

14th March 1928

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(Official Report)

Volume II

(8th March to 27th March, 1928)

SECOND SESSION

OF THE

THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1928



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 14th March, 1928.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

NUMBER OF DAYS ALLOTTED FOR NON-OFFICIAL BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY FROM 1921 TO THE DELHI SESSION OF 1928.

425. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of days fixed for the meetings of the Legislative Assembly since 1921 to the Delhi Session of 1928, and how many of them were allotted for non-official Bills and Resolutions, respectively?

Mr. L. Graham: I lay on the table a statement giving the information for which the Honourable Member has asked.

Statement showing the total number of days fixed for the meetings of the Legislative Assembly from 1921 to Delhi Session, 1928.

| Sessions. | Budget Discussion. | Other Official business. (b) | Non-official business. | | Number of meetings. |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------|---------------------|
| | | | Resolutions. | Bills. | |
| Delhi Session, 1921 . . . | 8 | 15 | (a) 5 | .. | 28 |
| Simla " 1921 . . . | .. | 10 | (a) 5 | .. | 15 |
| Delhi " 1922 . . . | 8 | 18 | 13 | 5 | 44 |
| Simla " 1922 . . . | .. | 10 | 3 | 2 | 15 |
| Delhi " 1923 . . . | 12 | 34 | 3 | 2 | 51 |
| Simla " 1923 . . . | .. | 8 | 6 | 3 | 17 |
| Delhi " 1924 . . . | 9 | 17 | 9 | 3 | 38 |
| Simla (May and June) Session, 1924. | .. | 7 | 1 | .. | 8 |
| Simla (September) Session, 1924. | .. | 9 | 3 | 2 | 14 |
| Delhi Session, 1925 . . . | 13 | 18 | 6 | 4 | 41 |
| Simla " 1925 . . . | .. | 14 | 2 | 2 | 18 |
| Delhi " 1926 . . . | 13 | 16 | 7 | 3 | 39 |
| Simla " 1926 . . . | .. | 10 | 2 | .. | 13 |
| Delhi " 1927 . . . | 14 | 26 | 3 | 2 | 45 |
| Simla " 1927 . . . | .. | 15 | 3 | 2 | 20 |
| Delhi " 1928 . . . | 14 | † | 3* | 3 | † |

(a) During these sessions separate days were not allotted for non-official Resolutions and Bills.

(b) In addition to official business a certain number of non-official Resolutions and Bills were taken up on days reserved for official business.

* In addition to the days allotted by the Governor General, Government gave the 18th February for the conclusion of the debate on the Simon Commission.

† Columns 2 and 5 cannot be filled till the end of the Session.

REFUSAL OF THE ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION, DELHI, TO SIGN APPLICATIONS OF MUSLIM STUDENTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATION.

426. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Is it a fact that the Assistant Superintendent of Education, Delhi, who is also a resident of this place, and who countersigns students' applications for admission to the High School Examination, has refused to sign the applications of a large number of Muslim students although they were attested by Shamsul Oluma Maulvi Syad Ahmad, Imam of the Juma Masjid, a distinguished citizen of Delhi?

(b) If so, what steps do Government propose to take against this wanton action of the officer mentioned above?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

DUTIES OF THE HEADMASTER, GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, DELHI.

427. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Is it a fact that the Headmaster, Government High School, Delhi, is also the Assistant Superintendent of Education, Delhi? How much time does he devote to the teaching work?

(b) Is it a fact that the Assistant Superintendent of Education, Delhi, has to perform a large number of duties as such? If so, do Government propose to appoint a separate wholetime officer to this post?

(c) How many duties does the said officer perform and of how many and which communal organisations is he also the office bearer?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: (a) Yes. Normally a little over 7 hours a week.

(b) Yes. Government have no such proposal under consideration at present.

(c) He performs the duties of Headmaster of the Government High School and of Assistant Superintendent of Education, Delhi. Government have no information regarding the latter part of the Honourable Member's question.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Are Government aware that the said gentleman is also Headmaster of the Clerical Advance-Classes, Headmaster of the Manual Training Classes, Member of the Secondary Board of Education, Vice-President, Text Books Committee, Delhi, Member of the Model School, Delhi, Member of the Jain High School, Delhi, Member of the Commercial High School, Delhi, Member of the Boy Scouts, Member of the Baby Week, Member of the Jain Sabha, and Superintendent of all the examinations held in the Government High School, Delhi?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: That formidable list of additional duties which my Honourable friend has so earnestly and zealously read out doubtless gives an exalted view of the duties of the Headmaster, but as to what measure of time it takes up I am not aware. However, I shall have that point examined.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is there anything to show that this officer does not discharge his proper duties efficiently?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I would ask the Honourable Member to address that question to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.

COMMUNAL ANALYSIS OF EACH GRADE OF EACH BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

428. ***Mr. M. S. Aney:** (1) Will the Government be pleased to give in a tabular form the information relating to the numerical strength of the Muhammadans, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs employed as officers in the Superior, Provincial and inferior service cadres of the following departments in the North Western Frontier Provinces according to the latest civil list:

- (a) Political Department.
- (b) Provincial Civil Service.
- (c) Munsiffs.
- (d) Settlement Department.
- (e) Education (Indian and Provincial Educational Service separately).
- (f) Medical (Civil and Assistant Surgeons).
- (g) Police (Gazetted Officers, Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors with their grades separately).
- (h) Excise?

(2) Will the Government be pleased to give separately the number of Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in the Frontier Constabulary as District Officers, Subadar Majors and Jamadars?

(3) Will the Government be pleased to give the numerical strength of the aforesaid four classes in each of the following Frontier Corps, namely, Kurram Militia, Tochi Scouts and South Waziristan Scouts?

(4) What is the number of Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians employed in the Public Works Department including the Irrigation Branch, as Engineers, permanent and temporary Assistant Engineers, Deputy Collectors and Zaildars (with their grades)?

(5) Will the Government be pleased to give the number of the same four classes separately in the same Province as Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars (with grades)?

Sir Denys Bray: The information required by the Honourable Member comprises apparently a detailed communal analysis of each grade of each branch of the Government service in the North-West Frontier Province. Its compilation would I fear involve an amount of labour which would scarcely be justified by the results.

The North-Western Province Civil List, however, a copy of which is in the Library, will assist the Honourable Member in his researches and he will find some of the ground covered in answers to the unstarred questions Nos. 354 and 356.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will the Honourable Member collect figures for all the departments—from the Chief Commissioner's office to the lowest municipal offices, especially the Public Works and Military Works and accounts offices—and the number of each community represented in those offices, and also the number of each community in-

habiting the various agencies, which form part of this system, and whether it was not a fact that recruits for the lower ranks were not forthcoming from any other community except the Muslim?

Sir Denys Bray: I hope that this question for further statistics is directed not to me but to my friend, Mr. Aney.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. J. C. MAIR AS ASSISTANT ACCOUNTANT UNDER THE PORT COMMISSIONERS, CALCUTTA.

429. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have received a representation from the Indian Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta in connection with the recent appointment of Mr. J. C. Mair to the post of Assistant Accountant?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the steps that they have taken or propose to take to see that the authorities concerned withhold their sanction to this appointment?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) Yes.

(b) The Government of India are at present considering the matter in consultation with the Bengal Government.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In view of the fact that that particular office afforded a very good opportunity of putting into practice the deliberately accepted policy of the Government of India with regard to Indianisation of the services, will the Government of India be pleased to insist that the claims of Indians should be conceded, as desired by all the Indian Port Commissioners of Calcutta?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I regret that it is not possible for me to add to the answer I have already given.

INDIANIZATION OF THE HIGHER GRADES OF THE TECHNICAL AND NON-TECHNICAL SERVICES OF THE PORT COMMISSIONERS, CALCUTTA.

430. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if the Commissioners of the Calcutta Port Trust are in sympathy with the policy of Indianising the higher grades of their services as pointed out by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 13th July 1927 in reply to the welcome address presented to him by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the steps which the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta have taken or propose to take for Indianising the higher grades of their technical and non-technical services?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) The Port Commissioners, Calcutta, have informed the Government of India that they are in sympathy with the general policy that Indians should be employed in increasing numbers.

(b) The Government of India have no more recent information than was given by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in his speech of the 13th July, 1927, to which the Honourable Member has referred, but they are making further enquiries.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In order to Indianise Port Trust services, will the Government of India see to it that the local Port Trust authorities do not introduce specific examination qualifications which they know will bar equally efficient and qualified Indians from having their applications considered by the local authority. I mean, for example, such things as insistence upon chartered accountants' certificates.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: The Honourable Member in his question imputes a certain course of action to the Port Commissioners. It is clearly impossible for the Government of India to admit, merely on his authority, that the facts are so.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: My authority is derived from the statement submitted to the Government . . .

Mr. President: Is that a question?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is it a fact, Sir, that this insistence on that particular kind of qualification has been adduced by the local authorities in order to prevent the chances of recruitment of Indian candidates with equally good qualifications but considered unsuitable on account of the want of these qualifications?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I am not aware that that is a fact.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Will the Honourable Member kindly make enquiries?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: If the Honourable Member will give me particulars of the case to which he refers, I am quite prepared to make enquiries.

Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla: May I enquire if it has not been the policy in the past to insist on the qualification of a chartered accountantship in making appointments to this post?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I think the Honourable Member should give notice of that question.

Mr. B. Das: Will Government see their way to bring in the Port Trust and other similar Trusts under a system of examination by the Public Service Commission, so that the right method of Indianising may be adopted?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: The Honourable Member should give notice of the question, Sir.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR LIGHTHOUSES.

431. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government be pleased to announce (a) the names of the members constituting the Central Advisory Committee for Indian Lighthouses, and (b) the interests represented by each member?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: As the Indian Lighthouse Act, 1927, has not yet been brought into force, no Committee has yet been appointed under the Act. But the following provisional Committee has

been appointed, and it is intended that the same members should form the Statutory Committee when the Act is brought into force:—

1. The Commerce Secretary, Government of India. Chairman.
2. Director, Royal Indian Marine (Captain E. J. Headlam, C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.I.M.) Representing the Royal Indian Marine.
3. Mr. Kaikobad Cowasji Dinshaw, of Messrs. Cowasji Dinshaw and Brothers, Bombay. Representing Shipping registered in India.
4. Sir Arthur Froom, Kt., of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Company, Bombay. }
5. Mr. P. H. Browne, C.B.E., of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Company, Calcutta. } Representing *British* Commerce.
6. Mr. R. C. M. Strouts, of Messrs. Gordon Woodroffe and Company, Madras. }
7. Mr. M. A. Master, General Manager, the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Bombay. }
8. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, President, Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi. } Representing *Indian* Commerce.
9. Mr. C. Gopala-Menon, M.L.C., Honorary Secretary, Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras. }

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether there is any representative of Indian seamen, whose interests are closely concerned with the efficiency of the lighthouses?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I quite admit that the interests of Indian seamen are closely concerned with the efficiency of the lighthouses, but it does not seem to me to follow that they might be suitably charged with the administration of lighthouses.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is it a fact that Mr. Kaikobad Cowasjee Dinshaw, who is nominated to represent Indian shipping interests, controls ships which are running along the African coast?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I am prepared to take it from the Honourable Member that that is so.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Will the Government kindly inform me whether in their view the interests of money are greater than the interests of life?

TRAINING OF INDIAN ART STUDENTS IN EUROPE.

492. ***Sir Hari Singh Gour:** (a) Have the Government approved a scheme for the training of Indian art students in Europe by instituting

four scholarships enabling them to receive their training as mural decorators under the guidance of Professor Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Arts?

(b) If the answer to the last question be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state whether it has been decided to send out four such students for a period of 18 months?

(c) Are the Government aware that the full course for advanced students in the Royal Academy of Arts in London extends to five years?

(d) If so, how do the Government think it possible for Indian students to complete that course within a period of only eighteen months?

(e) And if the students are not able to complete the course, what test of efficiency is intended to apply to them?

(f) Is it a fact that advanced students in Art who have completed 5 years of their training at the Royal Academy School after admission are then held eligible to obtain experience of mural decorations?

(g) If so, how do the Government expect Indian students to obtain this experience without completing the prescribed course?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Government are proposing to send four young Indian artists to Europe for training under Professor Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Arts, in connection with the decoration of India House, London.

(b) Yes: but the students have not yet been selected.

(c) and (f). The Government of India have no information on the subject. I may mention that the Royal Academy of Arts in London is quite distinct from the Royal College of Art, London.

(d), (e) and (g). It is the intention of the Government of India to select 3 or 4 young Indian artists who have already had considerable training and who will not therefore require the same amount of time and experience as novices. It is not their intention to give these artists a complete course of training in Europe.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: What is the test to which these Indian artists proceeding to England for study for 18 months will be subjected?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: These young Indian artists will be selected here by a committee presided over by Sir John Marshall.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: That is not the question that I put. The question that I put was, when the Honourable Member sends these students to England for undergoing a course of study for 18 months, what test or examination will they be subjected to for the purpose of judging of their proficiency in the subject in which they will receive their training?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: That will be left to Professor Rothenstein.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, has that not been the subject of any previous discussion or arrangement with the Professor?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Professor Rothenstein was consulted with regard to the whole scheme. As I have already said, these boys will be trained under his guidance. It will be for him thereafter to decide whether they have attained a certain standard of qualification which will render them fit for undertaking the work of decoration at the India House, London.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, the question I wish to put is this—in what subjects will they receive their training in England and what will be the test to which they will be subjected at the end of their training?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The subject obviously will be Indian art. As regards the test, I am not an expert, Sir, and I prefer to leave that matter to Professor Rothenstein who is an expert on the subject.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Does the Honourable Member think that Indian art can be learnt by Indian students in England?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have already said that these boys will not be novices in Indian art. They will have a preliminary training in India. They will get additional training in England under the guidance of Professor Rothenstein. I think if the Honourable Member will wait for the reply to his question next following he will be able to know a little more on the subject.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I enquire if the Indian students who are going to England for their preliminary training in Indian art cannot receive that training in this country?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: They are not students, Sir. They are really Indian artists who have had some preliminary training in India.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: Will the Honourable Member state whether Professor Rothenstein was ever in India, and whether he has any, and what, experience of Indian Art?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Professor may not have been in India, but it does not necessarily follow that he has had no experience of Indian Art.

Mr. Arthur Moore: May I correct that statement; he has been in India.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: As a globe-trotter perhaps.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: I want to know whether he was ever in India, and whether he has had any and what experience of Indian art.

Mr. Arthur Moore: He has experience.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I should like to have notice of that question.

TRAINING OF INDIAN ART STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

433. ***Sir Hari Singh Gour:** (a) Is it the intention of the Government to encourage Indian art by instituting four scholarships for the training of Indian art students in England?

(b) What facilities exist in England for the training of students in Indian art?

(c) What encouragement have the Government given or propose to give to Indian artists who have already acquired proficiency in Indian art?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The Royal College of Art specialises in decorative painting and has a very large number of studios for experiment in all its stages. The India Museum is in close proximity to the Royal College of Art and affords many facilities for the study of Indian art. The Victoria and Albert Museum also has a very large section devoted to Indian art.

(c) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the press communiqué of the 5th September, 1927, which gives the particulars of the scheme for the encouragement of Indian artists by providing facilities for the decoration of Government buildings in New Delhi.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, the question I wish to put is this—what training will the Indian artists receive in England which they have not received and are not likely to receive in their own country?

Mr. President: That question does not arise out of this answer.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I understand the Honourable Member to say that that question will be in order under the next question.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Sir, I should like to know whether the Government are aware that there is now in Europe a Burmese painter called Ba Nyan whose works, and particularly those of a purely decorative character, have compelled the admiration of the highest authorities, and whether the Government, when they are considering the more ambitious schemes of mural painting, will undertake to consider the claims of this painter to being given an honourable place?

Mr. President: That question too does not arise.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In recruiting their scholars under the scheme which they have instituted, will Government take steps to see to it that the claims of Indian artists who have been trained in other than Government Art Schools are properly considered?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I will look into that point, Sir.

CONSTITUTION, FUNCTIONS, POWERS, ETC., OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE TRAINING SHIP "DUFFERIN".

434. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that they have constituted a Governing Body for the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin"?

(b) If so, will Government please state:

(i) The constitution, functions and powers of the Governing Body, and

(ii) The names of its members and the interests they represent?

(c) Do Government intend to appoint any additional members on that Body, and, if so, how many and when?

(d) Is the Governing Body an executive body or merely an advisory committee?

(e) If the Governing Body is an advisory committee, is it the intention of the Government to make the necessary changes in the nomenclature?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) Yes.

(b) (i) and (ii). The question of defining the functions and powers of the Governing Body is at present under consideration and Government hope to issue orders on the subject in the near future. The names of the members of the Governing Body and the interests they represent are as follows:

PRESIDENT.

The Director, Royal Indian Marine.

MEMBERS.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K.C.I.E., B.A., LL.D., Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.

Mr. D. J. MacGillivray Representing British Shipping.

Mr. Narottam Morarji }
Sir Hormusjee Cowasjee Dinshaw, }
Kt., M. V. O., O. B. E. } Representing Indian Shipping.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Kt., Representing the Bombay Port Trust.
C.I.E., M.B.E., M.L.A.

Mr. M. A. Master Representing the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay.

Mr. Muhammad Kadir Shaikh, Nominated by the Government of
M.B.E., B.A., LL. B. Bombay to represent the interests of
the Muhammadan seafaring community.

Maulvi Abul Kasem, M.L.C. Representing the Bengal Presidency.

Mr. J. L. P. Roche Victoria Representing the Madras Presidency.

(c) It is proposed to appoint one more representative from the Madras Presidency and the Government of India are in communication with the Madras Government in regard to that appointment.

(d) Under the rules which it is proposed to issue certain powers for the management of the Training Ship are being delegated to the Governing Body which thus is not merely an advisory committee.

(e) Does not arise.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether Government will consider the desirability of appointing a representative of the Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay to this body?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I am afraid I cannot undertake to consider that suggestion.

PLACING OF CADETS FROM THE "DUFFERIN" ON THE SAME FOOTING OF CADETS FROM THE "CONWAY" AND "WORCESTER" IN RESPECT OF RECRUITMENT TO THE BENGAL PILOT SERVICE.

435. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Will Government be pleased to state, if the cadets of the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin" will be entitled to enter the Bengal Pilot Service in the same manner and with the same experience as the cadets of the British Training Ships "Conway" and "Worcester"?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the negative, will Government please state what are the reasons for this discrimination against Indian cadets?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer given on the 7th March to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan's unstarred question No. 326 on this subject.

PLACING OF CADETS FROM THE "DUFFERIN" ON THE SAME FOOTING AS CADETS FROM THE "CONWAY" AND "WORCESTER" IN RESPECT OF RECRUITMENT TO THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

436. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the cadets of the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin" will be taken into the Royal Indian Marine in the same manner and on terms exactly analogous to those adopted in the case of the cadets of the British Training Ships "Conway" and "Worcester"?

(b) If not, what are the reasons for this discrimination against Indian cadets?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The question of future recruitment for the Royal Indian Marine is under consideration.

(b) There is not, and has never been, any intention of discriminating in the manner suggested by the Honourable Member.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

WATERING OF THE ROAD FROM THE STATION TO THE STEAMER GHAT AT GOALUNDO.

393. Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra: (a) Is it a fact that passengers from the railway train to the steamer at Goalundo railway station (Eastern Bengal Railway) have to pass over sand which becomes extremely heated in the day time?

(b) Is it a fact that passing along the road is extremely trying and painful for passengers walking without shoes? If so, have Government taken any steps to remove the inconvenience?

(c) Is it a fact that the way is used by Indian ladies of all ranks, who generally walk bare-footed?

(d) Is it a fact that several complaints were made by passengers for removal of this grievance by making arrangements for watering the way at least during the hot summer months?

(e) Is there any scheme for watering the way for the summer months?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government are aware that passengers at Goalundo have to walk from the train to the steamer over a distance which varies according to the position of the ghat at different times of the year. They have received no representations that passengers are inconvenienced in the way suggested in the Honourable Member's question, and are extremely doubtful whether the remedy he recommends would be practicable. They will, however, send a copy of his question to the Agent.

INADEQUACY OF THE WAITING ROOM ACCOMMODATION AT GOALUNDO.

394. **Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that the waiting room at Goalundo is a small hut not sufficient to accommodate more than half a dozen persons and that there is no separate waiting room for first and second class passengers? If so, will Government state reasons for not having separate waiting rooms?

(b) Is it a fact that there is no separate waiting room for ladies at the station? If so, will Government state reasons for not having separate waiting rooms?

(c) Is it a fact that there are trains which arrive late at night and the passengers have to wait till next morning to catch the steamers? If so, will Government state reasons for not making adequate arrangements for passengers for their waiting in the interval at Goalundo?

M. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). Government have no information.

(c) There is one such train. Government have impressed on Railways the importance of providing passenger conveniences where necessary but must leave it to the Agents to decide the comparative urgency of demands of this nature.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY LINE BETWEEN MUZAFFARPUR AND SEETA-MARHEE IN BIHAR AND ORISSA.

395. **Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** How do matters stand with regard to the construction of the proposed railway line between Muzaffarpur and Seetamarhee (Bihar and Orissa)?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The result of the survey has not yet been received from the Agent, Bengal and North Western Railway.

STOPPAGE OF THE UP AND DOWN PUNJAB MAIL TRAINS AT PATNA CITY.

396. **Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that some time ago both the up and down Punjab mail trains used to stop at the Patna City station?

(b) Is it a fact that the stoppage of both the up and down Punjab mail trains was discontinued at the Patna City station one after the other?

(c) Is it a fact that both the up and down Punjab mail trains stop at Dinapore station at present?

(d) Is it a fact that both the Patna City and Dinapore stations are at equal distances from Patna Junction station?

(e) Is it a fact that Patna City is a great commercial place and contains a much larger population than Dinapore which is a cantonment?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). Government have no information.

(c) Yes.

(d) Yes.

(e) The population of Patna City is larger than that of Dinapore.

INCONVENIENCES SUFFERED ON STEAMERS BY PILGRIMS TO THE HEDJAZ.

397. **Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that pilgrims to the Hedjaz are being carried in steamships of old types?

(b) Is it a fact that only a gallon of drinking water per head is given and that about 1,500 pilgrims are made to get water from a place within a limited time, and consequently a number of weak and old persons are left without water owing to the rush?

(c) Is it a fact that there are no separate arrangements for latrines for ladies and that the number of existing latrines and baths is quite inadequate and that there are no arrangements for lights in the latrines?

(d) Is it a fact that in the lower portion of the ship meant for third class passengers there are not suitable arrangements for fresh air and that when the poor pilgrims try to come up on the deck to take fresh air, they are sent back and very unpolitely treated by the staff of the ship?

(e) Is it a fact that arrangements for refreshments are not satisfactory and that a sufficient quantity of aerated water and ice is not kept in the ship and that whatever little there is, is only used by the staff of the ship?

(f) Is it a fact that the arrangement for a kitchen is very poor and entirely in the hands of non-Muslims?

(g) Is it a fact that at Karachi and Eden Docks, pilgrims are not allowed to come down from the ship and make purchases like other passengers of ships?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: (a) Government have no information. No steamer can, however, engage in the Haj traffic unless it has been certified by a Government inspector to be in all respects suitable for the carriage of pilgrims.

(b) Under rule 32 of the rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act, each pilgrim is entitled to receive one and a half gallons of drinking water per day. A copy of the rules will be found in the Library. As regards the remainder of this part of the question, Government have no information.

They understand, however, that in order to avoid crowding of the kind to which the Honourable Member refers pilgrims are as a rule required to line up at fixed hours so that each may draw his water in an orderly manner.

(c) The attention of the Honourable member is invited to rules 61-63 of the rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act.

(d) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to rule 19 of the rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act.

(e) It is not quite clear what the Honourable Member means by arrangements for refreshments. If he is referring to the supply of aerated water and ice I would state that enquiries are being made as to whether these are available on pilgrim ships.

(f) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to rules 35-36 under the Pilgrim Ships Act. Government have not received any complaints on this subject, nor are they aware that the kitchen arrangements on pilgrim ships are in the hands of non-Muslims.

(g) Government have no information but have made enquiries.

NOMINATIONS TO CANTONMENT BOARDS.

398. **Mr. Abdul Haye:** With reference to my starred question No. 189, of the 13th February, 1928, will Government please state if it is clear to them now that under section 14 of the Cantonments Act, 1924, nominations to Cantonment Boards are not made by Local Governments, but by the Commanding Officers? Are such officers under the control of the Government of India?

Mr. G. M. Young: The Honourable Member must interpret the section for himself. Military officers are under the control of the Government of India. This control, however, would not be exercised so as to interfere by executive order with a discretionary power conferred by law.

NOMINATIONS OF MUSLIMS TO THE CANTONMENT BOARD, AMBALA.

399. **Mr. Abdul Haye:** (a) Is it a fact that at the last election to the Lahore Cantonment Board 3 Muslims and 4 Hindus were elected and the Commanding Officer, Lahore Cantonment, nominated, one Muslim and one Parsi under the proviso to clause (e) of sub-section (1) of section 14 of the Cantonments Act, 1924?

(b) In view of the fact that in Ambala Cantonment at the last elections not a single Muslim was returned to the Board, will the Government please state why the Commanding Officer, Ambala Cantonment, did not nominate some Muslims under the proviso to clause (e) referred to above?

(c) Are the Government now prepared to direct the nominations of some Muslims?

Mr. G. M. Young: Government have no information as regards parts (a) and (b), but for the reasons stated in my answer to the previous question, they are not prepared to take the action suggested in part (c).

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Expenditure charged to Revenue—contd.

DEMAND No. 74—NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 98,71,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1929, in respect of the 'North-West Frontier Province.'"

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I do not move the cut* standing in my name.

Introduction of Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, the motion that stands in my name is:

"That the Demand under the head 'North-West Frontier Province' be reduced by Rs. 100."

I do not wish in this connection to go into the matter of the ancient history of the North-West Frontier Province; that is to say, how it was when it was part of the Punjab and how it was when by a mere stroke of the pen in his own autocratic way Lord Curzon separated it from the Punjab and constituted it into a separate province. I am not going to allude to all that; for the purposes of my motion I shall leave it alone. I desire to refer only to its recent history. The first Resolution on the subject of the introduction of Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province was moved in 1921 by my Honourable Colleague then and a distinguished Member of the first Assembly—Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, which was adopted. After the lapse of some time and after some hesitation on the ground that there were frontier troubles and things of that kind, no announcement was made regarding the acceptance or otherwise of that Resolution. However, in course of time, it was accepted by Government and some time afterwards it was announced that a Committee would be appointed for making a searching inquiry into the whole question by going and seeing the problems on the spot. This Committee consisted of the Honourable Sir Denys Bray as the President, who was then the Foreign Secretary and who is fortunately present here, and five Members of the Indian Legislature, of whom one was from the North-West Frontier Province—I believe it was Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim—, another from the Punjab, Chaudhury Shahabuddin, a gentleman from the United Provinces, the Honourable Saiyid Raza Ali, who was then a Member of the Council of State, a Member from Bombay, Mr. Samarth, and one from Madras, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. Added to this body were two officials, excluding the President, one a Revenue Commissioner in the Frontier Province and the other an official from the Punjab; thus there is no question that this was a highly representative committee, consisting of Members of the Indian Legislature as well as Government officials.

*That the Demand under the head "North-West Frontier Province" be reduced by Rs. 10,000.

[Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.]

This Committee made a very searching inquiry on the spot, examined witnesses and at last came to certain conclusions. The report of this Committee was published as late as 1924. Here, Sir, it is important to remember the various dates. In 1921 the motion was first moved and adopted, and it was in 1924 that the report of the Committee was published. There is no doubt that there was a minority report and a majority report; and the majority report accepted the fact that in the Frontier Province there were 22 lakhs of men who, so far as culture and capacity for the management of their own province were concerned, were not inferior to the people of the other provinces. I also find in the report recorded that they did yeoman service and very good service during the Great War. All this no doubt is accepted, that is to say, the capacity of the people of the province to manage their own affairs and the great services done by them to the cause of the Government and of India. The report was at any rate published in 1924. But was any practical step taken after 1924? Nothing of the kind. In spite of accepting all these, beyond mere lip sympathy, what was done? Nothing. Was that the reward for the services done by the people? Was the reward confined to mere encomiums recorded in the report? Did anything come out of it?

Now, Sir, the report was published in 1924. For two years nothing was done; at least nobody heard of anything being done. Then it was that the people getting tired of waiting, suggested to my friend, Maulvi Saiyid Murtuza Sahib and he moved a Resolution which was in 1926. All this time, what practical steps have Government taken in the matter? For the information of the House, I will read the Resolution:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to extend to the North-West Frontier Province the provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to the Legislative Councils and to the appointment of Ministers, etc., with protection to the minorities".

This Resolution was moved in February, 1926; and in March after some heated discussion—we are having a heated discussion on almost everything nowadays—the Resolution was adopted without a division. Now, Sir, can Government say anything as to what they have done after the passing of this Resolution without a division? Or is it not that they have slept over the matter? Have they taken any notice of the Resolution passed in this very House and after so much trouble? No. The reply is a decided "No". Very well, Sir. In March, 1926, this Resolution was adopted without a division, and now it is March, 1928. After two years again this motion for a cut has been moved owing to the lethargy displayed by the Government in this matter. All this time they have remained absolutely silent without doing anything in the matter in spite of their having shown sympathy for the Reforms and in spite of their admission about the capacity of the people of the North-West Frontier Province. It is admitted on all hands that the Resolution so ably moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer met the wishes of all parties, and although so much money, time and energy had been spent by the Government, it is a matter of regret that they have done nothing in the matter. Was any action taken by Government? Is it not, Sir, I ask, that the Treasury Benches are trying to humiliate us by not giving effect to the Resolutions which we in this House unanimously pass. Their inactivity virtually amounts to saying this: "Do anything you like, shout as much as you

like, but we are not going to move an inch.'". Sir, this sort of thing exasperates an old man like me, not to speak of young men whose blood rises to the boiling point. Pardon me, Sir, for the expression, but that is what I feel strongly. Is this the way in which the Government should treat the wishes expressed by this House? Can you carry on the administration of this vast country by military control? I am reminded of the speech of their own great politician and orator, Edmund Burke, when the independence of the United States of America was declared. Do the Government think, do they wish—pardon me for saying this, Sir,—but I ask the Government to say if they wish that we should meet in Congress and declare our own independence in this country? Do they wish that? Will it be good for India? Will it be good for England? Now, what is there in this demand about the North-West Frontier Province? I fail to understand why Government should be so nervous as not to take action on the recommendations made by their own Committee.

I am sorry I cannot speak more because of my illness, but I hope that this House, and Members of all parties will, in order to maintain the honour and dignity of this House, support this motion. Two Resolutions have been passed. So much money, time and energy have been spent, still nothing has been done. Why should you make the people desperate. I appeal to the Honourable Member in charge, I request him, and I appeal to this House to accept this motion. Goodness knows what it will end in—nobody knows it. I am an old man, and I appeal to this House, for the good of India, for the good of their own name, for the good name of the people of England who have the Mother of Parliaments would they not look to the ordinary demand of the people of the North-West Frontier Province who the Government themselves say are quite capable and intelligent and are quite fit to take care of themselves? With these remarks I appeal to the House that, with a view to maintain the dignity of the House and to vindicate the honour of this House, they should one and all accept this motion.

With these few words I move this motion.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'North-West Frontier Province' . . . "

Sir Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary): Sir, I am apparently again to face a conspiracy of silence.....

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhamadan Rural): We are following you.

Sir Denys Bray: When my friend Sayed Murtaza Sahib raised this debate in March 1926 I was met by a conspiracy of silence. And if my friend Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, whose voice, though imperfectly, we were very glad to hear this morning, wishes to know something of the difficulties of this case, something of the reasons which have led Government to proceed with it with the utmost caution, let him turn to some of the Members of his own party, let him turn to some of the Members of other parties in this House for the reason. The other day my friend Lala Lajpat Rai put a supplementary question to the answer given by the Home Member regarding these frontier reforms.....

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): And he was cheered by Sir Abdul Qaiyum.

Sir Denys Bray: My friend Lala Lajpat Rai asked: Is Government aware that Government's indecision is a cause of friction between Hindus and Mussalmans?

Lala Lajpat Rai: Absence of decision?

Sir Denys Bray: I said indecision. I was tempted then to put to him a supplementary question in turn. Let me put to him a substantive question now. Is he aware of any decision that will not cause friction between Hindus and Mussalmans?

Lala Lajpat Rai: Yes, I am prepared to reply to that question.

Sir Denys Bray: I am glad to hear he will reply to it. I wish he had spoken before I got up.

(*Some Honourable Members on the Congress Party Benches*: "How could he anticipate the question?")

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Is this the only fear or is there something else also?

Sir Denys Bray: I searched my memory in vain, Sir, for any contribution from him; I searched the records in vain for any contribution from him in that debate.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Is he the arbiter of the destinies of the North West Frontier people?

Sir Denys Bray: He was one of the arch-conspirators in that conspiracy of silence. If he has a solution now, devoid of friction, let him lay it before the House quite plainly.

Lala Lajpat Rai: I will.

Sir Denys Bray: And I will give him an assurance that Government will not turn it down lightly, (*An Honourable Member*: "Lightly?") provided always it gives due weight to the essentially all-India aspect of the problem.

I frankly confess, when I saw this motion on the paper, it filled me with dismay. For in that frontier debate I lost my last shred of reputation for clarity of expression. I spoke to the best of my ability, endeavouring to the best of my ability to place the difficulties of the problem before the House, and the measure of success that we were likely to meet with in surmounting those difficulties. Since that debate matters have not stood still. The detailed examination of an extraordinarily difficult problem, extraordinarily difficult even in its technical aspects alone, has proceeded a great way. Yet difficulties still bristle. Some of the old difficulties remain. Fresh ones have cropped up,—difficulties, of course, regarding finance in a province necessarily deficit; difficulties, of course, regarding the delegation of powers in a province in which the all-India aspect is all-compelling; difficulties, of course, of preserving the Central Government's control over those all-India interests.....

Mr. K. Ahmed: But you have spent more than 30 crores in Waziristan..

Sir Denys Bray: Difficulties inherent in the essential inseparability of much of the cis-frontier business from the trans-frontier; difficulties, as I said just now, communal in origin. And as after that debate I myself have no longer any reputation in this House for clarity of expression, it would ill beseech me to attempt to sum up Government's attitude in my own words. I shall do so in the words, simple and clear, of that very clear man, the late Leader of the House.

"The question what and in what direction constitutional advance can be given in the North-West Frontier Province has been and is under the consideration of Government. No definite decision on that point has been arrived at and no definite decision on that point will be arrived at or announced till Government are satisfied that they have come to a right conclusion and that the moment for its announcement is ripe."

Maulvi Mohammad Shafee (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan): That is what Sir Alexander Muddiman said.

Sir Denys Bray: I am quoting Sir Alexander Muddiman.

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): An extremely clear exposition.

Sir Denys Bray: Those words remain as true now as they were then.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: They will remain true for ever.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What about the rule of the excluded middle, Sir, in logic?

Sir Denys Bray: The Honourable Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, if I heard him aright—and I was a little difficult of hearing to-day—made no allusion whatever to the all-India aspects of the case,—those all-India aspects which I know my friend Mr. Lajpat Rai is going to deal with adequately. But I would remind the House that they were dealt with not merely in our majority report. Indeed the all-India aspect is scored right across it. It was scored also right across our debate. Furthermore, it received great prominence in the report and recommendation of the minority. I would remind the House that Mr. Rangachariar, one of the two dissentients—the other, alas, my old friend, Mr. Samarth, is no more—.....

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Ask Mr. Rangachariar what he thinks now.

Sir Denys Bray: Mr. Rangachariar, Sir, with an intellectual honesty wholly admirable made it quite clear that it was a necessary implication of his proposal that there should be a forward movement right up to the Durand Line. That, Sir, I would put it to the House, sums up in brief one of the great difficulties of this case. It is true, since the debate some of the difficulties in one of the areas has been lessened. Five years ago, as I remember well, Sir Basil Blackett's first Budget had an ugly blot of Waziristan with its extra military and allied expenditure upon it. In his last Budget Waziristan re-enters, but in how different a guise! It re-enters hand in hand with Baluchistan, once the scourge of Sind and the Punjab, now the very model and ensample of frontier provinces. It re-enters, Waziristan does, with Baluchistan to illustrate Sir Basil's solicitude for beneficial nation-building on the stage of the Central Government. Five years ago, Sir, I made a fighting speech in defence of our Waziristan policy. To-day I make no defence. Defence is not needed. The policy has made

[Sir Denys Bray.]

good. (Hear, hear.) Indeed our very success blinds us to its very magnitude. Five years ago there was no doubt of the magnitude of the problem itself. It is no doubt very difficult to bring home to anybody who has not been to the frontier some idea of the magnitude. Let me endeavour to do the best I can in five minutes. First, let crude statistics of trans-border raids speak for themselves.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What about the Report?

Sir Denys Bray: I am going to quote from the Report.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Not Mr. Rangachariar's.

Sir Denys Bray: In 1919-20 there were in Dera Ismail Khan alone, but one of the districts that about on Waziristan, 125 persons kidnapped (all, but 18, Moslems) 62 killed, 61 wounded, 10 lakhs of property carried off. Now this, I think, will bring home something of the magnitude of the problem with which we were confronted then, something of the difficulty of the problem we are now debating. And yet, I suppose, no one who has not stood on those hills in the transborder—those hills that breed more than they can feed and looked down with imaginative hunger on the rich plains below, can realise its magnitude. Since then, our policy has taken root, has made good—our policy of a strong cantonment outside but above and dominating the Mahsud country, with our scouts of Irregulars, that fine body of men, and with the tribal khassadars, the embodiment of the tribe and at the same time the servants of the Government, all these forces linked together by a central road. And what statistics have we to compare with the ghastly statistics of 1920? As against 125 kidnapped, the figure for 1926-27 is none. As against 62 killed, the figure is none. As against 61 wounded, the figure is one. As against 10 lakhs of property lost, the figure is Rs. 2,800 and one Government rifle.

Test the policy by the general spirit in the country. Five years ago, the tribesmen were opposing the building of roads. To-day they are clamouring for them. Not only are they clamouring for the prosecution of road-building, they are clamouring for roads in their own particular areas. They are clamouring for more schools; the few schools that we have set up have done extraordinarily well. They are clamouring for irrigation, and that is the feature which adorns Sir Basil's Budget. They are clamouring for more dispensary work. One of the best known villages in the Mahsud country, Kaniguram, is even clamouring for a well-known lady doctor of Dera Ismail Khan to set up in their midst. They promise her a fitting house. They promise her fitting furniture. They promise her up-to-date surgical instruments—loot in the last Mahsud expedition. (Laughter.) Even more significant perhaps when we look for evidence of the success of the policy is the spirit among the tribeswomen. 5 or 6 years ago, they were more reactionary than the men. They have now learnt to be keen on those luxuries, those little luxuries, brought up the road, by that great Empire builder, the Hindu pedlar. They have learnt to value even more the security which the road and the policy bring to their men and their children. 5 years ago, Sir, as I remember well, I spoke in favour of this policy as a forward policy of civilisation. I was greeted with a laugh. Who laughs to-day?

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): The same that laughed then.

Sir Denys Bray: I did not catch my Honourable friend. But if he laughed, it was with the laugh of an empty mind. And mine is the blame. For out of my knowledge I have not been able to impart to him the gravity and magnitude of the problem, and the magnitude of the success. 5 years ago, they preached to me that the policy I was advocating was midsummer madness, the throwing of treasure down a bottomless pit. I know of one audience at any rate where a man will get no hearing if he attempts to preach against the policy to-day. I am thinking above all of Dera Ismail Khan, and the Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan who know what it was to have suffered and who now, thank God, know what it is to be secure.....

Mr. K. Ahmed: But you knew that perfectly well in March, 1926. when you had voted for the Resolution.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Are they secure?

Sir Denys Bray: And soon there will be no hearing for any such preaching in India at large, as knowledge of what is going on permeates India. How indeed could it? I conceive myself that in a matter like this, there can be only one policy for India. The policy—I have chosen my word wrong. The word policy does not sum up my meaning. I want something more all-embracing, something that is the very foundation of the building of a nation. India, as I conceive it, must cling always firm to the principle of gradually spreading India's civilisation up to the very verge of India's uttermost limits.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Sir, I thought I shall keep away from this debate. I have spoken so often on the subject that I was afraid the House might consider me a fanatic or a maniac if I spoke again on the subject.

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European): Not too often.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: And this was the reason why I did not suggest the introduction of reforms in my motion and selected smaller subjects for my cuts. However, this general question has been introduced in the House by my friend Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, and if I do not say some words in its favour or against it, I shall be blamed by my people in the North-West Frontier Province. I have to justify my existence in this House and I must say something. The question of reforms has assumed an all-India aspect now, and it is not only for me to defend and advocate it, but all those who are affected by it must defend or offend it as they like. Sir. Confining the question to my little province only, I should like to put it in a very brief form and shall try to avoid bringing in the question of Imperial policy, and it is in that form that I am going to say just a few words. Sir, the very eloquent speech and the very fine way in which Sir Denys Bray has put the case, is very difficult to eulogise or to add to it. He has put the case very well, Sir, and he has shown us all the improvements and advancement in civilisation that have been brought about in the Province during the last five years. There is no gainsaying that. Things have greatly improved. But my simple question to him is, Sir, "Will the introduction of the so-called reforms impede that progress? Are we going to be held responsible for the peace and tranquillity of the country after we get the reforms or will that be a reserved subject?" The Government will, I believe, still be responsible for keeping peace and tranquillity in the country, and they will be still taking measures

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to stop raiding and troubles from across the border. I do not grudge them that power. That power has not been given to the rest of India. What will be entrusted to us? The transferred subjects. And what are these subjects? The mending of a road here or there, the establishment of a school here or there, or the opening of a hospital here or there.

Mr. D. V. Belvi (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): And "Boiler Inspection".

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: That is all that we may be entrusted with. But if we are capable of running the administration in various other ways, that is, through the Frontier Crimes Regulation, and if we are capable of giving a verdict in a case about the guilt or innocence of a person, where expert Police have failed, where judicial officers with the help of the Bar and the witnesses have failed, if on our verdict a man is sentenced to 14 years rigorous imprisonment, are we not capable of giving our verdict about the repairs of a certain road costing some money? I have the honour to belong to a tribe called the Yusufzai, where across the border there is no permanent government, and there they run their affairs on most democratic lines. The whole of the countryside is divided into shares according to their ancestral divisions. There are so many shares, say 300 or 400 shares. Every family is supposed to possess one share. There is the party in power and there is the party in opposition, who are called by different names. One is called "Tor Gund", that is, the Black party, and the other is called "Spin Gund", i.e., the white party—just as in old days in the Wars of the Roses there were the White Rose and the Red Rose parties—If the party in power does not command the confidence of the greater number of the shareholders or more than half of the shareholders in the country, it loses the position of being in power and must delegate the administration of the country to the opposite party, which commands a greater number of shares. But you have one great nicety about this, and it is that the minority party may be ten times larger and stronger in numbers and the fighting strength of the party in power may be smaller, but the larger numbers of the former would not help in ousting the latter—that is their own cousins and their own dependants will not help in upsetting the old law of election. That is exactly how they are running their affairs for ages. When we are capable of running our administration across the border so smoothly by the two-party system, one in power and the other in opposition, are we not capable, after 80 years of rule under the civilised British Government, to know a little better than those people? That is my point. A good deal has been said about expenses. It startles me when I hear the word "expenses". According to the Bray Committee's report the cost of the reforms including the pay of the Minister is only Rs. 42,000. Excluding the pay of the Minister Rs. 24,000, the cost will be Rs. 18,000 only. You may find an honorary Minister if you can find Honorary Sessions Judges, Additional District Magistrates and Munsiffs working honorarily

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Here is an honorary Minister for the North-West Frontier Province (pointing to the speaker).

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Even in this Budget you have sanctioned several lakhs for additional jail accommodation, etc., etc., and

you can certainly find a little money for our reforms which would not cost very much. The question of reforms, according to the Bray Committee report, is not to be considered in that light. I shall quote one little sentence from that report in this respect. In paragraph 35, on pages 29 and 30, the Committee say:

"However pressing the urgency for retrenchment no consideration of economy should be allowed to delay the introduction of the Reforms we advocate. Our scheme is not a costly one, seeing that India depends largely for her security on the contentment, well-being and good government of the North-West Frontier Province."

That is on the question of expense. Then there was the question of the will or wish of the people. I wish nobody had said a word about it. The matter started from the community which is now justly or unjustly accused of obstructing the reforms. I do not believe there will be a single man now, except perhaps the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, about whom I am not sure, who will oppose the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province as a matter of principle

Maulvi Sayyid Murtaza Sahib Bahadur (South Madras: Muhammad-an): Even he would not oppose it.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: But the matter started with the Hindu community. It was very hotly advocated by the Hindu community before the Enquiry Committee, and even this year, on the 3rd February, 1928, there was a united mass meeting at Peshawar in which the Hindus, Sikhs, and the Mussalmans joined together and said, the reason why they were for boycott was because they were not given the little tip of reforms and had been deprived of the same. That is the verdict of the Hindu community and I have not come across a single man here, who has told me the reverse of it. Again, there was an idea at one time that the Khans and leading chiefs were not very keen on it. Things have changed in that respect too, because on the 15th December last a big At Home was given by the *raies* of the North-West Frontier to the Honourable the Chief Commissioner and their address contained a demand, a request, or rather an appeal for full-fledged reforms. Therefore that possible objection also may be brushed aside. I do not know from what other direction any cry for not introducing reforms can come. I will not dilate on these questions. It is obvious that everybody wants these reforms. The scheme is not expensive and we are fit for reforms according to both the minority and majority reports of the Bray Committee.

Then there is another little matter to be considered. Reference has been made to a certain remark of Mr. Rangachariar's but, Sir, in spite of that the majority committee recommended the introduction of reforms. Have things developed in the wrong direction since? Have we become more ignorant, more uncivilised, more uneducated since then? Sir, I do not believe that the reforms are going to give a setback to the progress of the province going on in the right direction. Even the Honourable Member said that the introduction of schools, the opening of new roads and the various other civilising methods adopted during the last five years had led to the peace and tranquillity of the country. Is that not a good proof to say, "Let us introduce the reforms and there will be one more civilising factor"? It is not going to retard the progress of the province. It will go to strengthen it. Do you mean to say that when there will be a Legislative Assembly we will pass dangerous and iniquitous laws which could

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not be vetoed by the Chief Commissioner or the Governor. We may pass undesirable Resolutions but they will not be binding on the Government. Have all the Resolutions passed by this House been binding on the Government? I cannot understand what is this mysterious danger which comes in at budget time. There seems to be something typhoonic under the surface of which we are not aware. If I had been one of those Members sitting on the opposite benches, who had no confidence in Government or whose confidence had been shattered, I would have thought that there must be something else, but I am a firm believer in the honesty of purpose of the Government. I still admire them for what they have done in the transborder area and for what they have been doing for us. I still think there is something beneath the surface which they cannot put before the House, because all that the Honourable Member has so far said is not convincing. If I were a disbeliever in the good motives of Government like my friends opposite, I should have said that they want the whole of that area for a manœuvring field for the training of the Indian Army and that they should go on with these manœuvres in Nagpur near the House of my friend Dr. Moonje, though they may say that the transborder area is more suitable for practical field operations. That is very clear, but I really believe there must be some other solid reason for this attitude of Government.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by the Deputy President.)

If we knew the real reason, we could tell our people that they should not worry about the Legislative Assembly, that it is really impossible to introduce that little tiny plaything in the North-West Frontier Province. As a matter of fact nobody cares very much for that. Personally I shall be quite satisfied if the Director of Public Instruction is made into a Director in Council, with one or two Hindus, 3 or 4 Muhammadans, as the requirements of the case may demand, and education is given on more popular lines. As far as I am concerned, that would satisfy me. I am not a great believer in these reforms as I have previously said on the floor of this House. If you cannot change the age of consent from 13 to 14, what is the good of your reformed Legislative Assembly? I do not believe the Assembly is any good even here. But we have been shown a goal and that goal must be reached by following a certain road chalked out for us and we, being part and parcel of India, must also take that road to reach the goal.

There is only one word more I want to say. I really cannot exhaust the subject: If it is really the Hindu community and the Maha Sabha whose certificate will help our cause, I shall be prepared to take a deputation or what we call a *jirga*, to Dr. Moonje even at some sacrifice of our vanity, but if that is not likely to help us, I would not take this trouble. Dr. Moonje need not get up every now and then and say "I will give you this and will not give you that" as if it is in his hands. I think he is very much mistaken.

With these words I support the motion.

Lala Lajpat Rai: I want to extend my sympathy to Sir Denys Bray. In the difficult position in which he finds himself whenever the question of the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province comes

up before this House, I feel real genuine sympathy for him; and the way in which he performs his duty does credit to his training as a Political and Foreign Secretary because every time he evades the real issue, surrounds his replies with so many ifs and buts and irrelevant questions that in the end we are no wiser than when he had begun.

Sir, my Honourable friend has challenged me. I accept that challenge and I am prepared to say on the floor of this House that I personally am not opposed to the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province. The Hindu-Muslim position has greatly improved since the last debate took place on account mostly of the advent of the Simon Commission. That is my first reply to the Honourable the Home Member for the taunt he addressed to us yesterday about our failure to arrive at any decision of the Hindu-Muslim differences in the All-Parties Conference. I go a step further and say that I do not think my friend Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan should have based his claims for reforms in the Frontier Province either on the ground of the capacity of the people, or as a reward for the services rendered by the people of the Frontier Province in the War. I think he should have based his claim on the natural right of the people to govern themselves.

Well, Sir, I think the Government have played with this matter for too long. My anxiety on this question was displayed the other day when I said that in one way or the other the Government should decide this question at once, because its continuance in its present fluid condition causes more and more bitterness between Muhammadans and Hindus. I also made that representation to the highest authorities in India before the advent of the Simon Commission. I said that the question should be decided one way or the other as soon as possible. I am aware that the question is a very serious one. It involves grave issues of internal and external moment, and the prosperity of the people of India as a whole; but there ought to be a limit to the consideration of these questions. Surely Government can arrive at some decision? Why should the Government constantly tell us that the matter is under consideration. If Government were honest enough they should have said, "No, we are not at present prepared to give reforms to the North-West Frontier Province." That is their real attitude which they took up in the last debate. There is no use of saying that the matter is under consideration. Is it going to be under consideration for an illimitable time? (*An Honourable Member*: "Till the end of the century.") While you yourself are not prepared to give reforms, you very cleverly and very diplomatically lay the blame on the Hindu community. That is the point which I wish to advance before this House, and I also wish to add that the Hindus of the North-West Frontier Province should make it clear that they are not going to oppose these reforms, because the present administration does not benefit them in the least. My friend has been singing the praises of the North-West Frontier Province Government. When did the Government of India care for the opinion of the Hindus? At the time when my friend carried on an enquiry into the affairs of the North-West Frontier, the Hindus wanted five settled districts of that province to be amalgamated with the Punjab. The Muhammadans would have supported that, because they would have come under the reformed Government, but the Government did not want the amalgamation, therefore the Government won over the opinions and votes of the Muhammadans by a kind of promise that they should have a Council in that province.

Sir Denys Bray: No.

Lala Lajpat Rai: That was a trick played on them, otherwise the Muhammadan community would have certainly voted for the re-amalgamation. My friend, Sir Abdul Qaiyum supports me in that proposition, that they would rather come under the reformed administration of the Punjab than remain in a province without reforms.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I was the first witness before the Bray Committee and I said towards the end of my statement that if we could not be given fullfledged reforms, we should like re-amalgamation with the Punjab.

Lala Lajpat Rai: I am very glad that Sir Abdul Qaiyum has made the point clear. What happened? The matter came for decision before the Government, and the Government accepted that part which suited their policy, that is, the non-amalgamation of the five districts with the Punjab. The rest they left to be considered, and they have been considering and considering and considering the matter ever since. Every time the debate comes up the Government charges us with a conspiracy of silence, while we charge the Government with a conspiracy of manœuvring. They want the Hindu and Moslem members of the House to fight for their pleasure and profit. They don't say definitely, "No" or "Yes". They leave the Government Members to vote whichever way they like. Why cannot the Government say, "Yes" or "No"? Why cannot they decide one way or the other? Let them even say that they are not prepared to give reforms just now. But every time the answer is "The matter is under the consideration of Government. The issues are so grave." We all know that. The only conclusion that we can therefore come to is that the Government are at the present time on account of those issues not prepared to grant the reforms. Say that plainly, and then the Muhammadans and the Hindus will know how to proceed further, and what to do. But you keep them both on the string. Once you try to get the Hindu flunkies to your side, and at another time the Muhammadan flunkies, and you keep them both fighting together like birds of prey. That is the position of the Government. My friend has asked the Mover to refer to members on this side for an answer to his motion, that is very clever of him. I may tell him that in the All-Parties Conference matters have advanced considerably. There was nobody there, as my friend Dr. Moonje will tell you, who was opposed to the reforms being introduced in the North-West Frontier Province. The only question was whether it was to be done immediately or after the province had been put on the same level with other provinces in the matter of its Judicial and Executive Administration. That was the position. All these outstanding questions could be settled to-day if we were sure that Government would accept our decision. Our uncertainties, our quarrels are due to the uncertainty of Government accepting our decision. Even now the Honourable the Foreign Secretary is very wise or very diplomatic or very clever in saying that the decisions arrived at will not be turned down lightly. Who is going to be sure of that word "Lightly". Are we to decide that or you? Will you give us an assurance that you will accept any decision which the All-India Muhammadan and Hindu associations arrive at, and carry it through? Give us that promise, and we will settle that question in no time. That is my second reply to the Honourable the Home Member. We do not know what view the Government is going to take, and therefore the Muhammadans and Hindus continue to keep

apart. But if we were left to ourselves, a decision would be arrived at in no time. We cannot decide all these pending questions finally, because we are not certain what view the Government would take of the matter. The position of the Government is regrettable.

I wish to say another thing, and that is that, so far as the administration of the Frontier Province is concerned, it is a rotten administration, rotten to the core. The vernacular Press of both provinces says that it is a lawless province, and certainly there cannot be any other name for it. It is a province from which anybody can be turned out or prevented from entering it for no reason. The people are sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment without a judicial finding. It is certainly not entitled to be called a province in which the law is administered. If after 75 years of administration the North-West Frontier Province is not in a position to-day to administer the ordinary laws of the country, is not in a position to adopt judicial procedure in its dealings with its residents, I submit that administration is an administration that is entitled to be swept away.

I want to say one thing more to Sir Abdul Qaiyum. The responsibility rests mostly on him. As long as he continues his present attitude of siding with Government and saying things in praise of the administration of the North-West Frontier Province, he will never get any reforms in that province. The way to get reforms is to point out the mistakes of the administration and to show that the administration is rotten, backward and lawless. Let him join hands with his Hindu countrymen and present a unanimous front to get the administration reformed and changed. I would ask my friend to come over to this side of the House and join hands with us, and then he will get reforms sooner instead of making out that he has got nothing to say against the administration. If he has nothing to say against the administration, then why harp on this string every time, and still go on voting in the Government Lobby every time, even when we ask him to vote for the leadership of Indians at Geneva? That is not the way to get reforms. He is no doubt a very shrewd man and knows which side his bread is buttered. (Laughter). But I would beg of him on the floor of this House to give up that attitude, that subsidiary attitude towards the Government, voting in season and out of season for them and supporting their administration. Sir, he does not say, he has not had the courage to say, but I say that the administration in the North-West Frontier Province is carried on no principles and should be changed, should be improved or swept away. He should use stronger language because he said just now that he knew the conditions and his people suffered therefrom. But when he continues to adopt that sort of *non possumus* attitude, that attitude of super-loyalty, he will never get anything out of the Government.

Now I want to say one word more. The other day, Sir, I proposed a cut to which objection was taken by my Honourable friend Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan. I have great respect for him, and even though he used a very discourteous term about me I never took any offence because I am sure he never meant any. I proposed that cut for two objects and I want to explain them. Firstly, I wanted to tell my Hindu countrymen in the North-West Frontier Province that the administration of the Province even at the present moment was practically a Muhammadan administration and that they would not suffer by any change. Take the lists of different departments in that Province. I have twelve

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such lists in my hand which show that the Hindus have been completely eliminated from the officer ranks of these departments, including the Education Department. Even in the Education Department there is not a single Hindu officer. No body can say that Hindus are not fit to serve in the Education Department as inspecting officers, etc. It is a predominantly Muhammadan province, and we do not object to Muhammadans taking a larger share. That is not a point on which I wanted to raise the communal questions. When I raised that point I wanted to point out that the Government was doing practically nothing for the Hindus in that province and that the Hindu population had no ground to be grateful to them or my other object was to point out to my Moslem friends that there was another side also. Really speaking there is no security either of property or of person for the Hindus in that province. What happened at Kohat, Dehra Ismail Khan and other places is conclusive evidence if any was needed on that point. Judging from the reports which appear in the newspapers, almost every day, the condition of Hindus in the villages and in the smaller towns is such that they are being crushed into atoms by the absolutely irresponsible administration of that province and by irresponsible Muhammadans. They have therefore nothing to fear from an exclusively Muhammadan administration. I think a Muhammadan administration will under no circumstances be worse for them than the present British administration. The Hindus and Muhammadans of the North-West Frontier Province ought to take lessons from their past. They ought to join hands and make a united demand. They ought to sit down together at a table and draw up a scheme for the better government and administration of their province and put it before the public as a united demand. They will then have the sympathy of all India, and they will carry it—it may not be in six months or a year but in a very short time. But as long as they continue their present attitude—Hindus showing gratitude to Government for their houses being looted or burnt down and Muhammadans going over to the Government and saying “This Government is admirable”—I say you will get nothing. You have to point out the defects of the present system and demand improvement. That is my attitude towards this question, and I wish and hope that all Hindus will adopt the same attitude.

Mr. C. S. Banga Iyer: Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the Nationalists party has given expression to the opinion of a large number of Hindus who also have a communal view point. Sir, I welcome from this side of the House the observations that he made. I believe there may be others who might speak on that subject, but some of those Responsivists who owe a great allegiance to Lokmanya Tilak have risen to the expectations which the Lokmanya had of them. Sir, it was in the Lucknow Congress when the Lucknow Pact was signed that Lokmanya Tilak said, “the Government are in the habit of saying that the mild Hindu is not fit for reforms, that the mild Hindu is not fit for Swaraj.” Then he said “if the Hindus are not fit for reforms, fit for Swaraj, give it to the Muhammadans.” He knew how to take it from the Muhammadans. Even so I say if the Hindus down in the plains are mild people, incompetent people, men who are not hardy and sturdy to fight for their country or defend themselves, I say give Swaraj to the Frontier people. You cannot bring the charge of physical incompetence or military unfitness against the Frontier people.

Sir, one question, that is put to an Indian Statesman who goes to England, from His Majesty downwards, the question that is put from the Prime Minister downwards, from the Secretary of State down to the official Opposition in the House of Commons, is this: "Are you fit to defend yourselves? Without home defence how can you have home rule"? So long as you do not give the Frontier people a chance of defending themselves, so long as you do not give them a chance of working their own administration, so long will the charge be hurled against us, the charge of our not being able to defend ourselves and so long will the Frontier Province be maintained in a state of warfare.

Sir, it is a fact that the British Empire, that Great Britain is sending its soldiers to this country to make them fit, to keep them in a ready state for regular, steady warfare. And this Frontier Province—the secret of which my Honourable friend the nominated Member was willing to brood over but unwilling to disclose, the secret of it is this: The Frontier Province has got to be kept in that condition not only for the maintenance of the British Raj in India, but also for the upkeep of the British Empire—the only Empire, Sir, as Mr. H. G. Wells, a great Englishman, remarked, in which Hohen Zollernism prevails. Banished from Prussia it has taken its refuge in England; and it is this Prussianism which is responsible for their persistence in the Frontier policy.

Sir, the Honourable the nominated Member from the Frontier Province said there was another consideration and he was unwilling to mention what that consideration was. I could guess what it was and I am prepared to mention it. If I am wrong I am sure the Honourable Sir Denys Bray, for whom personally I have the highest admiration, will correct me. Sir, it was a part of the ambition of the British Empire to have another Empire between Great Britain and India, the British Empire in the Middle East. The exact designation of that Empire, for the present, escapes me.

Sir Denys Bray: I very willingly contradict him, Sir.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Well, the Honourable the Foreign Secretary has contradicted that statement. Possibly that idea has become a forgotten dream since he rose to power in the Foreign Department, but I must mention the dream that was and the dream that might be again. Sir, representatives of the Government—here again I would ask the Honourable Member to correct me if I am wrong—went on an enquiry almost into the middle of Asia, and they were also thinking of Persia in decay and as Afghanistan was not independent there was a chance of establishing a central Asian Empire of Britain. I think the Honourable Member is right. Afghanistan has since effected her independence . . .

Sir Denys Bray: Sir, I rise to a point of order—not that I do not want to contradict him also as I did before; I rise to a point of order. He appears to me to be trespassing on very dangerous ground outside the purview of this House; and having said that I would say again that I contradict his underlying idea absolutely.

Mr. Deputy President: Perhaps he is trespassing on dangerous ground on his own responsibility.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Thank you, Sir. I am afraid the motion is very dangerous. The very mention of an idea makes my friend panicky. I do not mind his taking up that attitude. I know Afghanistan is independent and I know that they want a permanent buffer between Afghanistan and India. But what I really want is what the Honourable the Foreign Secretary said in the last sentence of his speech. We want Indian civilisation to go to the farthest verge of India and not to stop somewhere in the neighbourhood of that verge; and if the reforms are not introduced,—and the reforms are not part of Indian civilisation I admit—Swaraj is part of Indian civilisation;—if the reforms are not introduced, I will ask the Foreign Secretary to take steps to introduce Swaraj in the Frontier Province. If they are not willing to give Swaraj to India, let them give Swaraj to the Frontier Province. I am unwilling to be swayed by imperial considerations. The Empire is of no use to us. So far as national considerations are concerned I am not afraid of an invasion from outside. I am not afraid of a Russian invasion because Russia has got to rehabilitate herself. She has not yet found herself; she is organising herself and finding herself; and until she is able to stand on her own legs and develop her own resources, there is no danger of a Russian invasion. At present it is only a bogey and a threat. I do not fear an invasion from Afghanistan. I know the Amir of Afghanistan is touring in Europe. I know that he is coming into contact with European powers to modernise his army; but he is doing it in sheer self-defence; and I suppose because a neighbouring Government is making itself fit for modern warfare the argument of the Honourable Member is strengthened, “Oh it is too dangerous to mention.” Yes, it would be dangerous, it would be unthinkable Swaraj or reforms for the Frontier Province would be inconceivable from the Government’s point of view because they want to perpetuate the present state of affairs. Therefore, I would ask the Honourable Nominated Member of the North-West Frontier Province to fling his nomination in the face of the Government and go back to the Frontier Province and organise them for reforms as we are organising India. The reforms did not come down to us as an airy fairy thing. The reforms did not come sailing on the wind; we got these reforms by action. Let him practise it in his own province and he will have more reforms than he will get by Resolutions or speeches.

I wish to quote an authority on the policy which is pursued in the Frontier Province. It is this:

“It is superfluous to say that more or less the military policy held its ascendancy during the Viceroyalty of Lords Lansdowne and Elgin. There was the Kashmir imbroglio and the subsequent occupation of Gilgit. Hunza and Nahyar. The Chitral expedition followed and later on the inglorious expedition to Tirah. All these were the fruitful products of that ascendancy. But the policy became exceedingly mischievous during the masterful and strenuous Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. No Viceroy came to India more steeped in the reddest of red Imperialism than he. It eventually led to the so-called peaceful expedition to Lhasa.”

and so on, and so forth. Sir, here is an idea which is, I believe right. (*An Honourable Member:* “What is that book? Is it ‘Mother India’?”) It is a very good book. It is a book which contains the speeches of a gentleman who is one of the pillars of the British Empire—Sir Dinshaw Wacha. (Laughter). It is also the speech of a gentleman who is supposed by the other side to be an authority on finance and matters of that kind, and it is a speech that contradicts the contradiction of the Honourable the

Foreign Secretary. I admire the ability with which he has tried always not to show us the right side of the shield. He accused us of a conspiracy of silence. I do not accuse him of a conspiracy of any kind. His is the genius of rhetoric and literary power which makes him deliver a beautiful speech, but after hearing which you do not know where you are. (Laughter). He may perhaps feel like Jeremy Bentham,—“Stretching his hands to catch the stars, man forgets the flowers at his feet” the flowers of rhetoric, the flowers of poetry, the flowers of speech, admirable to listen to, but thus far and no further.

***Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Sahab Bahadur:** Sir, inasmuch as a very strong case has been made out by the previous speakers, I shall try and be as brief as possible. The Mover of the motion, my Honourable friend, Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, moved it very ably and he dwelt upon all points very efficiently, and he was supported by the three speakers who followed. So far as I am concerned, Sir, I have to meet the argument put forward by my Honourable friend, Sir Denys Bray. He said that out of diplomacy they have to maintain this policy of non-introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province. What I would say to him is that we do not want European diplomacy; we want Indian straight-forwardness and simplicity. Diplomacy has proved disastrous to the cause of India; we do not want such diplomacy.

Then he dwelt upon another aspect of the question and said that it is an all-India question and so it should be handled very cautiously and very delicately. Sir, because it is of all-India importance, it is all the more necessary that reforms should be introduced in that province. When provinces of minor importance have reforms granted to them, I do not see any justification for not granting reforms to a province like the North-West Frontier Province which is declared as a very important province

Lieut-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): What about the Moplahs?

Mr. Deputy President: Order, order. Maulvi Murtuza Sahib.

Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Sahab Bahadur: I am sorry, Sir, that Colonel Gidney has given up his bravery as a military officer; as a military man he ought to admire the Moplahs. When I say that he ought to have admired the Moplahs I do not defend the Moplahs in the wrong and erroneous way in which they attacked; but there is bravery in them and Colonel Gidney also is expected to give full vent to his bravery and come forward to help in this cause. But I dare say he is simply a doctor (Laughter) and as such he ought to have diagnosed this thing properly. He has failed to do that

Mr. Deputy President: Leave him alone; you go on with your speech.

Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Sahab Bahadur: Sir, I am sorry I was unnecessarily dragged into it. I started my speech by saying that I would be brief. But now I will simply quote one Persian saying to this effect. We are in Delhi and yet the Government wants to assure us that “*Hinoz Dilli dur ast*” which means this. To those who are in Delhi they say that Delhi is far away. Now, Sir, this question was debated upon here, and there were so many meetings held in the North-West Frontier Province and these meetings were attended by 20,000 and 25,000 people, and they put forward their case very ably and very cogently, and this is the

* [Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur.]

only case, Sir, so far as I know, in the history of this Assembly in which the Government had not the courage not only to challenge a division but in which the official Members, except the Members of the Executive Council, were permitted to vote as they liked. That was the fate of the Resolution when I moved it. Can my friend the Foreign Secretary say that he has changed his mind now, when he came forward to support my Resolution when I moved it on the last occasion? And to-day I do not see any reason why he should not support us. I hope, Sir, he will vote along with us just as he supported us on the last occasion. Now, Sir, he himself has strengthened the hands of the Mover and the supporter in one way by quoting some figures. He said that five years ago the state of affairs in the Frontier Province were not so good as they are at present, and that matters have now improved. Under such circumstances I do not see any reason why he should not vote along with us, and I would appeal to the Government to support us so that we may carry this cut unanimously.

The Honourable Mr. J. Crierar (Home Member): Sir, my purpose in intervening in this debate is a very limited one. Sir Denys Bray has spoken with an ability and with an authority based upon an intimate personal experience of the problems before the House to which I cannot lay any claim. It is not my purpose, therefore, to add to what he has said. I only wish to say a few words with regard to something which fell from my friend Lala Lajpat Rai. He suggested that I used disparaging language in referring to the proceedings of certain conferences which were addressing themselves to the problems before the country. I wish to say at once that I had no intention whatever to disparage their efforts in this matter. I made that perfectly clear in speaking on an earlier debate on the subject that I acknowledged the sincerity and the earnestness of motive by which inquiries of that character had been carried on. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya speaking on the same subject used language with which I had a great deal of sympathy and the justice of which I largely appreciated. He spoke of the great gravity of those problems, he spoke of their intricacy, he spoke of the fact that the conferences to which he was referring had to carry on their labours under great disadvantages, that they had not in particular many of the resources which a Government engaged in similar inquiries would have behind them. Now, Sir, all those contentions I fully appreciate. My only purpose was to point out that, so far as we were aware, no definite success has yet been attained. If a greater success has been attained than we and the public are aware of, no one will be more gratified than myself. Pandit Malaviya spoke of the fact that those who were engaged in this inquiry to a large extent moved in the dark. My only purpose then was, and my only purpose now is, to suggest that there are means of having light thrown upon those subjects. There are means of supplementing inquiries by other inquiries equipped with greater resources than those to which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya referred. My only purpose now, therefore, is to repeat that I had no intention of disparaging those inquiries. Indeed, on this particular occasion, I am compelled to acknowledge that, owing to the extraordinary intricacy, the extraordinary gravity of the questions which are before the House in this motion, we ourselves have not as yet been able to arrive at any final conclusion, and I should be the last to attempt to contend that similar contentions raised by Honourable Members in another context are not worthy of respect and consideration.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhamnadan Urban): I have listened, Sir, to the speech of my friend Sir Denys Bray once more on this question after a year, and I must say that it was a tragic one. It was a wonderful piece of prose from beginning to end. But one question in which this House is so vitally interested has not been answered, and that is, is there any chance of this House knowing when this question, which has been under your consideration for the last 5 years and more, is likely to be settled finally and whether a decision is likely to be announced at all? To that question there has been no answer as was the case a year ago in the debate.

Sir, I may have my faith shaken in the Government. My Honourable friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum may not have his faith shaken in the Government, but I can tell him one thing, that my faith still remains bright, firm and strong in my own people. That is the first thing that you have got to make up your mind about. Have you faith in your own people or not? Sir Abdul Qaiyum said that he would be satisfied with any kind of reforms. He said, after all, what is the good of a Council Government? But I do not agree with him. Sir, the struggle that the whole of India is making and the North-West Frontier Province is making, is not merely for the purpose of getting a little reform here and a little reform there. But what we are striving for is that there must be at any rate a beginning made in the North-West Frontier Province at once; even the small beginning which was recommended by the Bray Committee in 1922 will satisfy us, but I understand the Honourable Member, Sir Denys Bray, who sits here as representing Government, treats that Report as a scrap of paper

Sir Denys Bray: No, Sir.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You have treated it as a scrap of paper.

Sir Denys Brays: No, Sir.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You stand here and keep telling us that the matter is under consideration. I say that is an attitude which is least creditable to any responsible Government. You appointed your Committee, of which the Honourable Sir Denys Bray was the Chairman; there was a majority report, and that report up to the present moment, I repeat, is treated as a scrap of paper by Government.

Sir Denys Bray: No, Sir.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I say, Sir, it is for this House to decide and express its opinion whether the statement which Sir Denys Bray makes is true. What have you done? Sitting on it.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Considering, hatching.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What is really the good of saying that the matter is under consideration? And, Sir, whenever the Government want to find an excuse to throw the blame on somebody else and shelve the matter because it does not suit them, they will readily pounce upon any excuse. The Government say this is the most formidable difficulty in our way. What is it? The Hindus are opposing it. Suddenly, Sir, the Government develops a particular kind of affection or love for the Hindus and their feelings and their sentiments.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Especially for Lala Lajpat Rai.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: And especially for my friend, Lala Lajpat Rai. I know Dr. Moonje will feel jealous of him. And, Sir, to the Muhammadans the Government says: "Well, we are your friends, we want to do everything we can, but these wicked Hindus are creating all the difficulties." And the Muhammadans readily believe it and my Honourable friend still has his faith in the Government, and he still keeps voting in the Government lobby every time. But, Sir, at any rate I hope to-day he will vote against the Government. Sir, it will be a record day, if he walks into the lobby with us. But, Sir, what is more, this bogey which has been trotted out and which was held up as the most formidable difficulty in the way of the Government giving effect to the recommendations of the Bray Committee, which is under consideration still, is now exploded, and I am very glad to say it has been exploded for the speech of my friend Lala Lajpat Rai. I think we learn these things, surely, if slowly. My Hindu friends have realised and my Muhammadan friends have realised now that this is the old old game which is continued with a certain amount of success. But, Sir, do not play this game. The sooner you give it up, the better it is in your interests and in our interests. Let us get to the issue itself. Let us deal with every question on its merits, and we know perfectly well, Sir, that in this country at any rate there are three parties, not to talk about the fourth party discovered recently by the Home Member, and these three parties which are interested in the future progress and the welfare of this country are the Hindus and the Muhammadans and the British. And it is no use your putting difficulties in the way of the progress of this country; and the sooner you realise this the better. You must make up your mind to help them, to let them co-ordinate, let them harmonise, and not play one against the other. Sir, now to-day what is the answer that is given by the Government? The answer is a very simple one. The matter is under consideration. Sir Denys Bray gave various statements of facts with which I have no quarrel as to what little improvements have been made in education and the establishment of hospitals and roads, and so on, and so forth. Sir, all these platitudes do not touch the issue. The simple question is this. We have got no answer from the Government, and there is no further argument that I have heard from Sir Denys Bray or from the Home Member which in any way has been put forward before this House to justify the delay in giving effect to the recommendations of the Bray Committee. Sir, I do sympathise with Sir Denys Bray because, as he himself said, his credit has been shattered, and I entirely agree with him, it is not only shattered but it is buried. And therefore he took shelter under the announcement which was made by Sir Alexander Muddiman, the late Home Member, who in effect said that the matter will receive consideration. To-day we had the honour of listening to the Home Member. The Home Member discussed entirely a different issue altogether and gave us no light or lead on the real issue before the House. Sir, is that the reason why the Home Member spoke on this debate, merely to discuss entirely extraneous matters? I ask those who represent the Government of India: What is your answer? Still under consideration. I suppose the Home Member and Sir Denys Bray at least have shown the courtesy to this House which in another place was not shown by the Under Secretary of State for India when a question was asked whether he could give a probable date when the executive and the judiciary would be separated. He said the matter was under consideration when he was reminded that a similar answer had been given 9 months ago, he said it might be before the end of the century. I take it

that that is what Sir Denys Bray means, that the decision will be announced to this House some time before the end of the century. I congratulate him, Sir, on making the speech that he has made, and the answer that he has given.

Mr. Deputy President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'North-West Frontier Province' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was adopted.

Necessity of strengthening the judiciary.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Sir, the motion which stands in my name runs as follows:—

"That the Demand under the head 'North-West Frontier Province—Account VI—Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

We have discussed frontier matters, Sir, at such length that I do not propose to take much time of the House on this motion. All that I want to say is, Sir, that the Judiciary of the province is weak and very much understaffed. Though I may be accused of partiality, yet I do not want to bring in the question of the efficiency or inefficiency of the existing paid staff. I do not want to touch that. Personally I believe that our judicial officers as man to man, are not inefficient as compared with the judicial officers of other Provinces. But what I want to say is this, Sir, that they are very few and that this staff has to be supplemented by honorary workers. Honorary Magistrates, Honorary Munsiffs and also by Honorary Benches, with criminal and civil powers. From time to time additional Sessions Judges are appointed in the Peshawar and Derajat Divisions. Some of them are there for the past several years and still they are not brought on to the permanent cadre. If additional Sessions Judges are working in Peshawar for years, I do not know why they should not be brought on to the permanent cadre of the province. I mean that there are occasionally several additional Sessions Judges, in Peshawar, besides the one permanently stationed there. At one time there were as many as three. I think to cope with the heavy work and at present an honorary Sessions Judge has been working there to clear up the arrears of civil appeals. I do not know why economy should come into this particular department, the judiciary. Then, Sir, lower civil courts are very scarce in the province. To take an instance, the Munsiff's court at Mardan is 40 miles from my village and about 50 miles from the extreme border village in the Peshawar district, and a poor litigant with a claim say of Rs. 5 will, in the ordinary course, have to go to Mardan to lodge a suit in that court and the expenses to which he is put generally makes him give up his claim rather than go and lodge his suit at Mardan. The Sub-divisional Officers all over the Peshawar district and in several other districts of the province have been given full judicial powers. If the Deputy Commissioner of the district is not capable of coping with his judicial work and is entrusting that judicial work to the Sub-divisional Officers who are full of executive work and who can scarcely find time to devote to judicial work, it will be only in the fitness of things if additional judicial officers are appointed in each Sub-division. Sir, this is not the only feature of the situation. As I mentioned on the other motion, the Frontier

[Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.]

Crimes Regulation is given a good deal of the judicial work and it will not be out of place if I say that it is in order to relieve the congestion in judicial courts that this Regulation is not infrequently resorted to. The procedure under that Regulation is very simple, and a judicial officer, in order to relieve himself of the complexities of the ordinary law generally orders the case to be referred to a Council of Elders to be dealt with under the Frontier Crimes Regulation. If we have a strong judiciary not very much overworked, perhaps they will be able to devote more time to these cases on the judicial side and not take the easier course of referring them to *jirgas*. Sir, I am not at all condemning the Frontier Crimes Regulation. It has got certain very useful sections in it. It is meant to relieve a good many complexities of the law, and if it is only properly used, I should think it can serve a very useful purpose. The two sections which deal with civil and criminal cases are sections 8 and 11 of the Regulation. In the former case the section says that if a dispute between parties is likely to lead to bloodshed or tribal troubles, as it used to do in olden days, the case may be referred to a Council of Elders for decision, rather than be dealt with in a court of law. Similarly, section 11 says that if it is expedient that the guilt or innocence of an accused be referred to a *jirga*, the Deputy Commissioner or the Commissioner may order the same to be referred to a *jirga*. In spite of the spirit of these two sections, cases in which there is no likelihood of bloodshed or cases in which there is no expediency involved except the pressure of work, are referred to *jirgas*. I can see the reference of a civil suit under section 8 to a *jirga* if it concerns common property belonging to a large number of clansmen or when it is about some woman case or some other tribal matter. But why should cases of a small loan or other petty cases be referred for disposal to these *jirgas*? Why should not a man like a Naib-Tahsildar or a second class Munsiff be appointed to dispose of these cases? Similarly, in criminal cases, if it is expedient from some tribal point of view or from some other important point of view to refer it, then it should go there. But if, as is often the case, there are cases, which can be quoted from records, in which magistrates say that the evidence is not strong enough or clear enough for a judicial conviction and the cases should therefore be referred to Councils of Elders, that, I say, Sir, is not right. It is unjust. It is not following the spirit of the law. The law was not meant for the reference of such cases to a *jirga*. But it is in these cases that section 11 is used. I would not deal with the matter at length. I only want to refer to these two sections. These sections, as now used, are only used for supplementing the judicial staff or for avoiding the procedure of the ordinary law. If I can find any reason for it, it is only this, that the judiciary is very understaffed and they have not the time to cope with their heavy work. So, the simpler law of the Frontier Crimes Regulation is brought into operation. I was told in reply to a question the other day, when I asked why honorary powers and such high class powers are given in such large numbers, that it had something to do with traditions not only in Asia but in Europe too. I recognise the strength of that argument. I do not grudge people the honour of possessing power as a sort of decoration or title or something of that sort. I have had the honour of possessing these powers for several years, but I have never exercised them because I thought it was not likely to give me a more comfortable life after my retirement and it was not going to do any good to the litigants either by relieving them of their worry or by doing away with their court-fees or reducing their other expenses. We are

paying the same court-fees or rather more than the Punjab, and I think we are paying the same revenue, and we are also paying all the other taxes at the same rate as in other parts of India, and why should our cases be dealt with in such a summary fashion by, I should call, hired people, honorary workers and magistrates for a day or a particular case in the case of *jirgas*? That is very unsatisfactory. As I have said, if it is an honour, let the honour be given in a different way. Let the honour be there, but the ordinary work and the actual exercise of the powers in the ordinary course should be done by paid servants. Let us see whether the numbers of these honorary workers and honorary munsiffs have increased since 1901, or even during the past eight years of the reforms. You will find that the numbers have gone up considerably, and that at present there are more honorary magistrates, with very great powers including honorary Sessions Judges, in that province than anywhere else in India. If this is really for the sake of economy, then I think it is a false economy and should not be resorted to. The judicial staff of the province should be strengthened, and if we have deprived the village communities of their powers of settling petty little cases in the village and if the Honorary Benches system has failed and if you do not provide them with magistrates and munsiffs with some powers near at home, you will only be depriving them of the assistance that should be given to them by the judiciary of the province. I must say once more that I do not object to the conferment of honorary powers on leading men. I do not grudge it. Let those powers be there, and, if necessary, let them be exercised for the settlement of disputes that the parties may like to be referred to the persons possessing such powers; but if you are going to introduce a sort of feudal system by the conferment of these powers on local leading men or chiefs, then the best thing is to fix some jurisdictional area for them and give them powers in that area so that they may exercise those powers more in the form of a hereditary right than to exercise them over people sent to their court from other parts of the province instead of sending these honorary magistrates to distant parts of the province to stay there as honorary workers and deal with cases coming to them from other parts of the province. That would be more in the fitness of things, if *izzat* and powers were to be given to local Khans.

Mr. Deputy President: Order, order. I would tell the Honourable Member that his time is already exhausted.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I will not say anything more, but I will say once more, most emphatically, that the judiciary and the judicial staff of the province is very understaffed, inadequate to cope with the hearing work of the province, and the sooner it is strengthened the better will it be not only for the poor litigants who are suffering, but also for Government, as the prompt and just decision of disputes is sure to reduce crime.

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 in the Chair.

Sir Denys Bray: Sir, in one way my Honourable friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum disappointed me. I hoped that in the course of a somewhat lengthy speech

[Sir Denys Bray.]

he might wander off the subject sufficiently to enable me to answer some of the slings and arrows that were hurled at me in the previous debate. Unfortunately he did not do so and I must confine myself therefore to the motion before me. Of his motion, I think I can make rather short work. Indeed I feel that his object is not so much to oppose me as to come to my support. He will have heard, I imagine, that judicial reforms in the North-West Frontier Province are actually on the anvil, that proposals have been received from the two Judicial Commissioners, have been examined by the Chief Commissioner and have been submitted to the Government. And I myself am only awaiting that sad day when the Session is over to proceed to the North-West Frontier Province and discuss the subject with the Judicial Commissioners and the Chief Commissioner. Not that I want him to understand that these reforms will give him full satisfaction, that they will meet all the arguments he adduced. That, I think, I should be rash in saying. But I do say this that they are of a fairly extensive character and if it is possible to put them into force they will bring great relief. At the same time, I felt, as I listened to my Honourable friend, that he was overstating his case. No one, for instance, in listening to his repeated reference to an honorary Sessions Judge could have imagined that the Sessions Judge in question is a retired officer from the Punjab who has been Sessions and Divisional Judge, I suppose, in the Punjab for a score of years—a highly qualified man whose services we are lucky to secure. Then again he referred to the scarcity of civil courts and pleaded, as I understood, the delay in proceedings in the North-West Frontier as a consequence. But the Civil Justice Committee had this to say on the subject of the Frontier Province:

“There is nothing to be said about this province in respect of delay, for there is no delay. The cases here are decided more speedily than anywhere else in India. * * * We do not suggest any alterations in the present system or procedure.”

My Honourable friend had remarks to make on the subject of the Frontier Crimes Regulation. On this subject I should like to quote an authority which was hurled at my head more than once this morning, an authority which on this particular subject at any rate I regard with the very greatest respect:

“To repeal its civil sections would be to inflict grave hardship on the Pathans who rely on them for a cheap and expeditious settlement of their disputes by a *jirga*—the Pathan equivalent of Panchayat—according to their ancient tribal custom. To repeal the criminal sections would be to undermine the forces of law and order and to deprive the Hindus in particular of one of their greatest safeguards in a land where passions are hot, blood feuds are endemic, legal evidence is exceedingly difficult to obtain and refuge from the arm of the law is close to hand across the border. To repeal the trans-frontier sections would be to paralyse our whole system of trans-frontier control.”

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Adopt all the recommendations contained in this valuable report.

Sir Denys Bray: I cannot derive anything from the interruption to which I have to answer.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Why do you attach so much importance to one part of the report, while you have not given effect to the other parts of the report for four or five years.

Sir Denys Bray: Personally I attach great importance to nearly every word in this report. In brief, I am myself personally grateful to my Honourable friend for his motion. After I return from the Frontier, having discussed matters with the Judicial Commissioner, it will strengthen me in my struggle, not unfortunately with Sir Basil Blackett, but with his successor. His successor may for all I know be the least hard-hearted man in the world. But my impression is that in such matters one Finance Member is very much like another.

Mr. President: Mr. Kabeer-ud-din Ahmed.

(Mr. K. Ahmed did not want to get up and speak.)

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Sir, in view of the explanation given by the Honourable Member of the possibility of his visiting the North-West Frontier Province and taking up this question, I beg leave to withdraw this motion.

Mr. President: Is it the pleasure of the House that leave be given to Sir Abdul Qaiyum to withdraw his motion.

(Cries of "No, no.")

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'North-West Frontier Province' be reduced by Rs. 100."

(While the division bell was ringing, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum rose and said: I do not know what was the fate of the former motion, Sir.)

Several Honourable Members: That was carried unanimously.

The Assembly divided:

AYES—53.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Abdullah Haji Kasim, Khan Bahadur
 Haji.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sesha.
 Badi-uz-Zaman, Maulvi.
 Belvi, Mr. D. V.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Iswar Saran, Munshi.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Joglah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
 Kanta.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.

Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Mitra, Mr. Satyendra Chandra.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Shafee, Maulvi Mohammad.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
 Siddiqi, Mr. Abdul Qadir.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Siddheswar.
 Tok Kyi, U.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Yusuf Imam, Mr.

NOES—44.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Nasir-ud-din.
 Alexander, Mr. William.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
 Bajpai, Mr. G. S.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Bray, Sir Denys.
 Chatterji, Rai Bahadur B. M.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.
 Couper, Mr. T.
 Courtenay, Mr. R. H.
 Crawford, Colonel J. D.
 Crerar, The Honourable Mr. J.
 Dakhan, Mr. W. M. P. Ghulam Kadir
 Khan.
 Dalal, Sardar Sir Bomanji.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.

Irwin, Mr. C. J.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Mukherjee, Mr. S. C.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rao, Mr. V. Pandurang.
 Row, Mr. K. Sanjiva.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Sams, Mr. H. A.
 Shamaldhari Lall, Mr.
 Shillidy, Mr. J. A.
 Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.
 Taylor, Mr. E. Gawan.
 Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was adopted.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Sir, I do not want to move my motion*. (Laughter.)

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 98,70,800 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1929, in respect of the 'North-West Frontier Province'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 38.—ARMY DEPARTMENT.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,71,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1929, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

Diwan Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 5,70,000." (For obvious reasons.)

Sir Walter Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): On a point of order, Sir. If the reasons are obvious, need the Honourable Member address us?

An Honourable Member: There is no point of order in it.

*That the Demand under the head "North-West Frontier Province—Account XII Education"—he reduced by Re 1. (Inadequacy of facilities for higher education in the North-West Frontier Province.)

Diwan Chaman Lall: I take it that the obvious is not obvious to my Honourable friend Sir Walter Willson. (Laughter).

I am sorry to find that to-day we shall not have the privilege of seeing His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in this House to listen to this debate. On the last occasion, when I moved a similar cut last year, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was in his seat and it was in the fitness of things that he should have been there; but I am sorry that to-day His Excellency is not present to listen to the debate on this very important question. No doubt His Excellency may have reasons of his own for not being present. I personally should have liked His Excellency to be present in the House on the occasion of this debate.

Now, Sir, what are the reasons for which I move this cut?

An Honourable Member: They are obvious.

Diwan Chaman Lall: The reasons, as Colonel Gidney says, are obvious.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I did not say it; somebody else said it.

Diwan Chaman Lall: At any rate they are very obvious to my friend Colonel Gidney and I hope he will support me in my demand that I am making before the House. Now, Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief speaking in this House last year on a similar occasion said: "There is a saying: 'Happy is the nation that has no history'." May I paraphrase that and say "Happy is the nation which has no army", and I wish that nation were India, because I find that out of every Rs. 2/6 that is collected for the revenues from the tax-payer in this country over one rupee goes for military expenditure. I do not know, as I said on the last occasion, of any parallel in the history of modern times of any nation which spends as much money as that on purely defensive measures and that too in peace time. Sir, we have urged time and again that military expenditure should be reduced. We have had a Retrenchment Committee and great play has been made with the recommendations of that Committee. It has been said that that Committee recommended that the expenditure should come down to 57 crores and that steps should be taken if prices fall to bring it down to 50 crores. Now, Sir, what do I find in the expenditure for this year? I find that the only reduction in the military budget happens to be the reduction in the size of this volume which has been brought down to an octavo. That is the only reduction I find in the Military Department this year. It is stated that the military expenditure in this country is going to be 55 crores. I take it that there are various other items which have not been taken into consideration. I want to refer to just one or two. We must, in reckoning military expenditure, take into consideration the loss that this country incurs in the matter of strategic railways. There is a loss this year of nearly two crores, certainly over one and a half crores. Then we have the case of the Bombay Reclamation Scheme. Two crores are to be spent on that scheme. That also should have been taken into account. Then we have the expenditure on Watch and Ward in the North-West Frontier Province which, I take it, is of a purely military character which amounts again to five lakhs. So that in reality we have a military budget of somewhere near 60 crores out of a total revenue of 138 crores. Now I leave it to the mathematicians in this House to reckon the percentage of expenditure for the Army in relation to our income.

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It comes to somewhere about 47 per cent. of our total revenue. I consider that that is an expenditure which is not warranted by the income of this country, not warranted by the lack of prosperity of this country, not warranted by the political or military situation in the country. Now, Sir, take the case of Canada. Canada has a frontier which has to be defended, but what do we find in Canada? We find in Canada the position is that the expenditure for defence, both naval, air, and land defence, is not more than four crores. The expenditure for Australia, which also has got to be defended because of the possibility of naval attacks, say, from Japan, the expenditure is not more than four crores or somewhere between four and five crores, all defences included. And yet India has got to be the milch cow of the British Empire. In India, the expenditure is 60 crores in a revenue budget of 133 crores. In my opinion it is a criminal thing for the Government of India to-day to keep up the military expenditure at such a high level. What do we find in 1911? This country was spending 33 crores. In 1910 we were spending 28.66 crores for our military defence; but in 1918 we jumped to 70 crores; in 1920 we jumped to 91 crores, in 1921 to 94 crores. Then it was gradually brought down to 77 and 71 crores until we come to the present figure of 55 crores or in reality 60 crores. Now, Sir, I would like to know what justification there is for this military expenditure. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his very able speech—because for the first time His Excellency was in touch with reality as he was not in touch with reality on the last occasion—has gone at great length into the discussion about military expenditure and tried to make out that the Army is really a nation-building department and that all that expenditure is justified. But I do not find one word in his speech, not one word in the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief which touches the real problem, the real problem being that this military expenditure for the Army in India is dictated purely for Imperial reasons and by Imperial exigencies; it is not dictated by any desire to secure the frontiers of India against foreign aggression. If my learned friends challenge me in regard to

3 P.M. that statement I am quite prepared to substantiate that statement. They ought to know their own history. They will find that it was not so very long ago—several years ago no doubt; but the policy was the same, a policy, namely, that India must provide an army which must be not only on a peace footing, but always on a war footing, because at any time the Indian Army may be called upon to serve the needs and purposes of Great Britain in every centre of the world—that the Government of India protested. Now, what do we find? This is an extract that I am going to read from a despatch sent by the Government of India to the Secretary of State:

"Millions of money have been spent on increasing the Army in India, on armaments and on fortifications to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies, or to prevent the incursions of the warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all those great and costly measures which is far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is an Imperial policy. We claim, therefore,"

—this is the Government of India when it was more liberal than it happens to be to-day—

"that in the maintenance of British forces in this country a just and even liberal view should be taken of the charges which should be legitimately made against Indian revenues."

Now, Sir, that was the protest made by the Government of India at a time when the expenditure for military purposes was probably not more than 14 crores. What are we to say about the Government of India to-day, when that expenditure has mounted from 14 to nearly 60 crores? Is there any word of protest made against this policy of keeping a huge Army in India serving the purposes of Great Britain? Not one word is said by the Government of India on the subject, and it is left to us, representatives of the people in this House, to make all necessary protests in this behalf. Now, Sir, I find that the policy, as I take it, is a policy, pure and simple, of keeping a huge standing army in this country, not only for the purpose of keeping down the people of India in order to bolster up the Government of Great Britain in India by the force of bayonets, but a policy which means that at any future time the Indian Army can be used for extra-territorial purposes which are not Indian in character at all but Imperial in character. If that is the policy, I submit that no Indian representative of the people will be in a position honestly to vote for the Government in support of that policy. No Indian with any self-respect ought to be found voting and siding with the Government on an issue of this magnitude because it means merely that you are taking the bread out of the mouth of the hungry people of this country in order to support your own schemes, which are Imperial schemes. It is no benefit to India but it is a benefit to the British Empire which dictates the military policy of this country. I am sorry to use that expression; but it is the truth; and if any man gets up and says on the floor of this House that it is not the truth, I would like him to substantiate that statement. Here we have the verdict of the Government of India themselves; we have the verdict of men like Sir Dinshaw Wacha, one of the greatest unofficial experts on military finance that we have in this country, and we have the verdict of many public men on this subject, that the Government of India are utilising our resources not for the benefit of the people of India but for the benefit of Great Britain.

What, then, Sir, is the real explanation of this huge military expenditure in this country? What is the basis of it? The basis can be seen when the Leader of the House, Pandit Motilal Nehru, got up the other day and referred to Soviet Russia and said that Soviet Russia had increased her military expenditure by 50 per cent. because of the great fear that Soviet Russia had of the designs of Great Britain and certain other Powers against her. I read in the newspapers—I happened not to be here on that occasion—that Honourable Members opposite raised a laugh when that explanation was given. I want to ask Honourable Members opposite, is it or is it not a fact that that is the fear working in the minds of Soviet Russia? Is it not a fact, Sir, that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief himself has on more than one occasion referred to that danger—what he called the danger of a Russian invasion? Is it not a fact? If that is so, I submit that it is obvious that if Soviet Russia has increased her armaments, she has increased them because she is afraid of the circle of hostile nations surrounding her. But what danger is there from Soviet Russia to us, which should force us to keep a huge standing army in this country? Is it not a fact, as I have already stated on the floor of this House, that the most pacific country to-day is Soviet Russia? Is it not a fact that Soviet Russia,

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apart from her propaganda work with which I am not concerned here, is the only country which has honoured her pledges in regard to self-determination of other subject nationalities? Can Honourable Members representing the British Government over there say that Great Britain has honoured her pledges in regard to the self-determination of subject nationalities? Take the case of Persia. What did Soviet Russia do with Persia? They cleared out of Persia. Take the case of Afghanistan. What have they done in Afghanistan? Are they menacing Afghanistan? Is Afghanistan at the mercy of Soviet Russia? And if Soviet Russia was a great danger, would not Afghanistan have been wiped out by Soviet Russia? I want to ask Honourable Members, are they merely keeping this bogey before us in order that they should frighten us into giving them enough money to keep a huge standing army in India? I say that under the circumstances we, who know something about national and international affairs, are not going to be misled by this bogey that is dangled before us.

Sir, there is not much more that I want to say in regard to this expenditure, except merely this, to draw the attention of Honourable Members to the brief details of it. We have now 8 crores which we are paying out in pensions; we have 19½ crores which we are paying for the maintenance of the Army; over 7 crores we are paying for the administrative services; over 2 crores for Army Headquarters staff, etc. And we are paying 2½ crores for hill stations, conservancy and anti-malarial charges. When His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief referred to these charges, he said that 2 lakhs were spent on anti-malarial work and 17 lakhs on sanitation, leaving about 2½ crores for providing the men—the British soldiers of course—with hill stations. The Indian soldier does not matter much—he can rot in the plains; but it is the British soldier who has got to go to the hills; and every British soldier costs four times as much as the Indian soldier. (*An Honourable Member*: “Seven times”.) I am giving slightly older figures; it may be that it is six or seven times; but certainly he used to cost four times as much; if it is seven times then my argument is still more fortified. What we ask is this: Will you or will you not look at it from this point of view, that the demand in India is that the Indian Army should be a national Indian Army? How are you going to get about achieving this end? There are two ways of achieving it. One was suggested by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, when he sat on the Sandhurst Committee and the members of that Committee supported him in his demand. The other is to be found in the system which is in vogue in Australia where you have a national citizen army with a very small standing army, where every citizen is trained to be a soldier. But you will not trust the people of India; and how can we expect you, when you will not trust us, to hand over the national army to us by adopting the same system as in Australia? You will not do it. And you will not do the other thing that my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah has asked you to do, that is, to Indianise the Army within a period of a certain number of years.

What is it that we get under the scheme that was announced by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief? Out of 6,998 British commissioned officers that we have now, we are going to get the great advantage of 10 more Indians than we have got at present. There are

nearly 7,000 officers now in the Army. We get a right to have 10 more Indians as officers holding the King's commissions, and we are going to get five more of the Viceroy's commissioned officers. Working on that basis, it is going to take in the one case 350 years to Indianise the officer cadre in this country and in the other case it is going to take 483 years to Indianise the officer cadre in this country; and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief says this is the great boon of Indianisation that we are going to receive in this country. Is this Indianisation? This is not Indianisation. This is throwing dust in the eyes of the public. This is admittedly done in pursuance of a policy which is dictated, not by the Government of India or by the people of India, but by the War Office. As is well-known, from the year 1858 the Indian Army has been a mere adjunct of the Army of Great Britain. After the amalgamation scheme of 1858 it became but a force standing to the dictates of Great Britain and of the War Office. Are we going to pursue that policy in the future or are we going to demand a clear-cut policy from the Government—a clear-cut policy which means that as soon as possible the Indian Army must be Indianised? One thing that was asked for you are not going to give us, namely, the Indian Sandhurst. You do not want to give us that. Canada has got a Sandhurst of its own; Australia has got a Sandhurst of its own; but, no, India must not have a Sandhurst of her own because—because—because it is a difference in colour: it is a difference in colour and nothing else. Moreover, the great affairs of the world cannot be carried on unless and until India is made the milch cow not only for the purposes of providing man power to Great Britain but also for the purpose of providing money for Great Britain. It is these two things that matter to Great Britain; and all schemes that you have of Indianisation will be worked in order to postpone the evil day of granting self-government to this country as long as possible. That is the main object of the policy underlying the announcement made by the British Government and by the Indian Government.

Now, Sir, I have only one word more to say, and it is this. It has been urged on many occasions that India must support a huge army because of internal disorders and internal trouble and also because of the fear of foreign aggression. I submit that I have met that argument and I say that does not hold water for one moment. It has further been alleged that the Indian Army is just sufficient at the present moment for the purpose of keeping India safe. I submit, Sir, that is not true. The Indian Army at the present moment is heavily weighted against us, the Indian Army is at the present moment on such a scale that we cannot support that scale. We who are starving would much rather live than see that this Army is well fed and kept as an adjunct to the British Army. At the present moment, when the average income of an Indian is so low that even a newspaper like the *Pioneer* has to assert that in the district of Gaya there are a million people who get only one meal a day, we have to spend 60 crores of our revenue for the purposes of supporting a huge army in this country. I submit it will be criminal on our part if we support a policy of this character. I have only to remind Honourable Members that this policy is a very old policy pursued by Great Britain. It goes back to the time of Edmund Burke. Burke in his speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings spoke of the English nation. This is what he said:

"Therefore, the English nation in India is nothing but a seminary for the succession of officers. They are a nation of placemen; they are a republic Commonwealth, without

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a people; they are a State made up wholly of Magistrates. The power of office, so far as the English nation is concerned, is the sole power in the country the consequence of which is that there is a kingdom in India of Magistrates."

And I would add that there is a Kingdom in India not only of Magistrates but of Army Officers of every class who cannot be found a place in England and who must be found a place here. That is the sole reason why for training purposes a foreign British Army is sent out here to get pensions at our expense and also to get training at our expense. I submit, Sir, that nothing can be more iniquitous than a system of this nature. Under these circumstances, no Member of this House who has come here by the elected votes of the people, should be found voting for a Grant of this nature which merely means this, that we are censuring the Government for the policy they are pursuing, a policy which is detrimental to the best interests of the people of India.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural); Sir, when we expressed our dissatisfaction the other day with the announcement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief regarding His Majesty's decision on the Skeen Committee's Report, we were told that we had made up our minds in advance and had come here determined to be satisfied with nothing that Government might concede. We were also told that this was a most delicate matter in which it was possible for us only to advance cautiously. We were further told that the supreme interests of India were at stake and that it was therefore necessary that every advance should be made on the basis of proved knowledge and experience. Now, Sir, those who charge us with impatience and accuse us of being in a hurry to take over military control from the Government of India seem to me to be strangely oblivious of the history of the last 60 or 70 years, and my words in this matter will be specially addressed to my non-official European friends whose votes cannot be commanded by the Secretary of State. They can allow their convictions to have full play and I hope therefore that the facts which I am going to place before them will convince them that it is not we who are in a hurry but that it is the other party which has practically refused to move during the last 60 or 70 years.

It is a well known fact, Sir, that when the Army of India was reorganized in 1858, only seven British officers were attached to every infantry or cavalry regiment. This decision was examined several times by the Secretary of State and it was every time regarded as satisfactory. It was also admitted that the Viceroy's commissioned officers had, in spite of the faulty method of selection, given every satisfaction and performed their duties in an almost unexceptional manner. One would have thought, Sir, that as time advanced, larger and larger opportunities would be given to Indians to occupy positions of trust and responsibility in the army of their own country. But we know that, while the number of European officers has gone on increasing, the position of Indians has not advanced at all. Indeed, every advance in the number of European officers in an infantry battalion or a cavalry regiment meant a corresponding deterioration in the position of Indian officers. To-day there are about 12 or 13 officers in an Indian infantry battalion, and I believe about 14 in a cavalry regiment. When the number of officers was less, Indian officers could command squadrons and companies. But as far back as 1894 General Chesney, who

was Military Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was compelled to observe that:

"in the cavalry the position of a native officer had even gone back, for whereas formerly he could rise to the command of a squadron, these squadrons are now commanded by British officers, the most junior of whom takes precedence over the oldest of native officers. So far, then, as the army is concerned the Queen's Proclamation on assuming the direct government of India is a dead letter."

And in regard to the infantry, Mr. Gokhale complained as far back as 1906 that Indian officers had been deprived even of the command of companies. We thus see, Sir, that from 1858 right down to 1918 the position of Indians instead of advancing became steadily worse. They were deprived even of the command of squadrons, and of companies which they could formerly command, and this was not due to the fact that there was nobody in the Government of India to draw the attention of Government to the need for throwing open responsible military offices to Indians as had been done in the case of the civil services.

The question was raised several times in the eighties—I believe three times—by General Chesney, but he was every time opposed by Lord Roberts. The argument of Lord Roberts was that it was wrong to do anything which would place Indians on the same footing as British officers.

"For the present at any rate "

—he said—

"the grant of such commissions to Indian gentlemen as would necessarily place them on the same footing as British officers, is in my opinion much to be deprecated."

Thus we see, Sir, that purely racial and political considerations stood in the way of Indians being given any responsible positions in the military administration of their country and even led to a deterioration in the position which they formerly occupied. In 1918 it was for the first time announced that 10 vacancies would be reserved annually for Indians at Sandhurst. Now it was thought that the number would be increased very soon when the War was over, and the constitutional position of this country was reconsidered. But unfortunately no change took place in this respect. In 1921 the Assembly passed a number of Resolutions, some of them dealing with the establishment of a Military College in India and some with the admission of Indians as officers holding the King's Commission. Now, those Resolutions, both those relating to the appointment of Indians as officers and those relating to the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, were accepted by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. Subsequently, Sir, the Military Requirements Committee was appointed. Its report has never been published but, so far as we can gather from the brief reports that appeared in British newspapers, we understand that not merely were both these proposals accepted by the Committee but that it proposed that in about 10 or 15 years Indians who were to be recruited in the beginning at the rate of 25 per cent. should be recruited in equal proportions with Europeans. Even earlier . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. Will the Honourable Member tell the Chair whether he is speaking on Diwan Chaman Lal's motion or is moving his own motion?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: No, Sir. I am not moving my own motion. It would be perfectly unnecessary for me to do so.

Mr. President: So the Honourable Member is speaking on Diwan Chaman Lall's motion?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: So the only motion before the House is Diwan Chaman Lall's motion at present.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, I would like the point to be made still clearer. The Honourable Diwan Chaman Lall's motion is "for obvious reasons". I do not know what that means.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: He explained that.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I do not want his explanation. If the Chair rules that "for obvious reasons" means the policy and expenditure, then, Sir, we may be in a position to decide what we should do.

Mr. President: The Chair cannot explain anything. The Honourable Member has made half an hour's speech in which he must have explained his meaning.

Lala Lajpat Rai: He did say, the policy and expenditure, both.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member was here when Diwan Chaman Lall spoke.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: He made it very clear.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, I am speaking on this motion because I thought this was the only opportunity for giving expression to my views in regard to the Army in India generally.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, may I rise to a point of order? May I know if any other cut will be taken up?

Mr. President: If this motion is defeated, other cuts will be taken up certainly.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Not otherwise?

Mr. President: Except those which relate to the general policy.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Are we going to have, Sir, a discussion of general policy again after this motion has been disposed of? However, Sir, I will express my views at this stage. I was probably saying, Sir, that the Military Requirements Committee, so far as we know, accepted both the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst here and a progressive increase in the proportion of Indian recruitment till Indians were recruited in equal proportions with Europeans in about 10 or 15 years. But it is not merely, Sir, in 1921 that the question of the formation of an Indian Sandhurst was discussed by the Government of India. It is stated, Sir, in Sir George Arthur's Life of Lord Kitchener that:

"in 1904 there was propounded the establishment of a military school for candidates for direct commissions in the Native Army. The scheme was submitted to Commanding Officers for their opinion, and referred to a conference of Lieutenant-Generals in 1905, when Kitchener boldly pronounced that the dread of mutiny was an anachronism and must not hinder efficiency. The time had come to open certain doors to native

officers, to increase their responsibility and to raise their status. The Generals agreed *non con.* and voted for a military school at which both candidates for direct commissions and non-commissioned officers selected for accelerated promotion, could receive proper professional training."

And now, Sir, we have the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee presided over by the Chief of the General Staff, the essence of whose recommendations is the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and progressive Indianisation so that not later than the year 1952 half the total cadre of officers should come to be occupied by Indians.

Now I would ask my Honourable friends who advise us to be patient and to be wary in regard to military matters, whether we have not waited sufficiently long. Would they have exercised all the patience that they are preaching to us, had they found that for 60 years, notwithstanding their repeated demands, not merely was nothing done but every step taken meant a set-back in the position of Indians? Would they have asked for a further examination of the matter, had they found that the questions now under discussion had been the subject of repeated consideration during the last 40 years? We see that the question of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst has been recommended not merely by the Skeen Committee, not merely by the late Commander-in-Chief, but by a military personality even greater than that of Lord Rawlinson, namely, Lord Kitchener. As regards the progressive Indianisation of the Army, so that within a measurable length of time at least half the number of officers might be Indian—as regards this question too, the highest military authorities have repeatedly expressed their views. How long, Sir, are we going to wait and what is the amount of consideration that is to be given to this question? I am aware, Sir, that Lord Rawlinson went back on his previous views in this House and said in 1925 that he was not in a hurry to establish an Indian Sandhurst. But it is only fair to point out that he expressed this view after His Majesty's Government had turned down the recommendation of the Indian Government for the establishment of a first grade military college in this country.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told us the other day with an air of great generosity that Indians were now being given for the first time opportunities which hitherto had been denied to them and that it would rest with them in future to prove their capacity for a further advance. Now, Sir, what is it that has been given to us? There is to be no military college. The demand for progressive Indianisation has been rejected. All that has been done is that the number of vacancies to be reserved for Indians annually at Sandhurst has been increased and Woolwich and Cranwell have been opened to them. The number of vacancies may go up to 37. In the beginning it will be 37. But I understood, Sir, from what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said that the number of Indians who will be admitted to Woolwich and Cranwell is to be 6 in each case for the present. Perhaps, when an Air Force Unit, an Artillery Unit and an Engineer Unit have been formed, the rate of recruitment will go down. The Skeen Committee informs us that there are about 3,200 officers in the Indian section of the Army in India. The rate of recruitment, it tells us, has never been scientifically calculated, and the only figure of authority placed before the Committee with regard to the annual recruitment was 160. Now, I am aware, Sir, that direct recruitment at present is appreciably less. But it does not matter to us, Sir, in what manner the recruits required for the Army are taken annually, whether direct recruits are taken

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

or whether surplus officers are made permanent. In any case, the figure for the total annual recruitment is 160 or thereabouts. Even if we get every year 37 vacancies and they result in giving us 37 officers annually, we should still, if we proceed on the basis of the figure given to us by the Skeen Committee, be far short of having realised the demand put forward by the Assembly in 1921 that 25 per cent. of the annual recruitment should be Indian to begin with, and if this maximum number is reduced after the Artillery, Engineer and Air Force units have been formed our proportion will accordingly go down. In this connection, Sir, I should like to ask what the position of Indians will be with regard to the Tank Corps, and I put this question specifically because we were told by Mr. Burdon in 1925 that Government did not intend to give training to Indians for admission to the Tank Corps till they had fully qualified themselves for infantry and cavalry work. I should also like to know whether the Signal Corps, which is known as the Indian Corps of Signals, is an Indian Unit or whether it is a part of the British Army. Can Indian officers be admitted to it or not?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: No.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I will now, Sir, pass on to another point and a very important point, which was raised incidentally by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. As Mr. Jinnah pointed out the other day, till His Excellency spoke, we thought that after the 8 units which are going to be Indianised had been supplied with the necessary officers according to the present scale, Indian officers would be employed in other regiments and battalions—in other units. But His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told us that the policy of the Government was to do away with the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and to substitute for them officers holding the King's Commission. We were told that this was in accordance with the plan obtaining in His Majesty's Army. This may be perfectly true, Sir, but a question of this importance and magnitude, I thought, required separate consideration. Both from the military and the financial point of view it was desirable that it should be considered on its own merits. But here this announcement has been made to us in an incidental way as if it were a small thing which did not vitally affect the Army or concern this House. I would give some figures to enable the House to realise the magnitude of the question. We have slightly over 4,800 Viceroy's commissioned officers, and I think only about 3,200 officers holding the King's Commission in the Indian section of the Army. If the policy announced the other day by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is going to be given effect to, it means that the number of King's commissioned officers is to be increased from 3,200 to about 8,000 ultimately. I do not know, Sir, what the financial cost of such a proposal would be. It may be that this is in accordance with the plan in the British Army. But considering the moment at which this announcement has been made, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the number of commissioned officers is going to be increased in order to prevent the number of European officers from going down as far as possible and to delay the time when Indians as superior officers might command mixed regiments and European officers would have to take their orders from Indian officers.

Just one or two words more, Sir, before I sit down. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief speaking in favour of the decision not to establish

an Indian Sandhurst asked us to bear in mind the advantages to an Indian boy in his subsequent career of receiving training at Sandhurst. Now, Sir, this is a point which has been admirably dealt with by the Skeen Committee. The standing armies in Canada and Australia are much smaller than our standing army. Therefore, the number of officers required there is bound to be much less than the number of officers required in India. It is further obvious, Sir, that any newly established institution will be at a disadvantage with the British Sandhurst. Nevertheless, this is what the Skeen Committee says on the subject:

"We have before us the examples of the Kingston and Duntroon Military Colleges in Canada and Australia, respectively, where similar disadvantages have been neutralised, and a high standard of efficiency has been achieved; and we wish to make it clear that our recommendation is subject absolutely to the condition that no pains are spared to place the machinery of the Indian Military College on the highest plane of efficiency which India can attain."

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, therefore, put forward no argument which had not been already considered and met by the Skeen Committee.

As regards His Excellency's contention that the number of Indian officers might be increased in future as greater material offered itself, that also had been considered by the Skeen Committee. The Committee, referring to the educational opportunities in India, said that it was not necessary to wait till the entire system of Indian education had been overhauled. On the contrary, it observed:

"The Royal Military College at Dehra Dun, which has been in existence for only 4½ years, has shown that even average Indian boys, given proper facilities, can pass with credit not only into Sandhurst but out of it."

Now, any one who has gone and seen the Dehra Dun College will be able to testify from his own experience that the material received by that College is in no way superior to that received by a decent high school in any province. All the difference that is made in the course of 2 or 3 years is made by the training that is imparted there. You can see the boys growing up there like plants before your eyes. You see boys in the first year and you see boys in the 4th or 5th year, and you can at once observe the difference for yourself. For this reason the Committee recommended that the Military College at Dehra Dun should be expanded so as to provide accommodation for about 250 or 300 students. If this was not enough it was in favour of establishing another college on the same model, but it never asked us to wait till the entire educational system of India was reorganised. The question was merely one of expanding the accommodation at Dehra Dun and of extending the facilities that are already available there.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: And co-ordinating other institutions.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, says, "and co-ordinating other institutions". I entirely agree. The Skeen Committee pointed out that while in other countries the educational system had been definitely adapted to the need for turning out capable military officers the Indian educational authorities have had no encouragement given to them to follow a similar plan as there were no similar openings for which to train their boys.

The speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief bristles with points to which the greatest exception can be taken, but I will pass on now from the consideration of the decisions with regard to the Skeen Committee's report to the question of expenditure which I shall touch upon

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very briefly. One of the recommendations made by the Inchcape Committee was that the terms of enlistment of Indian soldiers should be altered to include five years' service with the colours and ten years with the reserve is required, and with regard to the effect of this proposal the Committee observed:

"If this proposal is adopted, we consider that the peace establishment of a battalion should be gradually based on a cadre basis which might ultimately be fixed at, say, 20 per cent. below the war establishment."

The Committee added:

"The proposal to increase the period of enlistment with the colours would also ultimately reduce the number of recruits required annually. This, in turn, would reduce the establishment of the training battalions and the strength of the recruiting staff and result in considerable further economy."

A blue book was circulated to us last year showing the extent to which the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee had been given effect to. It was stated there that the recommendation with regard to the alteration of terms of service of Indian soldiers so as to include colour and reserve service had been, generally speaking, given effect to, but we have not so far been told whether there is any intention of carrying out the other part of the recommendation which relates to a reduction of 20 per cent. in the peace establishment of a battalion. I raised this question last year, but neither His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief nor our genial Army Secretary vouchsafed any answer to it.

The other question which I wish to raise in connection with expenditure is that relating to capitation charges. The subject has been under discussion with His Majesty's Government for a number of years. The Inchcape Committee stated that the capitation rate had been provisionally fixed at £25, and with regard to the future it said that the most equitable arrangement would be:

"to allocate the cost to the War Office of training recruits between the India Office and the War Office *pro rata* to the normal colour service in each country, subject to a due allowance for the potential value to the British Government of returned men available for the reserve."

The present system, according to which the British Army is recruited, is maintained purely on account of considerations which apply to Great Britain. In a lecture delivered by Major General Sir Edmund Ironside at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1926, in which he explained the reasons not merely for having a short service army but for restricting extensions of service, he said:

"The reason for restricting extensions of service is, of course, that we do not want a long service army and we do want a Reserve."

Well, if you maintain the present system in order to have a reserve for the British Army, it is only fair, as the Inchcape Committee pointed out, that a part of the cost of training the soldiers should be borne by the British Exchequer. The British Army is maintained not because the requisite number of Indians of a fighting class cannot be obtained in India, but for Imperial reasons, and Indians are therefore justified in demanding that the entire cost of training these soldiers should fall on the British estimates. According to the estimates that have been supplied to us we have to pay excluding the Air Force 1 crore and 87 lakhs on account of capitation charges to His Majesty's Government. We have

also to incur a nett cost of 48 lakhs in connection with Indian troops. We thus see that over and above the difference in the pay of the British and Indian soldiers we have to pay about 2 crores and 35 lakhs because of the recruitment of a portion of the army from England. I do not know whether a final decision has been arrived at on this question but it is high time that a decision were arrived at and that India were relieved of the burden which is now unfairly thrown upon its revenues.

We have been told, Sir, that the decision of His Majesty's Government to keep either the British army or British officers in India is based not on racial or political considerations but entirely on grounds of military efficiency. It would be difficult to persuade any Indian to accept that view. I will not therefore state the opinion of any Indian howsoever eminent he might be but I will again go back to Lord Kitchener whose frankness and straightforwardness would be acknowledged even by Honourable Members on the other side. Writing to Lord Morley in 1905 or 1906, referring to the opposition to the proposal to open the ranks of the higher military services to Indians, he said:

"This is due in part to the dislike of change and in part to a deep-seated racial repugnance to any step which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the army may have to take orders from Indians."

My Honourable friend Mr. Cocke smiled in a superior way when I told him that this letter had been written about the year 1905. I hope he was in the House when Mr. Jinnah read out a passage from the report of the Skeen Committee showing that some military officer connected with the War Office or the India Office had delivered a speech at Sandhurst in 1925, the object of which was to satisfy British recruits that there was no chance at present of their being required to serve under Indian officers. The racial considerations to which Lord Kitchener drew attention therefore have not disappeared with the lapse of time. They are as strong to-day as they were 20 years ago. These feelings perhaps reside in a stronger form in the breast of every Britisher to-day. I am afraid, Sir, I cannot discuss this question fully without referring to the question of the maintenance of the British army but that is a big question and requires separate discussion. I have set down a motion for its discussion and shall deal with it if it is reached. At the present stage I will content myself with the question of the Indianisation of the higher grades of the army and its expenditure, but before I sit down, I should like repeat that in view of the incontrovertible evidence which is available, it is idle for Honourable Members opposite to contend that their military policy is guided by considerations of efficiency. If efficiency were to be solely judged by them, if there were no agitation in this country, if we showed no determination to achieve our rights, I do not think we shall ever be regarded as competent to control our army. We know what happened up to the year 1918 notwithstanding our agitation and we can well believe what the situation hereafter would be if we were to place implicit faith in the words of the military authorities who treat us as if we were children.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: If I take part in this debate it is to emphasise and to enquire what position the Anglo-Indian community will occupy with regard to Indianisation of the Army. We have heard many speeches from the opposite side of the House in support of

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Indians and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has clearly indicated in his reply that Indianisation of the Army had special reference to two classes of people, namely, the Britisher and the Indian. Now, Sir, I represent in this House a community which has played no small part in the development of the Army in India—indeed it has helped England to obtain, maintain and retain India and as such I stand here to ask the Army Member a definite question to which I expect a definite reply. It is this: What part will the domiciled community take in this reform of Indianisation of the Army? It cannot and it must not any longer be used and put aside as the plaything of yesterday, to be made the convenience of to-day and relegated as the forgotten of to-morrow. It has to be provided with a definite position and I ask the Honourable the Military Member, in all the seriousness at my command, to tell me what position the community is to occupy in the new military orientation in India. No reference whatever has been made to it by either side in the Skeen Committee debate. I suppose I shall be told by the Military Member, as also the opposite benches, that since the Parliamentary Statute of 1870 Vic. 33 has classified Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians as 'statutory natives of India we must occupy a similar status in the Indian Army. Indeed this was the offer made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief last year. It must be obvious to all that with the standard of living of the Domiciled European or Anglo-Indian it is impossible to expect him to live on the same salary as the Indian soldier. It is an economic impossibility. I do not wish to draw an invidious comparison, but I wish to face facts as they are and desire the Army Member to do the same and to appreciate the fact that the good class of the community will not enlist unless adequately paid. (At this stage Mr. M. A. Jinnah made an interruption which was inaudible.) Mr. Jinnah, please do not interrupt me. I am talking to the Chair

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: On a point of order. Is it open to an Honourable Member to address another Honourable Member and say "You are not to interrupt me"?

Mr. President: Colonel Gidney.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney: I am sorry, if "Father India"—I mean Mr. Ranga Iyer—is offended. We heard it said by the Army Member that there is a dearth of British officers for the Indian Army. This may be so but I do not agree that this dearth of British officers is entirely due to the reasons adduced by Government. Government state that they cannot get officers to join the Indian Army. The reason given by the opposite benches is that British officers refuse to serve under Indian officers. I do not deny or accept that. That is for the British officer to say. In my opinion, however, if there is a dearth of British officers coming out from England it is largely due to the higher wages one can get in England to-day. Why, even the skilled labourer in England to-day gets a higher wage than the salary of a junior military officer. Moreover, social amenities are not easily procurable to-day in India and the young military officer finds his salary very inadequate as compared with business men and Indian civil servants who can live more comfortably. Therefore, he is disinclined to come to this country and elects to remain in his own. But if there is really a dearth of British officers coming out to India, I can point out a splendid field in India from which just as good a type of British officer can be obtained and at much less cost to

the country, for there would be no passages to England and back, or overseas allowances and all those other allowances that are attached to a British officer's pay in India. I refer to the excellent material to be found in most European Schools in India for both officers and rank and file of the British and Indian armies in India. These schools, the European schools in India, can supply the British

4 P.M. Army with a standard of officers and rank and file as good as can be obtained from England, as has often been proved in the past. Why, even to-day a large number of boys from European schools in India go to England and come out as officers in the Army. Why should it be necessary for them to go to England for this purpose and so add to the cost of the Army in India? Why cannot they be recruited in India? Why do you refuse to recruit one or two units or even one unit of infantry or a battery of artillery from the youth of the domiciled community in the European schools in India? You cannot get a better class of lads anywhere in the Empire than from the European schools in this country, such as Sanawar, Lovedale, Ghoragali, La Martiniere, Bishop Cotton Schools, St. Joseph's (Naini Tal), North Point, etc. The Army Department will say these lads are not adequately developed. Is the British recruit properly developed when he is first enlisted? He is not, but after the first year's training he is developed. You can get at much less cost the same results with the same training of Anglo-Indian recruits in India, which will give you soldiers second to none even those who come from England. I speak on behalf of the Domiciled Community and its rightful place in the future Army in India. I repeat my question. I desire Government to let me know on the floor of this House what is to be the position of the Domiciled Community in the Army reforms taking place to-day and contemplated in the future. We are not to be put aside as England's bankrupt legacy to India and treated, as is done to-day, for occupational purposes as statutory natives of India, for political, social and census purposes as Anglo-Indians, and for defence purposes as European British subjects, though even as such we are denied European jury rights. We protest against this status of convenience and we demand, with all humility, to know what position is to be given to the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community in the new Indian Army Reforms. There is one point I wish to emphasize. I pointed out in my speech in the general discussion of the Budget that if the Army Member is a true military economist he would take advantage of the suggestions I made. I offered him an annual saving of 10 to 15 lakhs in one single Department, namely, the Army Medical Services. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and also the Honourable Mover of this motion made references in their speeches to Indianisation of the various military departments. Pandit Kunzru pinned his colours on the Skeen Committee's Report. Sir, I have often tried to speak on that Report, but each time that I managed to catch your eye, you caught my tongue. I shall not deal with it now, but the point I wish to emphasize is Indianisation of a particular branch of the Army. I refer to the Indian Ordnance Factories. This department, which is a branch of the Indian Army Ordnance Department, has been in existence for nearly a century. This department is divided into various factories. This department has 500 upper class workmen. This cadre consists of Foremen, Assistant Foremen and Chargemen composed of Indians, Anglo-Indians, the Domiciled and covenanted Europeans. These employees are really a civil branch of a military department. Of this total of 500, there are about

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25 Europeans enlisted in this country claiming an English domicile, about 160 Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and about 120 Indians. To show the difference between the grades I would mention that among the Foremen practically everyone is an Englishman. There are about 100 Europeans, 25 Anglo-Indians and 12 Indians as Assistant Foremen. The rest are Chargemen, mainly Indians. Now, Sir, here is a department which is practically the quasi-military equivalent and counterpart of a Railway Carriage and Wagon Department, except that the labour is a little more skilled in quality and exactitude so necessary in the making of gun carriages. But even in these workshops we have a marked difference of treatment between those recruited in India and those recruited from England. This body of Foremen have an Association which had an interview recently with the Master General of Supplies. The interview was ostensibly for the purpose of putting an end to all discriminations and settling this difference of treatment between the different communities employed in this department. Instead of this being effected resolutions were passed which accentuated these differences. The chief bone of contention was an allowance of Rs. 75 given to covenanted men and denied to domiciled Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians. The men recruited in India who claim a British domicile are now to be also given this Rs. 75, for which I understand a grant of Rs. 35,900 had been set aside in the 1928-29 Budget. The question of giving a similar allowance to those domiciled in India, Anglo-Indians, and to Indians has however been shelved. A grant of Rs. 30,000 was also sanctioned for the education of the children of these covenanted employees, and free passage money for those who came from England was also agreed upon.

Mr. President: Are all these arguments for rejecting the Demand?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: These relate to the general policy.

Mr. President: Are they for or against the motion?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: They relate to a general complaint in regard to the policy.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must speak on the motion. If he desires to raise small questions of policy he can do so on the appropriate motions.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: If this motion of Diwan Chaman Lal which is to reduce this demand to rupee one is carried, I can hardly subtract my cut of Rs. 10,000 from the one rupee that is left.

Mr. President: That is not the fault of the Chair. The Honourable Member might try to defeat the motion.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I cannot support the cut at all. (*Cries of "Sit down."*) Am I in order, Sir? If I am, I shall not sit down. What I wish to emphasise is this. In Indianisation of such services particularly in this quasi-military department, why are special allowances given to those recruited from England and denied to those recruited in India who occupy equal grades, do equal work which carries equal responsibilities? This grievance is of as much importance to Anglo-Indians and Indians as other questions of high military policy, because it affects the economy of a large number of Indian workmen. I submit to this House that it is

not right to make this distinction of a grant of Rs. 75 per mensem between these employees when they do the same work. It is unjust and unfair to a loyal body of workmen and since Europeans recruited in India are given this grant the hall mark and cachet of the covenanted employee does not arise. I submit that it is a wrong policy, and I ask the Honourable the Army Member to bring this to the notice of the Master General of Supplies with the desire that everyone be put on an equality regarding this allowance of Rs. 75 which is given as a technical pay. There are other points, Sir, but I see you are looking at the clock, so I shall sit down and resume my remarks when I move my other motion on the Indian Medical Department.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: Mr. President, as there seemed to be some doubt even after the very eloquent speech of my Honourable and distinguished colleague, Diwan Chaman Lall, as to what the "obvious reasons" for throwing out the Army Grant were, let me say that the reason why we want to throw out this grant is that—

If blood be the price of England's rule,

Lord God! we have paid in full!!

Mr. President, I wish not only to enter a protest against but also to repudiate—and I feel confident that in doing so I have the support of the entire Assembly on this side—to repudiate the libel that was implicit in almost every sentence of the Commander-in-Chief's speech of the 8th March, 1928,—a libel against the people of India, against the manhood of India. My blood boiled when I read the newspaper report of that speech, and I have since taken the precaution of reading very carefully the entire speech of the Commander-in-Chief. I hold that speech in my hand; and I say that the libel against the Indian nation which is implicit in that speech is all the more cowardly because it was covert, because it was subtle, because it consisted in insinuations. I repudiate the libel of inefficiency. That is the principal purpose, Sir, for which I rose to speak on a motion which is otherwise "obvious", which is certainly obvious to me and to a large majority in this House. The Commander-in-Chief trifled with this House in Simla when we were discussing the Skeen Committee's Report. I wish I could describe it by no stronger words than the common phrase "solemn trifling", because I feel that would be a euphemism. He told us coolly that we must wait for public schools to grow up, public schools such as the one that had been acquiring shape in the imagination of the Law Member. I say that was worse than solemn trifling; and for a very good reason among many reasons. He has probably been out of touch with his own country; but only a few years ago there was a Committee to examine the public schools in England. And perhaps he may be aware, perhaps he is not aware, that the report of that Committee could not be published because the disclosures would not have redounded to the credit of public schools in England. That was only a few years ago; and if he wanted a book-reference, I would refer him to a recent book of the Dean of St. Paul's, Dean Inge. In his "Lay Sermons" the "Gloomy Dean" glosses over, in one of the essays, in his inimitable manner, the findings of that report. Let not the Commander-in-Chief hereafter taunt us with not having public schools of the English type in this country. We have enough human material in this country, I assert; and that is what ultimately counts; and our students are just as good: only they want the opportunity; and they will make good whenever

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opportunities are offered to them. In every sphere of public life, in every sphere of public administration, where Indians have had the opportunity, they have proved themselves the equals—and in many cases the superiors—of their British colleagues and co-workers. We have this Legislative Assembly to bear testimony to that. Any impartial visitor has only to judge the debating quality on either side of the House.

An Honourable Member: What did the *Pioneer* say in its editorial?

Mr. T. C. Goswami: I think the *Pioneer's* editorial is worth referring to; I will read two sentences out of it. Even the *Pioneer*, which claimed: at one time—till only a few years back—that high officials of the Government of India were contributors to that paper (that was before the Lee allowances came into existence; it was the boast of the *Pioneer* editorial staff that high officials of the Government of India and of the Government of the United Provinces were frequent—though anonymous—contributors to the *Pioneer*); well, that *Pioneer* writes in the issue which bears to-day's date—

“Their attitude”—

—that is to say, the attitude of the Government—

“is one of benevolent arrogance. They are criminally culpable of exhibiting a phase of the British regime in India which all right-minded people would like to see abolished immediately.”

The *Pioneer*, to do it justice, has frequently come out with true criticisms of the Government of India at considerable sacrifice of its popularity with its usual readers. But even that phrase, “benevolent arrogance”, would be a euphemism when applied particularly to the speech of the Commander-in-Chief. The point is not that Indians should be asked to prove their fitness for the Army. The point, I submit, is this—that it has become necessary that the Army should be Indianised and that every possible measure should be taken speedily to Indianise the Army. It is a question of necessity. From the Commander-in-Chief's speech, if you are to take that speech seriously at all, out of nearly 7,000 officers—6,998 according to the book that has been supplied to us—20 Indians per annum are going to receive the King's Commission.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: No; twenty vacancies.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: Quite right—twenty vacancies at Sandhurst. Here is a little arithmetical exercise for Honourable Members. So it will take, according to that, three hundred years for the Indian Army to be Indianised. Now, Sir, I think it far more likely that the British Empire will have long ceased to exist three hundred years hence. It has not yet lasted two centuries, and it would be the height of arrogance for any member of the ruling community to-day in India to hope that the British Empire will last longer than Empires which have had greater potency than the British Empire in the history of the world. And this raises the only question that weighs with me. Either you are honest—I use that word deliberately—either you are honest, that is, either you honestly mean that you want to give us self-Government or you will drive us to desperation, drive us to seek other methods than constitutional methods. It is not true, history does not show, that you necessarily require a very great deal of military training for an officer. Take the history of the American

Civil War. Take the history of the Irish Army, the Republican Army. Take the history, the recent history, of countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia. Their officers were trained very quickly; school masters rose to high command in two, three or four years. It is the brain that counts in modern warfare; in modern warfare even more than in ancient warfare. The Commander-in-Chief made reference to mechanisation of the Army. With more mechanisation the brain will play a greater part in the making of successful officers in the future. That brain we are prepared to supply and we are capable of supplying in India. I hope this Government will advise the Government in England to give up this dishonest policy, this utterly dishonest policy, of saying one day that they want to help us to attain Swaraj and another day that the Indian Army will not be Indianised in the course of the next two or three centuries.

Now, Mr. President, it is worth our while to consider again Appendix No. 3 to the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee to which reference has been made by my Honourable friend, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. There you have a glaring example—almost a proof—of the absence of *bona fides* on the part of those who are controlling military policy in England with regard to Indianisation. In one sentence they say, with regard to the possibility of Indians becoming Majors:

“So, out of a total of 1,583 Captains in the Indian Army there are only three Indians under whom a Britisher might be called upon to serve; and two of these owing to their age”—

—they made sure of that—

“are not likely to be promoted beyond the rank of Major.”

And here is another sentence:

“This fact, to my mind, precludes the possibility of a Britisher entering the Indian Army to-day finding himself thrown out later to make room for an Indian.”

Again, Sir, a *modus vivendi* is absolutely necessary if the constitution is meant to develop peacefully; because after all we have our duty to our country; and our duty and allegiance to our country is far greater than any technical allegiance to the constitution; and we should be failing in our duty to our country if, when we realise and when we are quite sure that no reliance can be placed in the *bona fides* of the ruling power, we do not seek other means than constitutional means. (*An Honourable Member*: “Are you not sure yet?”)

Now, Sir, I think it will be profitable even for the Military Department, arrogant—benevolently or otherwise—as it is to-day, to realise that it is safer for a small minority of people in this country, who have come from across the seas, to live in the manner becoming people who have sought the hospitality of these shores—and India has never been inhospitable—rather than live here as an army of occupation, as people who want to control us, who want in vain to control the destinies of our country, as people who want to exploit us and as people who want to humiliate us. As I said last year, Sir—and this is the remark with which I will close my brief observations—the thing that pains me in this huge military budget is not so much the amount of the military budget, but it is the fact that we pay not merely for a foreign army of occupation but that we pay for the perpetuation of our enslavement and of our impotence.

Mr. D. V. Belvi: Sir, the Army in India is a department which eats up the largest slice out of our revenues and it is, therefore, a department which deserves our careful consideration. The time of discussion of the Budget is the only time of the year in which we can review the military policy of the Government of India. The military in this country swallows so much of our revenues that it becomes absolutely impossible for such useful things as education, hygiene and the like to get any reasonable amount out of the public revenues. It is a matter of common knowledge that in this country after a rule of 150 years Great Britain has not been able to educate even 10 per cent. of the population in the elements of knowledge. People are not able to sign their names even in the vernacular to the extent of 10 per cent. in this country; and we find that there is no effort whatever made by Government to impart industrial or technical education to the people of this country. The main reason trotted out is that there is a lack of funds. How can we get funds for any important things when you spend nearly half of our revenues on one single department, namely, the Military Department? The other day we found that when my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah said that the Army in India was a garrison army, there was on the faces of the gentlemen sitting on the benches opposite an expression of surprise—I may say an expression of horror. I suppose they thought that my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah was using a word which was not justified in the discussion. Now, in this connection I request your permission, Sir, to cite a passage from a standard book bearing on this point:

“England must be prepared to command the sea, and to spare eighty thousand of her soldiers to garrison the country.”

The word used here by no less an authority than Professor Bryce in his book called the Roman Empire and the British Empire is “garrison”. We find that the real reason why this army is maintained in India is not that the department is a nation-building department, as was very erroneously but very shrewdly put forward by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the other day, but the real reason is given by Professor Bryce himself in his book. He says:

“Were she ever to find herself unable to do this, what would become of India? Its political unity, which depends entirely on the English Raj, would vanish like a morning mist. Wars would break out, wars of ambition, or plunder, or religion, which might end in the ascendancy of a few adventurers, not necessarily belonging to the reigning native dynasties, but probably either Pathans, or Sikhs, or Mussulmans of the north-west. The Marathas might rise in the west. The Nepalese might descend upon Bengal. Or perhaps the country would, after an interval of chaos, pass into the hands of some other European Power.”

This is what is really to be found in the hinterlands of the minds of Britishers. They conceal the truth. They speak only in diplomatic language. What is passing in their mind is that there must be a large army maintained in India really to keep the people of this country down, but ostensibly to defend and protect the country from foreign invasion. Now, Professor Bryce says in another part of his book:

“The peace or ‘established’ strength of the British Army in India is 237,000 men, of whom 159,000 are natives and 78,000 Englishmen. To these there may be added the so-called ‘active reserve’ of natives who have served with the colours, about 34,000 men, and about 30,000 European volunteers. Besides these there are of course the troops of the native princes, estimated at about 100,000 men, many of them, however, far from effective. But as these troops, though a source of strength while their masters are loyal, might under altered circumstances be conceivably a source of danger, they can hardly be reckoned as part of the total force disposable by the British Government.”

You will find, Sir, that the British Government does not trust the people of this country; it does not trust even the native Princes or at any rate the armies of the native Princes; and the truth is that they want to maintain a large army at this huge expense, as I said, simply to keep us down in fear of British rule.

Now, they say that we are not fit to bear arms. They say that we cannot defend ourselves; at the same time they tell us that an Indian Sandhurst cannot be founded in India. They are not willing to employ Indian officers to man the Indian Army. It is a misnomer to call it an Indian Army; it is an army of garrison maintained in this country by Great Britain for her own Imperial purposes; there can hardly be any doubt on this point. I have said in this House more than once that the English people should tell us frankly once for all that all this talk of freedom, all this talk of responsible government, all this talk of indigenous government in this country in lieu of the British Government is nonsense; if they once for all tell us frankly that they rule this country as conquerors and that they wish to maintain the rule by the sword, I shall at any rate be thoroughly satisfied with their honesty. But when they tell us that the army is a nation-building department, that soldiers in the Indian Army are immensely benefited, I say that Mr. Jimnah was perfectly justified in describing stories such as these as yarns: he used a very polite word; I should have said it was a cock and bull story to say that India was being built up by this large army. The effect of the Army is to destroy the resources of the country and thus to retard the education of the people, to make them more barbarous, to make them more uncivilised. That is the only explanation which a reasonable man can possibly give of this huge expenditure on "the Army in India".

I am glad that my friend Mr. Chaman Lall referred to the fact that Soviet Russia was not doing anything unjust in increasing her military expenditure through fear of Great Britain. Soviet Russia is even enforcing the principle of self-determination in the case of territories which are subject to her rule. But what do we find in the case of India? I have said in this House that the principle of self-determination along with the 13 other principles which were discovered by President Wilson not only died with him but was buried with him.

We find, Sir, that a Commission has been appointed to examine us as if we were school boys. We are to be examined like school boys and promoted from a lower to a higher class. That is the method followed in giving us responsible Government and they want to take us from precedent to precedent. Is that the way, I ask, in which the other parts of the British Empire have been treated? I have got here, fortunately for me, a British politician who happens to be the Chief Justice of the Court which is now set up to try us. I am going to quote from no other gentleman than Sir John Simon himself on this point. This is what Sir John Simon said on the 27th of November 1922 in the House of Commons when the Irish Constitution Bill was under discussion:

"I rise to express, on behalf of myself and my friends, with whom I am associated, our complete concurrence with what the Prime Minister said at the opening of the Debate. He pointed out, and I think it is one of the encouraging features of the situation, that this Constitution is a Constitution which has been drafted in Ireland by Irishmen for Ireland. In that respect it differs from the two Gladstonian schemes, from the Act of 1914, and from the Act of 1920. The procedure that has been followed

[Mr. D. V. Belvi.]

is, however, by no means a novel or a revolutionary procedure. As the Prime Minister pointed out, the Constitutions under which different parts of our Empire are now working are in a very large measure Constitutions which have been settled on the soil where they were to operate, by the people who were to live under them. The Dominion of Canada, which, in Article 2 of the Treaty, is specially referred to, lives, it is true, under a Constitution which is contained in an Imperial Act; but that Imperial Act did nothing more than embody in legislative form the great collection of Resolutions which had been arrived at in Quebec as a result of long debate and ultimate agreement between the Canadians themselves. The Constitution of Australia is not to be found in any enacting section of any British Act of Parliament at all. The Constitution of Australia is scheduled to a Statute of 1900, in exactly the same way in which it is proposed that this Irish Constitution should be scheduled to this present Bill. Perhaps the most remarkable case of all is the most recent, for the Constitution of the Union of South Africa was at length arrived at as the result of discussion in South Africa itself, and it was carried through this House, within the recollection of a good many Honourable Members in the year 1909, without the alteration of a single sentence."

Sir, this is most valuable testimony coming from no other authority than Sir John Simon himself. But by a curious irony of fate, Sir John Simon is now appointed as the Chairman of the Commission which is to examine us and pronounce upon our capacity for self-government, I quote this passage merely to show that Britain has all along applied two different standards of administration, one to the white people in the Empire and another to the black people in the Empire. We come under the second category, and we are treated in this ignominious manner for reasons which have already been settled against us. The unfortunate prophecy, to which expression was given the other day in an Indian newspaper as coming from Major Graham Pole, to the effect that it had already been settled that the Commission would say that no further advance should be made in the case of Indian reforms, may, I fear, come true.

Sir Walter Willson: On a point of order, Sir. Is this relevant to the subject matter under discussion?

Mr. President: This is hardly relevant.

Mr. D. V. Belvi: I have almost finished, Sir. My point is that the British Government has got two different standards of treatment, one for the white people and another for the black people. The British Government is not behaving with us frankly, openly and honestly, and that is the reason why we must go on protesting every year against the policy which is pursued by Great Britain, and the only way in which we can assert and express our indignation against Great Britain is by throwing out these Grants. We know that these Grants will be restored by certification. We know that what we do here is mere child's play; but that is the only way in which we can constitutionally express our displeasure at the policy which is pursued by the British Government.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock, on Thursday, the 15th March, 1928.