indianizing the army' is 'Indianizing by the people of India.' Sir, as regards the merits of the Resolution, I quite recognize that it is not proper to hasten the speed in a case like this. As I have stated, I am quite content, speaking for myself—I do not know what my friends think—I am quite content, with the first step which has been taken. But I hope the

[Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

next forward steps will not be delayed. I hope more speed will be put on, that we will be running hereafter,—I do not mean the people here will be running, but I mean, so far as Indianization goes, I hope the Government of India will not merely walk but will run in this process of Indianization. Sir, I support the Resolution and the amendment.

Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I have been listening with great interest to the speeches delivered by the different Honourable gentlemen. I have much pleasure in supporting my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution so far as the spirit is concerned, but I must say that I differ from him on more material points. Sir, I would be false to myself, false to my country, if I did not want that the Indian Army should be Indianised. When there is a unity of allegiance, when there is a unity of discipline, when there is a unity of action, when there is a unity of thought, why should there not be a unity of enjoyment of equal rank,—my contention is backed and supported by the war which has proved that Indians deserve that. Now, Sir, I differ from my Honourable friend when he claims that the Indian Army should be entirely Indianized. Before I reply to him, I would ask him one question, whether this Honourable House has settled once for all that we are going to have Swaraj, or Home Rule, within the British Empire or without the British Empire. If this Honourable House has settled this, that we must have that Swaraj under the British rule, then, Sir, I shall be the last person to say that the Army should be entirely Indianized. I should say that it should be mutually Indianized with the British as well as the Indians. I want them to share with us the simple soldier's grave,—having equally with us one heart, one mind and the same dust. Sir, my Honourable friend, I must say, perhaps thinks that as every thing can be gained in due time why should not this Indianization of the Army be brought about by a sudden impulse? I must draw his attention to this, that let us be in right earnest, and let us be true to ourselves, and let us be true to our country. Suppose we want that this Indian Army should really be Indianized: how long will it take? Sir, where will he get men who are expert in science, where will he get efficient men to-day who can be placed in charge of the different Departments which entirely depend on science? Before Honourable Members blame Government for that, I would appeal to them to consider what is the feeling of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I could tell them one thing, Sir, that, although I am not in close touch with His Excellency, those Indian officers who have been immediately under him, have got the highest possible respect for him, and they say that they have always looked upon and found His Excellency as their father, as their friend as well as their Commander-in-Chief, and everything else in this world. He always takes a great interest in the Indian soldiers, and His Excellency was perfectly right when he made a statement, and I think we should be grateful to Government, and we should appreciate his sense of justice when he made the statement. He did not mean to say that only these 8 Divisions would be Indianized; he simply said this, that for the present these 8 Divisions would be Indianized, and that it was an experiment, and let others come forward, and places will be offered to them. I think we should be satisfied with that. Now, Sir, I will come to some remark which fell from my Honourable friend, Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar,—and, of course, I am not concerned with that because it was a business of the Government to reply to that; but still, as a Member of this Honourable House, I think I will just

make some observations on it. I do not think it is desirable, even if the Secretary of State gave permission, that these papers should be laid on the table. We have been already fed up with the Royal Commission business, and I ask, are you going to have another Royal Commission? I think, Sir, that as the Civilian has got his grievances, so if we push on and if we do not exercise our discretion and get another Royal Commission, we will have to face discontent among the British military officers too. I think the one is enough to embarrass us; it will be bad indeed to be saddled with two. Now I would advise my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, to consider the problem whether he would be true to India, true to the interests of India, if he presses for the whole army being Indianized by Indian officers at this time, when you see all around different sorts of movements, when you see different sorts of military development outside India whether it would be safe that the Indian Army should be officered by Indian officers only. I must say that the Honourable Member is like a girl who is always impatient to have her chaperone removed; and I think it is in the interests of the girl that her chaperone should be round about her; so this British military officer having played the part of her chaperone, her guardian, I think it would be ungrateful on our part if we should be in such a bad temper as to wish to get rid of the chaperone. Let India grow, let India first look after herself,—that will be the proper course, and that will be the sound policy.

Now, Sir, I will say one thing more. I think it was the last time when His Excellency said, if I am not mistaken, these were his words, that he could not see how the British soldier should be commanded by an Indian officer. I must say, Sir, that I must strongly protest against that. When we have to look to the true interests of the Empire we must be above these things. I think an Indian officer, if he can be an ideal soldier, he can also in due course be an ideal officer. I hope His Excellency will not stick to his words, and if the Indian officer becomes an ideal officer, he won't mind if British regiments are commanded or officered by the Indian officer. I can say that during this big war,—I do not want to mention personal names, but I know for certain that some Indians had the fortune to command British regiments, and they have justified their selection or nomination by those officers who had given them the command. So I must appeal to the Government as well as to the Members of this Honourable House, let us approach this question in a true spirit and mutual respect and mutual grace. I would advise Government that Government should be rather generous and must be liberal in extending this concession which must come in due course. Government must act in a spirit of true statesmanship. A true statesman is one who realizes his opportunity and takes advantage of it. There must be a policy of give and take on both sides.

I would say one word also to my friend, Mr. Rangachariar. Sitting as I am by his side, my Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Gidney, said that he particularly wanted to plead the cause of his community only. He simply wished to ascertain from Government what the position and status of his community in this connection would be from the Government point of view. My Honourable and gallant friend said openly that he would prefer to call himself an Indian citizen if he had to call himself anything at all.

Finally, Sir, I would request my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, not to go so far as to demand complete Indianization. I am certainly

[Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan.]

in complete accord with the spirit of his Resolution but I do not sympathise with the impatience which he feels and the entire Indianization of army without the British element, which he pleads.

Mr. K. Muppil Nayar (West Coast and Nilgiris: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I belong to a class which has been termed reactionary and I shall not mind if I am once again called one for now placing my views before the Honourable Members—a duty I feel I am bound to do. The Resolution deals with a subject closely allied to further reforms, Indianization in general and Swaraj. The importance of ultimate Indianization of the army will be fully admitted by everyone who believes in Swaraj for India. We cannot have Swaraj, give little or no voice to non-Indians in the choice of action in this country and yet at the same time expect them to execute our commands and shoulder the responsibility. If Swaraj ever comes, I believe we will have to find the men to enforce the commands of the central authority in India, whether they be of a civil or military nature. However, there can be little doubt that we make a great mistake when we wish to force the pace. To treat the Indianization of the army as merely a matter resulting from the passing of a few examinations or from a few years' soldiering will be a great mistake. It is no use trying to count too much on our past. It is no use quoting the Mahabharata and Ramayana to show that we led armies and fought battles. The point is, have we got the necessary conditions and the materials that are wanted or at least are we likely to have them in the near future? I do not know what my Honourable friend Mr. Rangachariar's surroundings are, but I must positively say, "no." Then what is the use of tying the hands of the Government as regards the method of recruitment or by serving them with a notice to do it all in ten, twenty or so many years. Without the cohesive force, I mean the British element, what is the Indian army as a whole worth? Is the Punjabi willing to be or capable of being led by a Madras, a Gurkha by a Mahratta or a Madras by either? What about the Hindus and the Muhammadans? Are we going to have communal representation in the army also, or is it our desire to turn the Indian army into so many loose packs of mere aggressiveness? We must all learn to have something more in common before anything like what is demanded can be safely aimed at, achieved or fully and rightly enjoyed. In an important question of this sort we cannot afford to shut our eyes to hard facts or to make vital experiments. I should therefore entreat patience of my friends and ask them to leave the matter to the British Government who seem to have some idea of Swaraj for India and who have promised it. Keep reminding them of it by all means, but do not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Finally, I thank His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the sympathy he has shown in his speech this morning and I suggest that His Excellency's proposals should be gratefully accepted.

Maulvi Abul Kasem (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, when I came to this House little did I think that I would have an occasion to speak; but the discussion which has taken place makes me feel that I will be shirking my duty and my responsibility if I only give my silent vote. In the first place, Sir, although I do not commit myself exactly to the wording of the Resolution as drafted by my friend I must say that generally that Resolution expresses correctly the opinion of my countrymen at any rate, if not the opinion of this House. It has been asked by one of the

speakers, "Why pin down the Government to a particular course of action?" The Resolutions passed by this House are at best only recommendations, and in making our recommendations we have to express ourselves in terms which represent the feelings of my countrymen. It has been remarked, Sir, that we must learn to walk before we can proceed to run, and that the pace at which we are moving is rather fast. Sir, I beg to submit that in the matter of military acquirement, if we have ceased to walk and if we are still crawling after 150 or 200 years of British rule, it is not our fault but our misfortune, and the mistake I think lies at the door of our administrators. Sir, I do not wish to go into the ancient days, if I might so call the mythical days of the Mahabharata and Ramayana. I will come on to more solid ground and draw the attention of this House and of the Government to more recent history and to more solid facts. I think the British Government can be fairly said to be the successors of the Moghul Empire, and I might remind the House that the Moghul Empire was never so strong and consolidated as when it entrusted its army and its administration to the people of this country. Trust begets trust. I, Sir, share the opinion and the feelings of my learned and distinguished friend, Mr. Rangachariar, in the expression of our gratitude to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for his anxiety to Indianize the Indian army and for the sympathy he has shown. But, Sir, we are here discussing not the personalities of the members of the Government but the policy of that Government. I am afraid, Sir, that the halting hesitating policy that has been adopted by this Government and the nervousness shown by them in all matters of concessions and reforms has neither been wise nor equitable, while in some cases it has proved to be dangerous. Somebody remarked sometime back that half measures, political and social, or even in a matter like whisky, are always useless. You must have a full measure. Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to the Government to make the pace at which they move a little more rapid and to take us by the hand and help us to walk and to run. Sir, in this connection I might say that it depends upon our teachers, our mentors, our administrators whether we crawl or walk or run. They can do as they like. If they wish us to run we will be able to run in the course of a very few years. But if they desire that we should crawl we shall crawl till the day of judgment. Sir, I am reminded of the story of the step-mother in Bengal who used to carry the child of her husband's first wife in her arms. She declared that she had so much affection for the child that she must always carry it about in her arms. But the people knew better. They said that she carried it continuously in order that it may not be able to walk and run and develop its faculties. I do not mean to say, Sir, that either the Government of India or the military authorities here follow that policy of the step-mother. But I appeal to them to always follow a policy which will not give the people of this country cause for apprehension or suspicion.

Sir, I find from the agenda paper that a crop of amendments have been tabled on this Resolution. Some of those amendments ask for communal representation and territorial distribution of these officers. I say it is too early to discuss those details. First let us get the principle admitted. Let us secure for Indians what Indians want. Then it will be time to set our domestic differences at rest and not before that.

Sir, a word about my gallant friend, Colonel Gidney, before I sit down. The question of the Anglo-Indians in this country, either for military service or for civil service, is a problem which will have to be tackled both by the Government and by the people of this country. But I can assure my

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

frend over there that the only people who can solve this are the Anglo-Indians themselves. If they want to live and flourish in this country, they must become Indians first. They must not only, as my friend, Mr. Rangachariar said, have the same aspirations, the same ideals and the same imagination, but I think they must work and they must live like Indians. They are a people who are recognized at the present moment by none and I hope it is for them to choose one side or the other, and therefore the future will depend on the side they choose. If they make a mistake, they will have to repent for it later on. Sir, there has been an amendment moved that the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India should be laid on the table of the House. I do not know how far that correspondence is private and confidential, but this much I must say that if this House—and by this House I mean naturally the people of this country—is taken a little more into the confidence of the Government, it will be to the advantage of the Government itself than otherwise. Sir, it has been said that if we want to get Swaraj, we must prepare by Indianizing the officers of the Army. I say that whether we get Swaraj or not, whether we get responsible Government or not, whether the Government is an autocratic Government or a bureaucratic Government, it is essential that many of the officers of the Army in India should be Indianized, because you have found out by experience that there has been great heart-burning among the people of this country and among the subordinate officials because the high offices of the Government were not thrown open to my countrymen and the Government have recognized that and now the highest offices in the State are open to natives of this country and I think they have acquitted themselves fairly well and creditably both from the people's point of view and the Government point of view. If there was discontent in the civil service over this, there is naturally discontent in an aggravated form in the Army if the Indian Army finds that the places of officers are not open to them. Discontent in the Army is more undesirable and might lead to disaster, and, therefore, it will be an act of statesmanship, of diplomacy and of, I think, foresight, if the Government takes upon itself the responsibility of Indianizing the officers of the Army and of training us for those offices. The people of this country can never believe that we have not got the materials for making up good officers of Army, because, even recently we have had an Indian Army led by Indian Generals and Martials. Therefore, Sir, I think that this Resolution which has been moved expresses the voice of the country, and, as such, it should receive that respect, consideration and attention which it deserves. With these words, Sir, I support the spirit of the Resolution as moved by my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan.

Mr. T. E. Moir (Madras: Nominated Official): Sir, I must confess to having listened with some disappointment to the debate which

1 P.M. has taken place on my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution in view of the announcement which has been made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. With the exception of one or two speakers, it seems to me that few who have taken part in the debate have shown due appreciation of the very momentous character of the announcement which His Excellency made to the House, and I could have wished a greater appreciation of its importance had been shown in the course of the discussion. For myself, I listened to that announcement with feelings partly of relief, partly of regret and partly of apprehension: of relief because it seemed to me that the announcement was in part a declaration to the

people of my own country that there was some hope that in future the very heavy burden of responsibility which they have to carry has some chance of being lifted; that that responsibility under which my country is at present labouring is, so far as this country is concerned, in part at least, and as I personally hope in as brief a period as is possible, going to be transferred to this Assembly and to the representatives of India in this Assembly. I listened to the announcement with regret because there is no doubt that it implies that, possibly before very long, that long comradeship in arms between my countrymen and the Indian Army will be brought to a close. Now there has certainly, as far as I know in the course of history, been no comradeship in arms between two races which has lasted so long, and I doubt if future history will ever be able to bear witness to a comradeship which has been more glorious and more perfect. But I also listened to the announcement with apprehension. There is no doubt that to-day we have crossed the Rubicon and that we are at last really face to face with the great issue which underlies this whole question of constitutional reforms in India. It is whether India will be able to recruit and maintain an army which will be capable of defending its frontiers, and also of rendering that loyal obedience to the constitution without which the constitution cannot hope to continue or to be preserved. That is the issue which the announcement made this morning brings prominently before us. Now, Sir, during my leisure hours, since I came up to Delhi, I have been looking into the history of Delhi and of those parts of India with which hitherto I have been insufficiently acquainted. And what do I read? Of invasion after invasion, which has swept across the frontier, uprooted principalities and powers and shifted the whole balance of power in India. And on no single occasion hitherto has India been able to repel those invasions. The question is whether the new Army, that reconstituted Army, with reference to which this morning we have taken the first step, will be able to perform a task which, as far as I can discover from the annals of this country, no Indian Army hitherto has been able to accomplish. (*Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar*: "But India has lived.") Is the wheel again to come full circle? I sincerely hope not. I can only hope that history will not repeat itself and that what I may call the somewhat facile optimism which seemed to me to characterise the speeches of some of the Members of this House will be justified. But, Sir, I have also in the course of my readings been much impressed by one further fact, and that is, that those constant defeats, to which I have referred, were due not to any lack of gallantry, not to any defect in martial qualities of the armies who went forth to defend the frontiers of India—the ballads of the countryside still recall the gallant deeds of their forefathers—not to any such defects was that failure due but to the fact that it was impossible apparently for them to act under one leader, to accept a common discipline and to look to one central authority. And that is a further issue which the announcement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning has raised, the great constitutional issue,—will this Assembly in the future be able to control an army, such as the Indian Army must be, constituted out of such a variety of tribes and castes and races? Will it be able to control and render it amenable and an efficient executant of its orders and wishes? Sir, surely in view of these questions which I have asked, we might pay more attention to the spirit, to the underlying meaning of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's announcement. Surely, on an occasion such as this, it is out of place to raise the question perpetually raised in this House, to tilt at the authority of the Secretary of State, to demand that papers be laid on the table of the House. Surely this is not the occasion to debate a

[Mr. T. E. Moir.]

question of percentages, or display our mutual fears and jealousies. God knows that question is serious enough in this connection but surely on this occasion we might allow communal bickerings and disagreements to be silenced for once. We have, as I said, passed the Rubicon. We are at the turning of the ways; and I should have thought that on this occasion we would have confined our attention to-day to the important, the momentous nature of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's announcement, and allowed ourselves time to consider, to reflect on what it means. I would, Sir, press upon my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, to withdraw this Resolution. Further opportunities will surely arise for debating all minor points and for discussing or settling our differences. I would, therefore, ask my Honourable friend to withdraw his Resolution and the House to adopt towards the announcement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief an attitude which I would urge upon them will be consonant with the dignity of the House and with the nature of the occasion.

Rai D. C. Barua Bahadur (Assam Valley: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, after having waited nearly two years since the passing of the Resolution on the Esher Commission's Report which the Government accepted by promising to appoint Indians to the extent of 25 per cent. of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army, we have learnt with a sense of relief from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to-day that eight units of Infantry will at once be officered by Indians. I think, Sir, this is a move in the right direction and it is but the beginning of the move. I am not a believer in the principle which obtains in some quarters that the change can be effected at a moment's notice. I for one am not prepared to accuse the Government with anything like apathetic feelings towards the problem, for I find they have taken steps to train Indians in military schools and colleges in the meantime. I understand that many more units will be thrown open to Indians in the near future and my countrymen should not be impatient. At the same time I would humbly advise the Government to expedite the matter. After the momentous announcement of His Excellency this morning we should be satisfied that the promise made by the Government is not quite hollow, and as they have redeemed their promise in part we can safely take it for granted that they will not take long to redeem it in full. At this juncture it will be the proper duty of Indians to show that the appointment is justified. If justification can be established, the task of Government will be easier, and the burden of military expenditure on the tax-payer will be lightened. As, however, effect is being given to the subject of this Resolution, I think it need not be pressed and it may be safely withdrawn with thanks to the Government.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala (Burma: Non-European): Sir, the Honourable Member from Madras, (Mr. Moir) who spoke a little while ago from that corner has charged us with not showing due appreciation of the announcement that was made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning. I may, however, remind the Honourable Member from Madras that according to the conventions of political life as they are understood on this side of the House it is not always necessary to go into raptures over every announcement that is made. We are conscious of the fact, and I am prepared to admit it and I believe Honourable Members on this side of the House who agree with me in my opinion will endorse that view—that a very momentous announcement no doubt has been made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to-day. This step which has been taken, I venture to state, is a step which ought to have been taken long

ago, but we are grateful that the step has been taken eventually and that a Government which we have often described as incorrigible has shown itself capable of improvement in course of time. The Honourable Member from Madras also stated whether, if the policy enunciated by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was pursued to its logical conclusion, a time will arrive when India will be able to face aggression from without, and he drew a parallel from the past. It is needless to point out that historical parallels are often untrue, because the circumstances change, while those who draw the parallels do not appear to recognise the change of circumstances. If it was a fact that the Indian army of the future was to be absolutely on the lines of the past—like it was in the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and even of more recent pre-British times,—it may reasonably be argued that the Indian Army of the future may not be equal to the occasion if foreign danger really took the form which it is anticipated by some men on the analogy of the past it would take. But we have been in contact with the British Army for 150 years; we have learnt some of that art or so much of it as has been accessible to us under our peculiar conditions. We have fought along with them; we have built up our own traditions which are entirely different from the traditions of those days in which an Indian Army was not able to face outside aggression. We are prepared yet to learn from the British officer and we have not said that the British officer is to leave this country bag and baggage to-morrow. He will be with us still, and we hope that he will always be with us in some form or other. To say, therefore, that if the Indian Army is Indianised the history of the past will be repeated is to commit an anachronism which has been exploded times out of number in human experience.

There are one or two expressions in the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief which he made on the 24th January, to which with great respect I would take exception. He said, when giving the reasons for not expediting the pace of reform in the army: "I need hardly remind the House that ever since the end of the Great War India has never wholly been free from some form of external or internal menace." Now, I would like to ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—can he say of any country at the present moment, leave alone India, which has been free from these two dangers? Can he point to any country and say that in any particular decade it was always free from those two things? Can it be said of any country in Europe just now that these dangers do not exist? It is no good, Sir, talking of these dangers; they are permanent dangers as far as human society is constituted and they have to be borne in mind in whatever direction you wish to proceed. Then, with regard to the "internal menace," I do not wish to enter into a discussion on the principle involved in those two words. But I protest against that expression being used in connection with the maintenance of the Indian Army. It is no function, I maintain, of the Army to preserve internal peace and this House will not recognise that principle. The Indian Army cannot be maintained on the principle of maintaining internal defence, unless you are prepared to admit that the basis of the Government of this country is your Army. If that is not your position, then I maintain, Sir, that the sooner the doctrine of preserving internal peace and order by the military forces of the Crown is abandoned the better.

There was another remark made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and it was this, that it was essential, if the Army was to be efficient, that the Indian officer should have the same training and the same

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education as the British officer. Baldly stated, that proposition is a sound one, no doubt, but what has been our experience in the past in applying this doctrine to other branches of education? Did not we adopt the doctrine in the latter half of the last century, that whatever was good for the British youth was good for the Indian youth in matters of general education, and have we not been trying from the beginning of this century to correct some of the errors which we perpetrated in consequence of the adoption of that doctrine? If you are going to start your new career of Indianising the Army upon that doctrine, I venture to submit that the time will come when you must revise that policy of yours as you are having to do to-day in matters of other branches of education. And, before we start on any very large scale upon this career, in my opinion an examination is necessary as to whether we are going to apply to the Indian officer exactly the same standards of education as are applied to the British officer. I will now turn for a moment to what the Honourable Member for Commerce and Industries had to say on behalf of the Government with reference to its relations with the Secretary of State. As he got up to speak, Sir, he reminded me of a picture of Prometheus Vincetus which I had seen some years ago where Prometheus was chained to the rocks by the thunder of a cruel Jove and while he was doing his best to break his chains he could not do so. I may, however, tell the Honourable Member for Commerce and Industries and his Government that they can snap those chains if they try. If they submit to what they are allowed to receive from the Secretary of State, those chains will never be broken. But, if they insist upon their own rights and if they take this Assembly into their confidence and ask for our support to break those chains, those chains will be broken. If they persist in accepting orders the reasonableness of which they are not satisfied with, if they do not tell us that they have done their best to get other orders and that, unaided by this House, they have not succeeded, it is their own fault. And my advice to them is that, though we differ upon other points, we are in entire agreement with them if they make up their mind to conspire with us and seize every opportunity to remove the shackles which they and we find so tiresome and oppressive. I have no hesitation in saying that in that conspiracy—it will be a very pious conspiracy—they will have every encouragement which it is in the power of this House to give them for when they are free, we shall consider ourselves free. Freedom in this direction must come to us and to them together and if they attach any importance to it, I urge upon them, Sir, to come to this House and join forces with it, to fight and vanquish in the end our common enemy—the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. President: I desire to point out to the House that, while there are still a certain number of amendments on the paper, I cannot call on the Honourable Members in whose names they stand until we have disposed of Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar's amendment. To give them their fair chance I propose to put that amendment now.

The original question was that:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commission for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

“To add to the Resolution the following:

‘This Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to lay on the table of the House the scheme, if any, for the Indianisation of the Indian Army and the correspondence, if any, that has passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the subject.’”

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

The Assembly divided:

AYES—28.

Abdul Majid, Sheikh.
Abdulla, Mr. S. M.
Abul Kasem, Maulvi.
Agarwala, Lala Girdharilal.
Agnihotri, Mr. K. B. L.
Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
Basu, Mr. J. N.
Bhargava, Pandit J. L.
Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
Das, Babu B. S.
Ghulam Sarwar Khan, Chaudhuri.
Ginwala, Mr. P. P.
Girdhardas, Mr. N.

Gour, Dr. H. S.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kamat, Mr. B. S.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Rajan Baksh Shah, Mukhdum S.
Rangachariar, Mr. T.
Shahani, Mr. S. C.
Sohan Lal, Mr. Bakshi
Srinivasa Rao, Mr. P. V.
Subrahmanayam, Mr. C. S.
Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Vishindas, Mr. H.

NOES—54.

Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
Abdul Rahim Khan, Mr.
Abdul Rahman, Munshi.
Aiyar, Mr. A. V. V.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Allen, Mr. B. C.
Asad Ali, Mir.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Barua, Mr. D. C.
Bijlikhan, Sardar G.
Blackett, Sir Basil.
Bradley-Birt, Mr. F. B.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Cabell, Mr. W. H. L.
Chatterjee, Mr. A. C.
Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
Crookshank, Sir Sydney.
Faridoonji, Mr. R.
Gajjan Singh Sardar Bahadur.
Gidney, Lieut.-Col. H. A. J.
Hindley, Mr. C. D. M.
Holme, Mr. H. E.
Hullah, Mr. J.
Innes, the Honourable Mr. C. A.
Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr.
Ley, Mr. A. H.
Mitter, Mr. K. N.

Moir, Mr. T. E.
Moncrieff Smith, Sir Henry.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Mukherjee, Mr. J. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. T. P.
Nabi Hadi, Mr. S. M.
Nayar, Mr. K. M.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Ramayya Pantulu, Mr. J.
Reddi, Mr. M. K.
Rhodes, Sir Campbell.
Samarth, Mr. N. M.
Sams, Mr. H. A.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Sarvadhikary, Sir Deva Prasad.
Shahab-ud-Din, Chaudhri.
Singh, Mr. S. N.
Singh, Rana U. B.
Sinha, Babu L. P.
Stanyon, Col. Sir Henry.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Townsend, Mr. C. A. H.
Tulshan, Mr. Sheopershad.
Ujagar Singh, Baba Bedi.
Webb, Sir Montagu.
Willson, Mr. W. S. J.
Zahiruddin Ahmed, Mr.

The motion was negatived.

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

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

Colonel Sir Sydney Crookshank (Public Works Department Secretary): Sir, it seems to me, if I have the indulgence of the House to say so, that this debate has so far proceeded on what I would term somewhat ragged lines, and the amendments which I see tabled to this Resolution also indicate that the question which we have before us is very likely to become further involved. Now, Sir, there is considerable weight in the valuable remarks which fell from my Honourable friend from Madras. At the same time I think many Members of this Honourable Assembly will probably agree with me in considering that we do not want to approach this question from the melodramatic side. Proceeding to the remarks which have fallen from my Honourable friend from Burma, I can only say I regret I cannot subscribe to those remarks in so far as they apply to the education of Indians to take their place in the ranks of the Indian Army. However, that may be a matter of opinion, but I base my opinion largely on the fact that circumstances from the military point of view have changed very extensively of late, and that the enemies we have on the Frontier are now well trained and organized, and very well armed, and they are no longer just ordinary hordes of invaders. I would also note that it seems to me that he also transgressed what I might call the first canon of military propriety in not respecting that discipline which is expected from all ranks of the Army, a discipline of exact obedience to constituted authority which requires them to carry out the orders which are in force whether they agree with them or whether they do not.

Sir, this question of training Indians for service as officers in the Indian Army is one which depends very largely on social and economic and also climatic conditions. When I refer to climatic conditions what I mean is that the climatic conditions of India, down in the plains during the hot weather months, are not such as to retain the vitality of the ordinary individual after, say, the age of about 35 to the standard which is required of him in military service, and the advantage which the British officer has in this respect is that he takes leave to European climatic conditions and returns in vigour, and possibly thereby retains his physical youth longer than would his brother officer who happens to be an Indian, who stays in India without having those advantages. However, I will not dwell on that particular point. The House will no doubt agree with me that the points I have mentioned have a considerable bearing on the question we have to deal with.

Sir, I venture to speak on this subject because it may be that I am the only member of this Honourable Assembly who has been on service on the Frontier and in France with British units and with Indian units and under fire with them as comrades in arms. I have been with British units and Indian units in action, in advancing, in holding a position, and also in falling back from one, but I am not going to dwell on that fact in order to analyse the qualities of British officers and Indian officers. Both have their merits and probably also in certain respects their demerits, but I have only mentioned the fact in order to put it to the House that I speak from a practical point of view; I do not merely theorise; and as such, it seems to me that the pronouncement which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief gave to this House this morning should have given an assurance to this Assembly that the Government

proposed to set about the problem of the Indianisation of the Indian Army in regular ordered steps and to base its further Indianisation in the course of time entirely on the results so attained. His Excellency has announced that 8 units will be officered by Indian officers. Well, that itself goes a very great distance. On that basis, he, in his highly responsible position as the military adviser of the Government of India and responsible military expert before this Assembly, would be in a position to judge what further stages of Indianisation of units could be effected and when. I therefore think, Sir, that this House, instead of proceeding to go into the details of all the amendments which now stand tabled on the agenda, which may confuse the issue before us, would perhaps do well to consider the advance which has already been made, and to let these further stages of the development of the Indianisation of the Indian units of the Army be considered in due course, from time to time, according to the results which are seen from this measure of Indianisation of 8 units to make a start with. With that to go on, it seems to me that the field is perfectly clear, and it may be left to the military authorities to advise the Government of India as to what further can be done. I do not think I need detain this House any more in this matter, because we have here an accomplished fact that 8 units are going to be Indianised, and also that an Indian Military College for the training of Indian cadets for the officering of the Army has been established at Dehra Dun. The progress will be watched, and no doubt the House will be advised from time to time. In the meanwhile, it will, perhaps, suffice to abide by the assurance, which His Excellency has given us, and in the future, when the opportunity arises, to consider what are the further stages of Indianisation that the circumstances may permit of.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, in moving my amendment, I should like to make a few formal changes. The House has no doubt received with feelings of gratitude the announcement made this morning by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief promising the immediate Indianisation of 8 units of the Indian Army. That, I submit, is a distinct step in advance, and for which this House should tender its gratitude and thanks to His Majesty's Government. I wish therefore, Sir, to prelude my amendment with the following words:

"That, while gratefully acknowledging the announcement made for the Indianisation of 8 Indian units, this Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be so pleased as to formulate a scheme for the steady increase of Indians in the commissioned ranks of the army with a view to ensure the officering of all Indian regiments by Indian Officers with a minimum of British Officers as may at present be necessary to ensure their efficiency."

Mr. W. M. Hussanally: Sir, I suggest the addition of the words "within a reasonable time".

Dr. H. S. Gour: That is implied. It is more than implied, it is clear. Now, Sir, Honourable Members have referred to the report of the Esher Committee and a subsidiary committee that sat to consider that report. My friend was a member of that committee; so was I. We formulated a series of Resolutions amongst which there was a very important Resolution, Resolution No. 7, which recommended to His Majesty's Government:

"That the King-Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval and air forces, and in regard to ancillary services of the military forces that every encouragement should be given to Indians, including

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

the educated middle classes, subject to the prescribed standards of fitness, to enter the commissioned ranks of the army, and that in nominating candidates for the entrance examination unofficial Indians should be associated with the nominating authority and that not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with."

Two years have since elapsed and we have been pressing upon the Government the desirability of taking a practical step in the direction of Indianizing the military forces of this country. Only the other day when my Honourable friend the Mover of this Resolution spoke on the subject, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his speech did not anticipate the immediate possibility of Indianizing any unit of the Indian Army. His speech was a speech of caution; his speech was a speech in which I am perfectly certain His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has infused his confidence in the Indian Army with the necessary caution born of a practised British Commander. This morning the situation has completely changed and I am afraid very few of us have realized the great change which that announcement foreshadows. It is the very suddenness of the announcement that has taken this House by surprise. But at the same time, Sir, if the House realises that 8 units of the Indian Army are to be immediately Indianized and on the result of that experiment further progress would be dependent, I am afraid this House will say that that is a contingency which it cannot accept. And so far as this House is concerned, it should ask the Government of formulate a policy for the steady Indianization of the Indian Army, subject only to one condition, namely, that the minimum of British officers as may at present be necessary be laid down to continue to ensure its efficiency. I submit, Sir, the only difference between my amendment and the announcement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the explanation given by the Honourable and gallant Colonel Sir Sydney Crookshank is that, while they are prepared to Indianize 8 units, they are not prepared to formulate a scheme or to promise further Indianization in the steady manner which I suggest. That is the only difference

3 P.M. between their pronouncement and our demand; and, I submit, Sir, so far as this part of the House is concerned, it is unanimous in its desire that a policy should be enunciated and a scheme formulated for the steady Indianization of the Indian Army. That will not only satisfy the growing rational aspirations of the people of this country but will be an incentive to the very Indian officers who are to be employed in the first eight units. They will feel that they are not the first and the last to Indianize the Indian units and that upon the success, further steady progress has been promised and will be made; and this, I submit, would be for the greater efficiency of the Indian Army and the contentment of the people of this country.

Now, Sir, I turn for a moment to my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution and I shall give my reasons why I am not prepared to endorse it. My friend says:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commission for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such manner that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

Now, Sir, as patriots and politicians, this Resolution commends itself to us. But as men of practical commonsense, as men who have to face hard facts, I am afraid we are not in a position to say that all future

vacancies in the Indian Army be filled by the employment of Indian Officers. Honourable Members need not be reminded that the first duty—indeed the only duty—for which the Indian, or indeed any Army, is kept is its efficiency. The object of the Army is to secure peace. The object of the Army is to ward-off foreign aggression. How can that be ensured if we were to Indianise the Indian Army *per saltum*? Up to now there is no doubt that the Commissions that have been given to the Indian Army have justified themselves, fulfilled the hopes that the Military Officers and Commanders felt in them and in their efficiency. But how can we ask the Government that all future entrants to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army shall be Indians regardless of other considerations. That is a proposition which I fear I am not in a position to subscribe to, and I do not think my friends on this side of the House are prepared to subscribe to that sweeping doctrine. I therefore suggest, Sir, that we should deal with this question as practical men. We should not forget the primary, and as I have said the only, object of maintaining an army, and that purpose can only be served if we gradually but steadily advance in the direction of Indianisation. Some of my friends have asked for the recognition of communal rights. Amongst them I class my friend the Honourable Colonel Gidney. May I point out to him that he and members of all communities will have their place in the Indian Army subject only to one condition, that its efficiency is not impaired. The Army, Sir, is not a representative institution: it is kept for a definite purpose, and that purpose, I submit, cannot be lost sight of in recruiting people merely because they belong to certain communities and not because they possess the necessary grit, strength, stamina, power of endurance and valour for which, I submit, the Indian Army, as indeed all national armies, exist. But as I have said before, Sir, these are questions of detail which need not detain us. We are at present concerned here with the initiation of a good principle. That principle has been conceded by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and all that we can do now is to thank His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for his announcement and ask him to accept my amendment in which I want that a scheme for the steady growth of the Indian element in the Indian Army be formulated. With these words, Sir, I move my amendment.

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

“Substitute the following for the Resolution:

‘While gratefully acknowledging the announcement made for the Indianization of the Indian units, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to formulate a scheme for the steady increase of Indians in the commissioned ranks of the Army with a view to ensure the officering of all Indian regiments by Indian officers with the minimum of British officers as may at present be necessary to ensure their efficiency.’”

Mr. E. Burdon (Army Secretary): Sir, the essential purpose of the debate initiated by my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution was, if I may be permitted to say so, very well put in the words used by my Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary. Speaking on the 24th of January in this House, he said, “We are anxious to place before the Government and before the public some substantive and substantial form in which we make our demand for Indianization.” This is the real and the central object of the discussion while the Resolution itself and the amendments on the paper represent different conceptions of what that substantive and substantial form can be, or it might be said attempts to define the claim which this House should now combine in making. Well,

[Mr. E. Burdon.]

Sir, it must be clear to the House that of these conceptions that which has been framed by my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour, must commend itself most to the Government. It obviously approximates most nearly to the course of action in regard to the Indianization of the Army which the Government, for the reasons which have been stated very fully by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, consider to be wise, and consider to be in the best interests of India. It therefore appears, I am afraid, a little ungracious if I have to say that Government cannot accept even Dr. Gour's proposal. I think the reason—and it is very largely a formal reason—is one which will appeal to this House. The amendment, apart from the initial words which have been added to-day, was framed in circumstances which, as my Honourable friend has said, have been entirely changed. The situation in which this debate commenced has been altered wholly by the announcement which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has made to-day. Indianization of the Indian Army was asked for and Indianisation in some measure has been conceded. Now, in the face of this accomplished fact, it seems to me that the amendment must necessarily fall to the ground. It is, at any rate, impossible for Government to accept the amendment, although what has transpired in the course of the debate shows that the real desire of the House is in harmony more or less with the intentions of Government as now declared. But even so, I feel sure that the House would not expect Government to accept a proposal even of the kind which has been made by my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour, immediately after the Government have announced their decision to adopt a particular programme of Indianisation. To do so would be incongruous and would only render Government liable to misinterpretation. It would be believed that Government intend to take some further step at once, either in advance of, or varying from, the measure which has been adopted, but which has yet to be put into operation and has yet to prove its success.

There is only one other point—I propose to confine myself strictly to the amendment—to which I should like to draw attention; it is another point in which the intentions of Government square very largely with the desire which is inherent in my Honourable friend's proposal. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, speaking this morning, said:

“There is one other point which it is necessary for me to explain. It is that simultaneously with the Indianisation of these selected eight units, Indians who qualify for the King's Commission will continue, as at present, to be posted to other units of the Indian Army,”

where, of course, they will, for the time being, serve side by side with the British officers who remain. The point of this fact, to which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief drew special attention, is that the scheme of Indianisation which has been announced to-day contains in itself the germ of growth, that is to say, there is inherent in it the possibility of increase, because the Indian officers with the King's Commission who join other units of the Indian Army, apart from those which are being specifically Indianised, will be available if and when a further stage is decided upon as a result of success having been achieved in the first stage.

Sir, I hope that my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour, and the rest of the House will appreciate the position of Government in this matter. It is, as I say, largely based on the formal reason that, having announced one scheme, they cannot ten minutes later appear to commit themselves to something else.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon (United Provinces: European): Sir, it is with some hesitation that I rise to speak on a subject to deal with which I feel myself very imperfectly equipped. I give way to no one in my desire for the advance of India towards responsible self-government in every branch. India is the land of my birth, and it is the land in which most of my life has been spent; and those conditions produce an attachment to the country which must necessarily guide my opinion with regard to its future. I have a good deal of sympathy for the moderate wording of this amendment or proposal put forward by my friend, Dr. Gour, but I seek to deal with the subject in that detached and open-minded way towards which a certain amount of judicial experience helps me. I think I need hardly assure this House that there is not one scrap of racial prejudice animating the remarks which I am now making. I speak from the point of view of the citizen of India whose interest in the Indian Army lies in having at hand a force which protects him from external aggression and from internal disorder; and the main force which guides my opinion on this point is a desire for efficiency and nothing else that is worth mentioning. An Army is a fighting machine. Dr. Gour has rightly described it as something quite different from a representative body, a political body, a civil or administrative body. It is a machine kept for a particular purpose, and its first requisite is efficiency. Sir, if I were convinced that the Indian Army, wholly officered and led by Indians only, would be more efficient than the Indian Army as constituted to-day, I should vote that to-morrow the whole of the 3,000 odd European officers should be sent away and that Indians should replace them. But I am not to be convinced by optimism or by hopes or even by that great regard and admiration which I have for Indians—sincere, honest, hopeful regard and admiration. We have at present an Indian Army that has justified itself on a hundred fields of honour and glory, and proved absolutely to the conviction of every mind that is not overborne by prejudice that the Indian non-commissioned ranks led by Europeans are as good a fighting machine as can be found in the world. But India is advancing, and I have the greatest sympathy for, and regard as most natural the desire of Indians generally to be allowed to try their hand in this field of leading their own men. Speaking for myself I have every reason to believe that if the right kind of Indians are put in as officers they will lead those men with the same success that their European predecessors and comrades and compatriots have done. But, Sir, when we want to substitute a new machine for an old and well tried machine which is still working effectively, we want something like an experimental test before making the change. By the proposal now before the House Government is asked to formulate a scheme. My understanding is that the Government have formulated a scheme. They have started the process of training Indians to possess those remarkable characteristics, those peculiar characteristics, with which alone they can succeed as officers in Indian regiments. They have introduced by the grant of King's Commissions Indians into regiments where, side by side with British officers, they can learn those habits of life and thought and leadership which are essential to success. And now we have this greatest part of that scheme of gradual Indianisation, namely, an actual trial of no less than 8 regiments under completely Indian control. Sir, let the House think what this means. To begin with you have to find 8 Colonels, 8 Seconds-in-Command and 8 Adjutants. I do not profess to know very much about regimental organisation, though I have had the privilege to command Volunteers for 15 years; but I do know this much, that upon the character of the Commandant, and upon—what shall

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

I call it?—the tact and adaptability of the Adjutant, a great deal of regimental administrative success must depend. The European officer in an Indian regiment has a much easier position than an Indian officer will have. The difference will be understood by European officers if they will try and imagine what their position would be; suppose in the four double companies constituting a regiment one company—or even half a company—consisted of European Christians. They are at present in a detached position, able to act with complete impartiality among all the different people who go to constitute an Indian regimental unit. The Indian officers' position will be very much more difficult for reasons upon which I need not enlarge, but which, I am sure, will be obvious to every Member of this House. We have two amendments proposed on this paper to-day which themselves point to these difficulties. These are all difficulties that we have to consider. Dr. Gour's proposal is: "Don't wait and see what is the result of the experiment. Let that go on as best it may, but, despite that, without opening your eyes by the experience gained in connection with these 8 units, formulate a scheme—formulate a scheme." I submit that this Resolution is premature for that reason, and that this House must possess its soul in patience. It has achieved a tremendous amount of success in pushing forward this matter—success which perhaps a very short time ago even the most sanguine of the Members of the House would scarcely have hoped to realise. Now let us wait. If these 8 units prove, as I have every hope myself they will prove, to maintain their efficiency under Indian command at the same level which they have attained under European command, then our position will be a very strong one, and we may be able to ask that, in place of 8, we should have 80 units of that kind.

Khan Bahadur Zahiruddin Ahmed (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, before I move my amendments, and before I go on to speak on the merit or demerit of this Resolution, I respectfully ask the Honourable Non-Official Members of this House, in whose hands the Honourable Mover is, to ask him to withdraw this Resolution. I will give my reasons for this novel request. The reply given to the Resolution by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, is very sympathetic and very very hopeful and I am certain that His Excellency will give us as much indulgence as possible, as he has already commenced to help us, compatible with the efficiency of the army, for the furtherance of the desires of our rising hopes. By forcing this Resolution on His Excellency we will simply convert a friend into a foe, as in the interest of the Army he cannot but oppose it. I say we should know better. I must frankly confess that the Resolution as worded cannot be accepted as it is. When I first read in the Resolution that *all* vacancies (I lay stress on the word "all") in the Indian regiments in future be filled by the Indian officers, etc., I thought my Honourable young friend wanted to be amusing and humorous. A certain Persian saying which I reproduce here came to my mind at once:

"Gorbai miskin gur pur dastai tumkh kunjusk aj jahan bur dastai"

"Had the innocent cat got wings, there would have been no sparrow left on the face of the earth."

But, when I found that His Excellency, a grim soldier and a far-sighted statesman—two very distinct qualities very seldom found in one man—has taken it seriously, I immediately changed my views and came to the conclusion that I was not right.

If this rash and embarrassing Resolution is accepted by this Honourable House as it is (I lay stress on the words "as it is"), it will simply alarm those from whom we expect more help, more reforms and more good. It will meet the same fate as the immediate Swaraj Resolution of Simla. No Military Board worth its name can accept such a drastic change and that too within 24 hours. Hence, when we are certain of failure, why should we do it? We are a responsible body and not a schoolboys' association, why should we do a thing which will damage our cause?

"Agar akeli ek eshara bus ast".

"If you have any sense in you, one nod, one sign, is enough."

Such an impudent Resolution is sure to be rejected by the authorities at Home as they cannot accept a thing which will be so derimental to the efficiency of the Army and hence to the interests of the country as a whole, and then some of my Honourable friends will commence to whimper and whine that such a well cut, well dried, well groomed and well lobbied motion failed to act. I say it is better to remove the face before the slap has fallen on it. If we get slapped none but we, the Honourable ourselves, shall have to be thanked for it. No use to be wise after the event. No use to advance the face to be slapped. "*Chera Kare Kunad Akel ke baz arak pashemani*" Why should a wise man do a thing which will bring remorse afterwards? I admit we wanted a long sword but we have been given a pen knife. If we make well use of this pen knife, a better and a longer one will follow. It looks to me that we have commenced to use the knife at the throat of the giver thereby creating our own obstinacies in our own way. What we did before is already known, now we are demanding to drive away all the British officers in the Indian Regiments immediately. A creeping conviction is coming on me that we are here voicing the feelings of the outside non-co-operators and the extremists. It looks to me as if the outside, the Honourable non-co-operators, and the inside the Honourable non-officials are one and the same or at least they are "Nisbati Brothers", brothers by contracted relationship which, when translated in common Hindustani means "Salas" and "Buhnois."

Sir, we have heard from His Excellency that in the list of the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers there are no fit persons to be given immediately King's Commission. Such officers are not in existence but shall have to be given birth to. My young friends may be up and doing but till then will all the vacancies remain unfilled up? In the meantime they can be filled up by the young non-official Members of this Honourable House. I am giving this piece of advice to His Excellency.

I asked the opinion of one of my constituents who had some military experience in Mesopotamia and he replied as follows: "*Kare bojina nist rajjari*" meaning surgery is not the business of the monkey. If any of my Honourable friends will argue that the surgeon is simply to hand over his knife to the monkey and the monkey will at once turn out to be a good expert surgeon, I must say that the argument is very forceful and to that I have no reply. There is a vast difference between civil and military matters. A civil officer may commit a mistake which can be easily rectified by his superior without much harm being done. Such is not the case with the military officer. A mistake made by a military officer in the battle-field may end in a great catastrophe, may end even in losing a battle. It has been known in history that the loss of a battle ended the existence of

[Khan Bahadur Zahiruddin Ahmed.]

Empires. This nation is in its infancy and I am not prepared to experiment with its life and death by this unworkable, absurd Resolution.

I say there is no magical force in adopting a Resolution. If my Honourable friends the non-officials do believe that a magical virtue is imparted to a Resolution by its acceptance by this Honourable House, I may point out with hundred and one apologies, that such magic will not appeal to the British nation, the British public, the British rate-payers and the British Parliaments. Then what will appeal to them? I submit, it is logic or logical force. Has my Honourable friend the Mover any logic to his side? If he has, I failed to see any. If any of my Honourable friends here will tell me if he has found any, I shall then be delighted.

In the first part of his speech he spoke volumes in praise about the present British officers. He fully admits that they are doing their duties admirably well. He agrees also that they never failed on any occasion. People want a change when the existing order of things is not working well. The Mover admits that the present system is working excellently well. Still he wants a change. He says the change may be equally suitable. But where is the proof?

“ Seeing an eagle soar on the high,

The Baby in the cradle wishes to fly ”

Such a baby which is still in the care of wet nurses. That the eagle can fly I can see and I must have proof that the baby will be able to fly equally well before I will hoist up the baby high in the air. A few of my Honourable friends told me if I were to support this Resolution I will get the “ Bah ”, “ Bah ” of the revolutionary irreconcilables of my country, my countrymen of that class will say excellent, excellent. Revolution in political matters is very risky. The roads of politics are full of zig-zags, full of ups and downs like hilly roads. No sane man should ride on such roads at break neck speed. The riders will not only break the necks of their horses but will break their own necks in the bargain. I say the revolution in the Army is still more risky, nay, dangerous and I am not prepared to support such a drastic innovation simply to win the applause of the outside extremists and non-co-operators. I have a conscience which I cannot sacrifice. I ask the Honourable non-official friends in this House to let us be true patriots, let us not discard genuine gold for an alloy, though the outside of it may be shining. One must not pretend to know a thing of which one knows nothing. Pretended knowledge is very, very dangerous. I ask again and again from the Honourable non-officials what is their military knowledge. I will answer the question for them. It is not even superficial but abysmal ignorance. My Honourable friends are very confident that they can drive the carriage of the administration of the Army very ably. But, with all humility, I may enquire whether they know that the horse which is to drag the carriage is to be harnessed in the front or behind it. What I believe would happen is, if any Government or any Military Board forces any such Resolution on any Commander-in-Chief, the officer will resign rather than agree to experiment or work on it. A soldier cannot or will not discard his sharp sword for a doubtful one. No statesman will agree to stake the existence of an Empire for an experiment.

My Honourable young friend expresses a pious hope that the newcomers will turn out to be as good as old experienced officers whom he wants to replace. He does not instance a single regiment where it was tried and found successful; on the contrary, he says that a similar thing was tried in Company Bahadur's time and it brought about the Mutiny in 1857, which every one deploras. Here my Honourable friend falsifies his own assertion and again he is impudent enough to suggest the same thing which ended in a great catastrophe. I only wish to say, once cheated, twice shy and no more.

I asked a man belonging to the rank and file of the Indian army about these British officers whom my Honourable young friend wants to hang. The Indian soldier replied that these officers are feared by some, liked by others but respected by all and hated by none. I asked him how it will work if they are replaced at once by Indian officers. He said the Indian officers in their place will lean on their remaining British subordinates which will be detrimental to the discipline of the army. He further said discipline in the army is most essential. This want of discipline or the slackening of it under Indian officers brought about the Mutiny in 1857 about which the less said the better. The Indian soldier furthermore said raw levies can be trusted to an experienced officer but a regiment of war veterans cannot be put under the charge of raw officers as in the latter case it will be suicidal. We should try to carry the whole thing to its logical conclusion. I must say in conclusion that my Honourable young friend should now see his way to withdraw the Resolution as it is not only immature but unworkable. To the Resolution as it is I can offer my sympathetic neutrality but not full support. As to my two amendments, after what I have heard from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning, I do not desire to move them.

(Cries of "Let the question be now put.")

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The original Resolution was:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commission for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

Since which an amendment has been moved to substitute the following for the Resolution moved:

"That while gratefully acknowledging the announcement made for the Indianisation of 8 Indian units, this Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be so pleased as to formulate a scheme for the steady increase of Indians in the commissioned ranks of the Army with a view to ensure the officering of all Indian regiments by Indian officers with the minimum of British officers as may at present be necessary to ensure their efficiency."

The question is that that amendment be made.

The Assembly divided :

AYES—40.

Abdul Majid, Sheikh.
Abdulla, Mr. S. M.
Abul Kasem, Maulvi.
Agarwala, Lala Girdharilal.
Agnihotri, Mr. K. B. L.
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Ahmed Baksh, Mr.
Asad Ali, Mir.
Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
Basu, Mr. J. N.
Bhargava, Pandit J. L.
Bijlikhan, Sardar G.
Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
Das, Babu B. S.
Gidney, Lieut.-Col. H. A. J.
Ginwala, Mr. P. P.
Gour, Dr. H. S.

Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Hussanally, Mr. W. M.
Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Misra, Mr. B. N.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Ramayya Pantulu, Mr. J.
Rangachariar, Mr. T.
Reddi, Mr. M. K.
Samarth, Mr. N. M.
Sarvadhikary Sir Deva Prasad.
Shahani, Mr. S. C.
Singh, Babu B. P.
Sinha, Babu L. P.
Sohan Lal, Mr. Bakshi.
Subrahmanayam, Mr. C. S.
Ujagar Singh, Baba Bedi.
Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Yamin Khan, Mr. M.

NOES—42.

Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
Abdul Rahim Khan, Mr.
Abdul Rahman, Munshi.
Aiyar, Mr. A. V. V.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Allen, Mr. B. C.
Barua, Mr. D. C.
Blackett, Sir Basil.
Bradley-Birt, Mr. F. B.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Cabell, Mr. W. H. L.
Chatterjee, Mr. A. C.
Crookshank, Sir Sydney.
Faridoonji, Mr. R.
Gajjan Singh, Sardar Bahadur.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hindley, Mr. C. D. M.
Holme, Mr. H. E.
Hullah, Mr. J.
Innes, the Honourable Mr. C. A.
Ley, Mr. A. H.

Mitter, Mr. K. N.
Moir, Mr. T. E.
Moncrieff Smith, Sir Henry.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Mukherjee, Mr. J' N.
Mukherjee, Mr. T. P.
Nabi Hadi, Mr. S. M.
Nayar, Mr. K. M.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Rajan Baksh Shah, Mukhdum S.
Rhodes, Sir Campbell.
Sams, Mr. H. A.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Singh, Mr. S. N.
Stanyon, Col. Sir Henry.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Townsend, Mr. C. A. H.
Tulshan, Mr. Sheopershad.
Webb, Sir Montagu.
Wilson, Mr. W. S. J.
Zahiruddin Ahmed, Mr.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Sir, it is with mixed feelings of joy and grief that I come forward to propose my amendment. I would have been very glad if the amendment proposed by Dr. Gour had been carried. It would have been a second step forward. The Government had assented, and in spite of Government assenting, we found this reasonable amendment of Dr. Gour lost. I say that it is with mixed feelings that I contemplate the defeat of the amendment moved by Dr. Gour. If I am sorry, I am also in one sense glad that it has been defeated. It will convince Dr. Gour and men of his class that no moderation will find favour with those who are determined to see that we do not achieve for ourselves the growth to which we are entitled. I should be very sorry to see any amendment proposed which should have a tendency to perpetuate exclusiveness or isolation of either Europeans or Indians. I have enjoyed my contact with the Englishmen, and I think I owe my present development and growth to my contact with them. I am deeply conscious of the good

that the contact with the British has done to Indians. On that account I strongly deprecate the exclusiveness of British units in the Indian Army. I have always wished that Indians should be admitted to those units, just as the British are to the Indian. There should be no objection absolutely to Indian officers of the right type and calibre officering the British units. This interchange will tend to serve the ultimate purpose with which Indians and Englishmen have come together. It is not a chance contact so far as I see. I am a believer in divine destiny, and my feeling is that we have come together in order to secure for ourselves and for the countries to which we belong some higher destiny than will be securable singly. But we are fallible men; and we often forget larger consideration for selfish ends. The Britisher would not, I think, consent to be led by an Indian, as indeed was manifest from the speech made by the Commander-in-Chief only this morning. He would not I think hear of the British units being in any manner officered by Indians. Well, in these circumstances isolation is the only course left open to the Indians. If the Indian Army is to be isolated no doubt some of its efficiency will for some time have to be sacrificed. Sir Henry Stanyon was in a measure right when he said that an exclusively Indian Army would not be calculated to prove so efficient as an army, for instance, which is composed of the two races and which has won glory on more than a hundred battlefields. Sir Henry Stanyon, however, seems enamoured of the existing condition of things, where the majority, or rather the whole of the officers of the Indian Army, are British with few exceptions. He seems to contemplate this condition of things with favour and he says, if you change the existing condition of things your efficiency will suffer. That is very much like what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said the other day when he eulogized the existing order of things and expressed a regret for the inevitable change that must come upon it. He did say that the change was inevitable, but still he regretted it, and the regret is very much like the regret that has been expressed by Sir Henry Stanyon.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon: Sir, may I rise to a point of order? I did not intend to say and to the best of my recollection I did not say that an Indian Army regiment led entirely by Indians would not be as efficient. All I said was that we wanted experience and I expressed the hope that it would be as efficient.

Mr. S. O. Shahani: Well, Sir, I accept the statement, and say that at the present time, according to Sir Henry Stanyon, it is not desirable to go in for any great change in the organization of the officers of the Indian Army; my feeling is that this iniquitous arrangement of having the existing arrangement of having hardly any Indian officers in any Indian regiment should be changed. Britishers should agree, and willingly too, that there should be only a sprinkling of British officers in the Indian Army, and that the bulk of the officers should be Indian.

"The old order changeth yielding place to new,

"And God fulfils himself in many ways,

"Lest one good custom doth corrupt the world".

The existing organisation of the army may have been a very good custom. The British officers leading Indian soldiers have been able to hold their own against foreigners, have been able to ward off foreign aggression, and have won glorious battles. That is perfectly true. But

[Mr. S. C. Shahani.]

the change in our conditions has made a change in this good custom necessary, we should be fitting ourselves by changing this good custom for even better and higher achievements. I was, therefore, eager that the amendment that was proposed by Dr. Gour should find acceptance; but that has not happened. Isolation or exclusiveness does seem necessary. If so, Sir, I beg to move the amendment which is in my charge, namely:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that effective steps should be taken without further delay towards the Indianisation of the Army in India, and if necessary a committee of experts, Members of the Indian Legislature and other Indian representatives, should be appointed to go into the whole question and to submit a report as early as possible."

I would request the Honourable Members of this House to support this amendment. This amendment is in substance the amendment of Dr. Gour with only this difference that a committee consisting of the Members of the Legislature is recommended. Immediate steps are very desirable. No doubt a momentous step has been announced this morning. Eight units are to be completely Indianised. Important as this step may be in itself, it cannot go very far to satisfy the ambitions of the Indians. Eight units out of 141! You have only to recall what was told us a few days ago by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. Preliminary institutions are being designed to feed the Dehra Dun Institute and the Dehra Dun Institute to feed Sandhurst. So far so good. But is this enough? The Indian Infantry consists of Indians and provides for Indian officers to a certain extent. But Indians are admitted to a much lesser extent to the Indian Cavalry. The Royal Artillery, the Royal Engineer services, the Ancillary services, practically the Royal Indian Marine, the Royal Air Force, all these are closed against the Indians, although it is recognised the Indians should learn the art of defending themselves. The sooner they learn the art of protecting themselves, the better will it be for India, and ultimately better for the Empire to which we belong. Very large sums of money—70 crores out of our nett revenue of 90 crores—are being devoted to the Military. Who can endure this expenditure, however well organised the army may be? A citizen army is an essential thing for the country, and the sooner this citizen army is created, the better will it be for India; and the sooner the Indian Army is Indianised in the proper sense of the word the better would it be for all parties concerned, for India and Empire. You will, Sir, be able to understand my view point in its entirety if you will kindly consider what was said only a few days ago in this connection by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. He thought that although he was not in a position to reveal the whole scheme that was being formulated for the Indianisation of the army between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, he felt sure that some measures would be devised at a very early date, and one of these measures was announced to-day. He spoke of specific objections, and he spoke of one very great difficulty. What was that great difficulty? It was this that progress in the direction of Indianisation of the Army had one great impediment, *viz.*, the atmosphere of India and the chances of external and internal disturbance. Now, until, he said, an Indian army had been organised as a separate unit and put to the test in a war that was actually waged, or until the Army had engaged in some service on the frontier, no further step could be taken, and not only that, until an assurance, for instance, was given that there would be no internal disturbance and no external disturbance, no further advance could, with

confidence be predicted. I want to point out that if, under any circumstances India could be secure against both internal and external disturbance, if such a millenium were to come, where would be the necessity of the Commander-in-Chief himself? Under such a millenium we need not have an army and we need not have any commanders; but this is an impossible condition. And if these impossible conditions are being contemplated I would move my amendment and request every Member in the House to give his support to me.

Mr. E. Burdon: Sir, the Government found themselves unable, though with regret, to accept the amendment proposed by my Honourable friend Dr. Gour. The House will readily understand that Government cannot accept the very much less attractive proposition, as my Honourable friend has himself described it, which is in my Honourable friend's charge. Sir, I have already stated the position of Government in regard to this debate and I do not think I need say more than a very few words in regard to the amendment which is now before the House. It would obviously be superfluous in the present circumstances to appoint the committee which it is proposed that the House should recommend, since it is now known to the House that steps are being taken towards the Indianization of the Army and that the measures to be adopted for this purpose have been thoroughly considered by the Government. The policy of Government in regard to the matter has already been decided upon with full knowledge of all the factors bearing upon it and in the light of the most expert advice obtainable, Sir, I oppose the amendment.

The amendment was negatived.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I must thank His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India for at last making a definite advance. I must say that the announcement which has been made this morning is encouraging, but it was long overdue. It is rather surprising that, after a tutelage of nearly 200 years, we are able to pick out only eight units to be Indianized out of a total of 141. Whose fault is it, Sir, is it our fault or the fault of our tutor?

Mr. President: I must confine the Honourable Member to the terms of his amendment which asks for communal representation.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: I am going to say that Sir. The amendment which stands in my name is as follows:

"That the following be added at the end of the Resolution:

Keeping in view the principle of fair representation of suitable candidates of different castes and communities residing in British India."

Sir, it has been said that the Army is a fighting machine. I admit that it is a fighting machine and I do not want that efficiency should be sacrificed in the least. It is for that reason that in my amendment I have used the words "suitable candidates." I never want nor would I desire that unsuitable candidates should be admitted into the Army simply because they belong to a particular caste or community or to a particular race. Now, Sir, according to my definition, all those persons who reside in India, who have made India their hearth and home, should be eligible. I have said candidates of all castes and communities residing in British India, including, of course, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians, properly so called.

[Lala Girdharilal Agarwala.]

Then, Sir, there are in India several castes which are called the military castes, and there are other persons to whom the doors of the Military Department as also of the Police Department are rather closed. Now, my submission is that suitability and efficiency should be the sole test and not the fact that a particular person belongs to a martial race, that, therefore, he should be given a post as an officer, while a person equally qualified, equally efficient, cannot obtain such a post on account of the fact that he does not belong to the martial races. Now, Sir, if it is not the intention of the Government that there shall be a bar against the appointment of any person as the head of the Army, if there is no such disqualification, simply on account of caste, or creed, or nationality, then I think that it would not be necessary for me to press this amendment of mine. But, so far as I know, there is a bar against the appointment of certain persons belonging to certain castes and communities, simply because they do not happen to belong to what is called the martial races. Now, Sir, I submit that suitable candidates could be found in every caste and community; it depends upon training and not so much upon birth. It is for this reason that I submit that, in case suitable candidates are found in other castes and communities, which are at present not called martial races, they should not be debarred from such appointments. That is the motion which I commend for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. E. Burdon: Sir, the existing system of selection of Indian officers for the Indian Army is as stated in paragraph 5 of the provisional regulations respecting the admission of Indian gentlemen to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, which reads as follows:

"The general rule in selecting candidates should be that *ceteris paribus*, selection should be made from the communities which furnish recruits in proportion to the numbers in which they furnish such recruits. Regard should also be had to the claim to consideration of candidates from the educated middle classes."

This is our present practice. It is a practice adopted in pursuance of a Resolution of this House, and I think the House will agree that we should abide by it.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: I wish to withdraw my amendment on this assurance.

The amendment was, *by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: Sir, I join along with other Members of this House in thanking His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for making the momentous announcement which he has made to-day. Nobody is more pleased than I am that my motion has accelerated that announcement regarding which the Government of India and the Secretary of State could not make up their minds for a long time past.

But of course I do not want to take up much time of this Honourable House in paying tributes which have already been paid and which I cannot pay properly. Before, Sir, I come to the remarks which were made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 24th of last month and this morning, I would like to deal with a few remarks made by different Honourable Members. Some gentlemen have asked me to withdraw my Resolution, and one of them is Khan Bahadur Zahiruddin 'Ahmed. His patriotic speech, his grey hairs and his calling me a young man with rashness and all kinds of other complimentary words which he

used, I need not reply to. He is an experienced gentleman, full of fervour, sense of patriotism and what not. All that of course need not be replied to. He does not want the "Wah-Wah" of the country. I do not know whose "Wah-Wah" he wants. The House will judge, Sir, what his motive is in not wanting the "Wah-Wah's" of the country, in not wanting what the country really desires and keenly feels. That is not for me to judge nor for me to criticise. As far as I can make out, he probably does not know what an Army means. He does not like an Army career, and any of his people might not have been in the Army who would like to better their conditions. But coming of people who have served in the past with great glory in military careers, and being shut off now from such a career, I had to voice their feelings in this Resolution.

There is my other friend Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan. He has agreed with me and he wanted to support my Resolution, but he at the same time did not agree with me and wanted me to withdraw my Resolution. He says I should not make this sweeping change. I cannot see that in my Resolution I am demanding any sweeping change at all. I will reply to that and I will assure this House that I am very far from wanting any kind of revolution or any drastic change in the military. What I want is only steady and slow progress towards Indianising the ranks of King's commissioned officers and my Resolution means that and nothing more.

Again, my friend, Mr. Bijli Khan, probably under a misapprehension or misunderstanding, interpreted this Resolution in a different sense, and I am sure when he comes to know what I really mean, if he had taken the trouble of reading what I said on the 24th of last month, he would have realised what I really wanted. Some of my friends here seem to be labouring under a misapprehension that I want, by moving this Resolution, to sever the connection of British officers from Indian regiments at once. That is not so. Now, Sir, I do not want to repeat what is reported in the debates of the 24th January. I will take one point in the remarks made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on that day. He said "Do not try to go too fast; do not try to run before you can walk; if you do you will assuredly fall down." I quite agree with this maxim which is very true. I do not want to run; I do not want to go too fast; I do not want that the British officers should be eliminated at once from the Indian Army. What I want and what I said on the 24th January—and here I want to remove misapprehensions in the minds of Honourable Members who might have understood me differently—is that we may learn to stand up. I do not want to run. I want that any vacancy which may fall as a second-lieutenant, that may be given to an Indian. That will not be running too fast, because the Colonel, the Major and the Captain, all British officers, will be there and the Indian who goes as second-lieutenant will only learn to walk—he will not even be walking, he will be learning only to walk—when he is under the control of these British officers and by the time he learns to run it will take him 24 years. I am told, Sir, (*A Voice*: "Amend the Resolution.") I need not. I am told, Sir, that it takes 9 years for a Lieutenant to become a Captain, 9 years for a Captain to become a Major, and it takes 7 years for a Major to become a Colonel. So it means that it will take 24 years before a Lieutenant who has just entered to-day can become a Colonel of that regiment. It means this: in a regiment which is going to be Indianised it will take 24 years. The experiment which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is going to make with these eight regiments will take 24 years, and afterwards he will make up his

[Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

mind whether the same experiment is to be tried in other regiments or not. If that is going to be done, it will take 24 by 17 years; that time must be taken before we can have the Indian regiments only Indianised. I do not agree with that, Sir. That is too long a time. I want that the Indianisation of the Indian regiments only should be completed, say within a third of a century at least, because I do not want that all the vacancies occurring to-morrow of higher ranks than those of Lieutenants should be filled up by Indians. The wording of my Resolution is different. It says . . .

Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan: Stick to your Resolution, please.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: If my friend just waits and tries to put his head towards it probably he will come to know what I mean. I purposely used the word 'and' to which my friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary had moved an amendment to substitute the word 'or'. We cannot fill the vacancies by direct recruitment at once. What I want is that only those officers who are already serving as Viceroy's Commissioned officers, if they are efficient and capable, may be promoted to the rank of King's Commission at once; and by that time, we may be giving a training to young boys who will ultimately start, after two or three years, taking their place in the regiments as Lieutenants. I do not want to stop the promotion of Viceroy's Commissioned officers, if any suitable candidates can be found amongst them. I know that they have rendered great services and it will be a great hardship if any officer, such as a Subadar or Risaldar Major who is found quite efficient to hold the position of a Lieutenant, should be debarred from being promoted. I know that they have a fairly good number among them who can be promoted, and some of them have been chosen in the past. As far as I have learned—and I stand to be corrected by Mr. Burdon—there is a 35 years' age-limit for these Viceroy's Commissioned officers to be promoted to the King's Commission. Anybody who has exceeded the age of 35 years cannot be promoted, though he may be a very efficient and capable person. And by using the word "and"—"and Viceroy's Commissioned officers", I simply took that point of view. I knew that there had been hardship in certain cases and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has used all his powers in doing away in certain cases with this age-limit, a course which his strong personality enabled him to do. But, if there happens to be some people of this kind that have exceeded the age-limit of 35 years, they might be promoted to the King's Commission. But ultimately, I do not aim that they should go on doing this. Of course, there must be direct recruitment. What I propose is this that direct recruitment should be the principle, that all future vacancies should be filled by them. Which means that the training will take at least three years for a man. And this process will start after three years, if we start giving them vacancies. If in 1926 we find that there will be 100 vacancies then from to-day I ask the Government to start training 100 boys who might fill those vacancies after three years, i.e., in 1926. I do not say they should take at once a number of inefficient boys—catch hold of them in the street—and give them King's Commissions. I say, get any kind of examination or any criterion of selecting the boys from India out of these 36 crores of people—up to that number which might be wanted after three years, and I do not think that India has not got efficient boys at present who cannot hold those jobs after three years, if they are properly trained.

Then, Sir, many of the Honourable Members have thought fit to refer to the question of efficiency—and remarks that efficiency will be impaired simply because English officers will be removed and English traditions will not be in the Indian regiments. I disagree with them. It is not this. If these boys are trained from the very beginning, if they receive education under European tutors, if they are brought up under their European Captains, and when they become Captains, they are under their Majors, and then under their Colonels and then under their Generals—then I do not see why their training should not be according to the British officers' training. And they will be quite efficient persons. They will be quite good officers and they will know how to lead their armies. There was one other thing; the question of castes and creeds always creeps in. But I don't agree with that. These are difficulties which can be solved later. This matter comes after we have made our schemes mature. Then we can deal with these questions. But we are not going to deal with these questions to-day. Now, as far as I understand, in every regiment, if there are 6 troops, 2 troops are Sikhs, 2 are Jats or Rajputs, or some other martial race, 2 are Pathans. Then these 6 troops are in one regiment and they are led by their own officers. Out of all these officers there is one Risaldar Major selected and he is to lead all of them. Besides these, there are English officers. These difficulties can be solved later on in a very amicable manner. I need not dilate upon these questions which might crop up later on. The only point now is this. Is it the policy of the Government of India to prepare India to be a self-governing country or not? If this principle is accepted by the Government of India, then what is the preparation towards the defending of our shores and our frontiers? There is no other possible way. The statutory period for revising the Reforms Scheme is fixed at 10 years. I want that the Government of India should take some steps to show to the Royal Commission which may sit after 10 years that so much progress has been made towards teaching the Indians in defending their shores or their frontiers. I say if after ten years we have only Captains in the Army, we can put it before the Commission and say, "Look here, all the Indian Regiments have got at least Indian Captains" though the Majors and Colonels may be British officers at that time. If after ten years we have at least Captains their efficiency can be proved by their officers. I am not asking to fly. I am not asking to run. I am not demanding that a man should be appointed Major General or Lieutenant General or take the place of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or, as some paper suggested, that the vacancies which may fall vacant in Baluchistan or any other place should be filled by Indians. No, certainly not. I simply want the slow progress of first learning to stand, then learning to walk and then learning to run, and that is the process which I have put down specifically by specific scheme in my Resolution. I have not hinted any sweeping change. I have not demanded anything which can be called rash. Of course, my Honourable friend with his hoary head might be thinking me a rash person. But I never believe in revolution. I have never been a supporter of revolution. I want a steady progress and this is the steady progress which I propose. Then, Sir, in support of this Resolution that Indian Officers can be very good and efficient officers, I put the case of the Hyderabad contingents. I put the Gwalior Armies, I put the Armies of the different Native States who have played a great part in the war in Mesopotamia, in Palestine, in France and in Egypt. The Nizam's Armies went to fight in Palestine and they have rendered great service. They have won a lot of battles. Were they officered by British officers? No. They had Indian Officers, and they have proved

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their worth. If we can find men in such backward territories as the Indian States, why cannot we find better or equally good and efficient persons in the advanced territory of British India? We can find many people. It has hitherto been the policy to recruit for the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers people quite illiterate because there are no prospects. If there are prospects, if an efficient man comes to know that he can rise up to Major General or Lieutenant General, of course, he will come forward to join the army. There will be any number of young men then who would be quite willing to come, and even more efficient people, even graduates will come forward and I can find any number of them to-morrow to join the army as Lieutenants who will be quite willing to join this career. You do not put before them any temptation; you do not give them any opening and then say that nobody can be found, that they are not efficient persons, we cannot trust them, we have to try them and so on. Of course, all these kinds of excuse may be made. But I have been hearing a lot of heart-burning among the Indian officers who got their commissions in 1905. They were superseded by British officers who were appointed in 1912. Five Indian officers who got their King's Commission in 1905 should be superior, in the natural course of things, to those officers who got their commission in 1912. I know the case and I can recite the names of those to-day who were superseded by British officers appointed in 1912. This was simply because they were Indians. If this is the case, you cannot expect efficient persons to come forward. Efficient persons will come forward only when there is the same opening, the same career open to them, and this is what I claim. I do not want to touch the British Army at all. I wanted an opening for Indian officers where there will be no competition between Europeans and Indians, where there will be no question of racial distinction at all. I simply wanted to touch the Indian army. In order to safeguard the British interests I am not touching the artillery, or the British cavalry, or the British infantry or the British Air Force, nothing of the kind. What I am touching is only the Indian infantry, and the Indian cavalry where I want that Indians should by slow degrees be appointed and that within a third of a century they should be fully Indianised. This is very clear and I am sure that my Honourable friends have misunderstood me—I do not claim to be an expert in drafting, but I have made myself clear as to the intentions which have animated this Resolution of mine. I have only one word to say to my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney. He has dilated a great deal on the question of his community. I need not enter into that question. So far as I am concerned, I will take the members of his community as Indians if they care to abide by all the disadvantages under which the Indians labour. If they agree to accept that position I shall certainly include them among Indians. But if they claim all the advantages of an European, then, of course, they must come among Europeans. I need not enter into that question, but as he has asked me to declare it publicly I thought I must say these few words.

Mr. President: I must ask the Honourable Member to conclude his remarks now.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: A friend of mine put a question whether we want Swaraj inside the British Empire or outside the Empire. It is a fact that this Assembly never thought of having Swaraj outside the British

Empire. What we are standing for is Swaraj within the British Empire. If we had wanted to remain outside the British Empire, we should have asked even for a portion of officers of the British regiments, but I do not claim that. I do not want Indians should go as officers over the British soldiers, and in the same way I do not want that British officers should go as officers in the Indian regiments. Of course, these two different armies should exist side by side but separately. It is a slur on the Indians that they cannot be efficient. That slur should be removed at once, as Indian officers can lead the army as well as the British officers have done in the past. I have paid a tribute to the British officers on the 24th January and I still pay that tribute for the great services that they have rendered. There is no controversy about that. I was sorry when I heard a martial class man saying that the Indian regiments will not be efficient if they are officered by Indians. I cannot say anything in regard to that and I deplore that statement. I deplore that such people have such poor opinion of the people of this country. There are men in this country who are as efficient as European Officers. As His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said we want not only combatants, we want staff people. We want technical people. I say that Indians have not shown themselves in any way less deficient in engineering skill. They can be good staff people as well. Where brain is concerned you can find in India quite efficient people. It was only when the question of the combatants come in that it was doubted. But Indians have proved their capacity in the battle-fields of the war. They have shown themselves very efficient even though they do not possess that education which is given to highly educated persons holding the King's Commission. In the war, when the British officers were killed, these illiterate persons had to take the lead. See the records of the war and that will show how efficiently these illiterate Indian officers led the army and won the battlefields. If even illiterate persons proved themselves so efficient, then there is no doubt that a highly trained person will be no less efficient.

Mr. E. Burdon: Sir, the discussion has been long and I am sorry the House will not wish me to make it very much longer. My Honourable friend must be aware from what has already transpired that the Government are unable to accept his Resolution and I think the House appreciates the force of the circumstances which have compelled Government to take this view. Before my part in this debate ends, however, there are a very few observations which with the permission of the House I should like to make. In the first instance, Sir, I think it is clear from recent discussions that the Members of this House and the Government have now come to a much closer mutual understanding in regard to this vital question of Indianisation. The Government have frankly recognised that the demand for Indianisation is a natural and laudable aspiration which the Government are anxious to meet so far as this is compatible with the proper discharge of the grave responsibility that they have for the defence of India. On the other hand Honourable Members of this House have, I think, very frankly recognised the gravity of the issue, the difficulties of the situation and the limitations within which the solution of the problem is to be found. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief speaking the other day also told the House that while correspondence was proceeding between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the subject of a concrete scheme of Indianisation, the Government of India had been busily engaged in laying the foundations without which no scheme of Indianisation could hope to be successful. I gather that all those who desire that

[Mr. E. Burdon.]

Indianisation shall be a real success are in whole-hearted agreement with the view which the Government have taken in regard to this matter also. It is recognized, I think, that preliminary education and training according to the standard laid down by Government are essential; and the care and forethought which Government have endeavoured to exercise in laying the foundations have not failed to find appreciation. I think the points to which I have drawn attention very briefly will carry their own significance to the House. I will not labour them, but will merely say that it makes the solution of any problem very much easier when both parties to the discussions come to a fair and frank recognition of the difficulties with which the problem is surrounded and if the problem is attacked fairly on both sides in a practical spirit. Sir, the announcement which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief made to the House this morning has led in certain quarters to expressions of dissatisfaction. I am glad, however, to be able to say that the feeling does not appear to be universal; on the contrary, I acknowledge that the majority of the House appear to congratulate themselves and to congratulate India upon the very real step forward which has been taken. In the words of my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar,* it is the first step that has been taken, but it is the first step that counts. And surely this is the true and just view for the House and for the people of India to take, to regard the scheme, which is now to be introduced, also as adding one more to the many substantial achievements which can be placed to the credit of this the first Legislative Assembly under the reforms, and as representing the capacity which the Assembly has to induce and direct the good will of Government and to make progress towards the ideals of their ambition. I feel sure that at any rate the Indian officers of the Indianised regiments will take this optimistic view; I am sure that they at any rate will say to themselves, not "we want more than we have got," but will say, 'here is an opportunity which we will grasp firmly and confidently, and we will endeavour so to shape it as to consolidate a claim to greater things both for ourselves and for those who come after us.'

Mr. President: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commissions for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—22.

Abdul Majid, Sheikh.
Abdulla, Mr. S. M.
Agarwala, Lala Girdharilal.
Agnihotri, Mr. K. B. L.
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
Basu, Mr. J. N.
Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
Ginwala, Mr. P. P.

Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Nabi Hadi, Mr. S. M.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Ramayya Pantulu, Mr. J.
Rangachariar, Mr. T.
Reddi, Mr. M. K.
Singh, Babu B. P.
Sohan Lal, Mr. Bakshi.
Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Yamin Khan, Mr. M.

NOES—43.

Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
 Abdul Rahim Khan, Mr.
 Abdul Rahman, Munshi.
 Aiyar, Mr. A. V. V.
 Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
 Allen, Mr. B. C.
 Barua, Mr. D. C.
 Bijlikhan, Sardar G.
 Blackett, Sir Basil.
 Bradley-Birt, Mr. F. B.
 Burdon, Mr. E.
 Cabell, Mr. W. H. L.
 Chatterjee, Mr. A. C.
 Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
 Crookshank, Sir Sydney.
 Faridoonji, Mr. R.
 Gajjan Singh, Sardar Bahadur.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Col. H. A. J.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hindley, Mr. C. D. M.
 Holme, Mr. H. E.
 Hullah, Mr. J.

Innes, the Honourable Mr. C. A.
 Ley, Mr. A. H.
 Mitter, Mr. K. N.
 Moir, Mr. T. E.
 Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
 Mukherjee, Mr. J. N.
 Mukherjee, Mr. T. P.
 Nayar, Mr. K. M.
 Percival, Mr. P. E.
 Rajan Baksh Shah, Mukhtum S.
 Rhodes, Sir Campbell.
 Sams, Mr. H. A.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
 Singh, Mr. S. N.
 Stanyon, Col. Sir Henry.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Townsend, Mr. C. A. H.
 Tulshan, Mr. Sheopershad.
 Webb, Sir Montagu.
 Willson, Mr. W. S. J.
 Zahiruddin Ahmed, Mr.

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 19th February, 1923.