

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

FRIDAY, 15th MARCH, 1929.

Vol. I—No. 29

OFFICIAL REPORT



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 15th March, 1929.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS AS ASSISTANT DIRECTORS GENERAL AND TO CERTAIN OTHER APPOINTMENTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1061. *Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan: (a) Will Government be pleased to state:

(i) the present number of Assistant Directors General (acting and permanent hands to be shown separately) working in the Office of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs in India, and the number of Muslims holding those posts; and

(ii) the number of Hindus, and Muslims holding the twenty selection grade appointments ranging in pay from Rs. 800 to Rs. 750 in the same Office?

(b) In case the Muslims are under-represented in the service, or are conspicuous by their total absence, will Government be pleased to state what measures they propose to adopt to alter this state of things?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given by me on the 11th of this month to starred question No. 986, by Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz, on the same subject.

TOTAL COST AND AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURE DEBITED TO INDIAN REVENUES ON ACCOUNT OF THE BUTLER COMMITTEE.

1062. *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will Government be pleased to state what is the total cost of the Butler Committee, and whether the Indian States, or His Majesty's Government, will bear any part of this expenditure; or whether the whole of it will fall on the Indian revenues?

Sir Denys Bray. The expenditure in India up to the 1st instant, amounted to Rs. 1,41,157; figures are not available of the expenditure in England. The whole is being met from Indian revenues.

PERMANENT APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN PROBATIONARY ACCOUNTANTS ATTACHED TO THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ACCOUNTING OFFICER, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1063. *Mr. S. C. Mitra: (a) Is it a fact that the Financial Commissioner, Railways, appointed, early in 1926, a number of probationary accountants, and attached them to the Office of the Chief Accounting Officer, East Indian Railway?

(b) Is it a fact that, some time last year, the Financial Commissioner issued orders that those probationary accountants should be made permanent, on receiving favourable reports on their work?

(c) Is it a fact that, although more than a year has passed since the Financial Commissioner passed the orders, and although, of late, a number of permanent vacancies of accountants have occurred and been filled up since then, none of these men has been appointed in those vacancies?

(d) Is it a fact that the men concerned, not being permanent, are not allowed to join the State Railway Provident Fund in the meantime, and that they are now all over age for Government service?

(e) Does the Financial Commissioner propose to issue further orders at once, directing that the men should be made permanent without delay; if not, why not?

Mr. P. R. Rau: (a) Three such appointments were made.

(b) These probationary accountants could not be made permanent as the whole organisation was a temporary organisation at the time, but orders were issued last year, that the period of probation of such of them as were found suitable, should be considered as at an end, and they should be employed against temporary vacancies of accountants, as far as possible.

(c) I understand no permanent appointments have been made, for the reason given already.

(d) As temporary men, they are not, under the ordinary rules, allowed to join the State Railway Provident Fund. So far as I know, they will not be considered as over age for Government service.

(e) The question of confirmation will be taken up when the organisation is made permanent.

GRIEVANCES OF COPYHOLDERS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, DELHI.

1064. ***Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will the Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Industries and Labour be pleased to state if he received any memorials, dated the 4th August, 1928, from the copyholders in the Government of India Press, Delhi, about their scale of pay, holidays, and leave, etc.?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, what steps, if any, has he taken, or is he going to take, to remedy the grievances?

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

(b) The memorials were carefully considered by Government, and a copy of the orders will be forwarded separately to the Honourable Member for his information.

GRANT OF CONTINGENCY ALLOWANCE AND LEAVE TO EXTRA DEPARTMENTAL AGENTS OF THE POST OFFICE.

1065. ***Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they are going to grant a contingency allowance of even Re. 1 per month, to the Extra Departmental Agents of post offices, who have now to pay out of their own paltry salary to meet contingency expenses?

(b) Do Government propose to make arrangements for leave, with full pay, for a few days in the year, for the Extra Departmental Agents of the post office?

(c) Are Government prepared to pass orders to take into consideration the claims of Extra Departmental Agents of post offices, in filling up departmental and clerical posts in post offices, when they are found qualified for those posts?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) No. As explained in my reply to the Honourable Member's unstarred question No. 311 on the 7th March last year, Extra Departmental Agents are not paid a salary. Their allowances, however, are intended, as I pointed out in my reply on the 30th August, 1927 to part (c) of Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy's starred question No. 585, to cover the cost of such stationery as is not supplied by Government.

(b) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to part (c) of the reply given on the 7th March, 1928, to his unstarred question No. 311.

(c) Government do not recognise that Extra Departmental Agents have any claims for consideration, over and above those of any other qualified outsider, in the matter of filling up vacancies in the clerical cadre of the Post Office. As regards departmental posts, if the Honourable Member means posts of departmental branch postmasters, the answer is in the negative. Such appointments are reserved for officials of the postman class.

PAY OF CERTAIN CLERKS IN THE RANGOON CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

1066. ***Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that a few Bengali clerks were appointed temporarily in 1916-17 in the Office of the Superintendent, Rangoon Central Telegraph Office, and subsequently made permanent at the close of the year 1919?

(b) Is it a fact that they were denied the benefit of their officiating temporary period when the time-scale of pay was introduced, while all clerks in the local post offices, Railway Mail Service Office, D. E. T. Office and Postmaster-General's Office have been benefited, even in cases where they had breaks in their services?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the cases of these Telegraph employees, who have put in continuous temporary services before their confirmation in the matter of their pay in the time-scale, so far as the temporary period is concerned? If not, why?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) Yes.

(b) The facts are not quite as stated by the Honourable Member. The clerks in question were not given the benefit of their officiating, but were given the benefit of their temporary service, when the latter was continuous and followed without intermission by permanent service; whereas the clerks in the local post offices, Railway Mail Service, and Postmaster-General's Office, received the benefit of both temporary and officiating service, even for broken periods, and the clerks of the D. E. T.'s office were given similar concessions, except that, in their case, breaks in their temporary or officiating service of a duration of more than 7 days were not condoned. The additional concession in the latter case was due to the peculiar conditions in which such service was rendered by the staff concerned.

(c) This does not arise, but I may mention that the question is under examination, whether the conditions of service in the case of certain other staff, including the clerks referred to by the Honourable Member, were such as to justify the extension to them of the special concession mentioned in my reply to part (b).

GRANT OF HOUSE-RENT ALLOWANCE TO CLERKS IN THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE, RANGOON.

1067. *Mr. S. C. Mitra: (a) Is it a fact that Indian clerks in the Telegraph Office at Rangoon are not given any house-rent allowance, while signallers get an allowance of Rs. 40 for house-rent, in addition to their Burma allowance of Rs. 45?

(b) Are Government aware that house-rent in the City of Rangoon is very high, and even a couple of rooms cannot be hired at less than Rs. 40 or so a month?

(c) Is it a fact that clerks of the Telegraph Office have to reside in a place not far away from their office, and that they have to do night duty for 15 days in the month?

(d) Do Government propose to grant house-rent allowance for the clerks of the Telegraph Office at Rangoon? If not, why?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes. The grant of house-rent allowance is one of the conditions of service of the General Service Telegraphists, and also of certain Local Service Telegraphists who were recruited prior to the 1st March, 1913.

(b) Government are aware that house-rent in Rangoon City is high, but are not in a position to endorse the further statement in the question.

(c) The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative, and to the second part in the affirmative as regards 4 clerks, only, out of a total of 99.

(d) No, because the recent revision of pay took fully into account the cost of living in Rangoon, including the element of house-rent.

PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR GRAND TRUNK CANAL SCHEME.

1068. *Mr. S. C. Mitra: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if the Government of Bengal made any reference as regards their Grand Canal scheme to the Government of India?

(b) If so, in which way have the Government of India decided to help the scheme?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The Government of Bengal informed the Government of India, in November, 1927, that they had decided not to proceed further with the Grand Trunk Canal project.

(b) There has been no question of the Government of India deciding to help the scheme. A report of the abandonment of the project had to be made to the Secretary of State, by whom it was sanctioned, and, for this purpose, the Government of India asked the Local Government for a statement of the reasons underlying their decision. They also forwarded, for the information of the Local Government, a note by their Consulting

Engineer dealing with the technical difficulties inherent in the maintenance, for any prolonged period, of the Sunderbans steamer route. The Government of Bengal reported, in April, 1928, that they had decided to review the whole case; no further communication has been received from them.

PERMANENT APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN PROBATIONARY ACCOUNTANTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ACCOUNTING OFFICER, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1069. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that the Financial Commissioner, Railways, appointed early in 1926 some probationary accountants, and attached them to the Office of the Chief Accounting Officer, East Indian Railway, and that he appointed a second batch of probationary accountants early in 1928?

(b) Is it a fact that these probationary accountants have not yet been confirmed as accountants, although they have put in 3 years' and 1 year's service, respectively?

(c) If the replies to parts (a) and (b) are in the affirmative, will Government please state if these probationary accountants will be made permanent, and if so, when?

(d) If not, will Government please state the reasons?

Mr. P. R. Rau: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply I have just given to a very similar question by Mr. Mitra.

APPOINTMENT OF INDIAN LADIES TO THE WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICE.

1070. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Are Government aware that out of 44 members in the Women's Medical Service, only 12 or 18 are Indians?

(b) Is it a fact that several Indian lady doctors, possessing the degree of M. D. or F. R. C. S. of London or Edinburgh, have been refused appointment in the Women's Medical Service, on the ground of insufficient clinical experience?

(c) If the reply to part (b) is in the affirmative, will Government please state how much clinical experience is required beyond the experience acquired for obtaining these high degrees, and was that experience possessed by the non-Indian members of the Women's Medical Service before they were appointed to the Service?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: (a) No, Sir. According to the information available, 22 out of the 44 members of the Women's Medical Service have an Indian domicile. Of these, 18 belong to the domiciled community, and 9 are Indians.

(b) and (c). Government have no information, Sir, but will make inquiries and communicate the result to the Honourable Member.

QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICE.

1071. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Is it a fact that when special posts in the Women's Medical Service are to be filled, they are advertised only in English papers, thus giving no opportunity to qualified Indian ladies to apply?

(b) What are the special qualifications needed for these special posts? Will Government please state the qualifications possessed by the present holders of the posts?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: (a) and (b). Inquiries will be made and the result communicated to the Honourable Member.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will Government be pleased to state how many European or British missionary medical women are to be found in the present cadre of the Women's Medical Service?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: That again, Sir, is a point which I shall have to investigate.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member please state whether it is a fact, or not a fact, that certain Anglo-Indian medical ladies have applied for admission into the training classes of the Service and have been refused admission? If so, why? How many Anglo-Indians are there today in this training class of the Women's Medical Service to be sent to England for training?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I hope, Sir, that the reporter has correctly taken down all the points raised by my Honourable friend! My difficulty is that the Women's Medical Service is not controlled by the Government of India but by the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. All that I can undertake to do is to get information on all the points raised by the Honourable Member.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: It is not my usual practice, Sir, to address questions to the reporters but to the Honourable Member, and I demand an answer from him.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I quite appreciate that fact: I was only referring by implication, to my perhaps defective memory and to the fact that the reporter was a more accurate instrument for recording what my Honourable friend asked.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: The Honourable Member might consider the advisability of taking a tonic to improve his memory.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I think in that case I shall have to go to my Honourable friend for a tonic.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: But I shall charge him a fee for that.

APPOINTMENT OF AN INDIAN LADY TO A SUPERIOR ADMINISTRATIVE POST IN THE WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICE.

1072. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Has any Indian member of the Women's Medical Service ever been appointed to hold charge of a superior administrative post in the Service? If not, why not?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: Government have no information but will make inquiries.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: I hope that information will be communicated to me.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: Certainly

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I am sorry the Honourable Member was incapable of answering the previous question without a reference to the rules, but I submit, Sir, he should be in a position to give us an answer to this question.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: The fact of the matter is that there is a more convenient way of getting the information than by a reference to individual institutions; that is by reference to the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. The only thing is that it takes a little time to get a reply.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIAN LADIES TO THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

1073. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Is it a fact that fully qualified Indian ladies are available in sufficient number, and if so, will Government be pleased to state the steps they propose to take to increase the recruitment of Indian ladies in the Women's Medical Service?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: The Women's Medical Service is as I said just now, in answer to a supplementary question, not controlled by Government, but by the authorities of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, to whom the Honourable Member's suggestion for increasing recruitment of Indians for the Service will be passed on.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: On the strength of that, is it not the duty of the Government to give us information on this matter?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: Sir, if I had suggested, either by word or by gesture, that it was not the duty of the Government to investigate, I would not have undertaken to make inquiries.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Logic! Sir, Logic!

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: When this question and the reply are communicated to the authorities of the Dufferin Fund, will Government be good enough to add their recommendation that they should take steps to advance the recruitment of Indian ladies to this Service?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: That suggestion of my friend will be considered, but I think it would be just as well to point out that, in principle, it is rather difficult for Government merely because Central revenues make a contribution to the financial needs of a particular unofficial organisation, merely on the strength of that, to assume the rôle of dictating as to what the composition of their staff should be; I mean that if we apply that to the Women's Medical Service, we may extend it as well as to the Benares Hindu University, the Aligarh Moslem University, and other organisations of that kind.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is it not a fact that, while dictation is not desirable, a strong recommendation is permissible? .

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: A suggestion perhaps, yes. As regards the recommendation, I would remind the Honourable Member that the Executive Council of the Women's Medical Service, or rather the Countess of Dufferin's

Fund, consists of representatives of this House, and it is open to my friend to communicate his suggestion through them, because they are more directly in a position to influence the attitude of the Council than Government.

DISCHARGE CERTIFICATES FROM INDIAN SEAMEN.

1074. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if instructions have been issued by them, that the under-mentioned clause shall be made obligatory in the articles of agreement with native seamen engaged in this country?

"By order of the Government of India, Masters of vessels are notified that, under no circumstances, are seamen to be signed on without continuous discharge certificates, either as substitutes at the time of sailing or otherwise, and these certificates must, in all cases, have affixed to them the seamen's photograph, thumb-print, and identification marks."

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the Act under which these mandatory orders are issued by them?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether the above stipulation is made obligatory in connection with the articles of agreement with European seamen engaged in this country?

(d) If the answer to part (c) is in the negative, will Government be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

(e) Are Government aware that, by making such stipulations, as are referred to in part (a), absolutely obligatory under all circumstances, a lot of inconvenience has been caused to shipping, especially when ships are compelled to sign men on at the last moment?

(f) If the answer to part (e) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what steps they have taken, or propose to take, to remedy this state of things?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) Yes.

(b) The instructions have been issued under executive orders.

(c) No.

(d) The continuous discharge certificate, besides being a record of service, is also a certificate of identity and nationality. Its possession by Indian seamen is insisted upon, in order to furnish such seamen with a document of identity and nationality in any country which the ship may visit.

(e) Government have received no complaints to this effect.

(f) Does not arise.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: What particular seamen does my Honourable friend, Mr. Haji, refer to as native seamen?

(No answer was given.)

EFFECT OF THE DEFERRED REBATES SYSTEM ON THE SUGAR TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA.

1075. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Are Government aware that the Conference Lines, carrying on the sugar trade between Java and India, have recently introduced the following clause in the contract for the carriage of sugar between Java and India?

"No consignee of any goods, in respect whereof this rebate is claimed, has between and , either directly or indirectly, imported goods into Burma, Ceylon, or British Indian Ports from Java direct, by any vessels other than those despatched by the Asiatic Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., and/or British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., and/or Java-Bangal Line, and/or Nippon Yusen Kaisha. No consignee of any goods, in respect whereof this rebate is claimed, has between and shipped and goods for transshipments at Singapore, except by the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij, and such transshipments have been made solely to the steamers of the British Indian Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., and/or the Indo-China Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., and/or the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Save as above stated, no shipments have been made by any such consignees for transshipment at any port."

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what steps they have taken, or propose to take, to urge upon the Conference Lines in question the deletion of such clauses as are referred to in part (a)?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether the clause referred to in part (a) forms part of the contract for carriage of goods by sea in any part of the world?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state if they are aware that the introduction of such a clause will be a severe restraint on trade, and will seriously affect the position of the sugar merchants in India, who are not importing sugar to this country by the steamers of the Conference Lines?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) Prior to the receipt of the Honourable Member's question, Government had not seen the clause in the contract quoted by him. They are taking steps to obtain copies of the contract as it stood before and after revision.

(b) and (d). Government will consider the matter, when the copies are received.

(c) Government have no information.

PREVENTION OF A MONOPOLY IN THE CINEMA THEATRE BUSINESS.

1076. ***Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan:** (a) Is it not a fact that, in countries like America and England, a monopoly in the Theatre business is not permitted?

(b) Are Government aware that certain persons are trying to establish a monopoly in the cinema theatre business? Do Government propose to adopt any measures to check the monopoly in the cinema theatre business? If so, how?

(c) Is it a fact that a monopoly in cinema theatre business means the extinction of small showmen? Do Government propose to do anything to protect them?

(d) Is it the intention of Government to introduce legislation for the purpose of restraining one company from owning all cinemas in any one particular town?

(e) Is there any law at present to protect film importers against pirates, who import stolen or used films for which others have paid heavy prices? If the answer be in the negative, do Government intend to introduce legislation to put down this obnoxious practice?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Government are not aware of any special legislation in America and England of the nature referred to by the Honourable Member.

(b) to (d). The Honourable Member is apparently referring to the allegations made against Madan Theatres Limited, that they have acquired, or are attempting to acquire, a monopoly, and that their activities are injurious to the rest of the trade, and against the public interest. I would refer him to paragraphs 88 to 92 of the Cinema Committee's Report, in which the allegations have been examined. It will be seen that the Committee are of the opinion that there is nothing in the activities of the Company which calls for interference. The question of taking any action in the direction suggested by the Honourable Member does not, therefore, arise.

(e) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to paragraph 185 of the Cinema Committee's Report, and to Appendix H to that Report. The question of the establishment of a Central Bureau, which is referred to in that paragraph, is at present under the consideration of the Government of India.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAIBAG-JAMKHANDI-BAGALKOT AND SHEDBAL ATHNI-BIJAPUR RAILWAYS.

1077. ***Mr. D. V. Belvi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have abandoned the scheme of constructing the Raibag-Jamkhandi-Bagalkot and Shedbal-Athni-Bijapur Railway lines shown in the Railway Budget for the year 1928-1929, but omitted in the Railway Budget for 1929-30?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, what are the reasons which led Government to abandon the schemes?

(c) If the answer to part (a) be in the negative, when do Government hope to begin the construction of the lines?

Mr. P. B. Rau: Of the lines mentioned, the Athni-Bijapur line was not included at all in the budget for 1928-29. The Shedbal-Athni line was included for survey, and the Raibag-Jamkhandi-Bagalkot line for construction. The last has now been omitted from the current year's budget, in-

pursuance of the policy, explained in the budget speech of the Honourable Member for Railways, of devoting our efforts during 1929-30 mainly to the completion of the lines already taken up.

The present position with regard to the lines referred to by the Honourable Member, is that a report on the Raibag-Jamkhandi-Bagalkot line has been received, and is under examination by the Railway Board. The Shedbal-Athni line was surveyed in the current year, and it was found that the line would be unremunerative. The Government of Bombay, who were referred to, were not prepared to give a guarantee at the moment pending further consideration of alternative lines in the locality.

CONSTRUCTION OF CERTAIN RAILWAY LINES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

1078. *Mr. D. V. Belvi: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have ever explored the possibilities of constructing the following new-railway lines in Southern India, viz.:

- (1) Dandeli to Karwar,
- (2) Karwar to Mangalore,
- (8) Mangalore to Mysore through Coorg,
- (4) Shimoga to Bhatkol?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the negative, are Government prepared to consider the suggestion and to take expert opinion on it?

Mr. P. E. Rau: A survey is at present in progress for a line northwards from Mangalore as far as Malpi, a distance of 37 miles, and until the report has been received and examined, Government are unable to say whether it will be desirable to extend this survey north of Malpi towards Karwar and further. No survey has been made of a line from Mangalore through Coorg to Mysore, but reconnaissances, which have been made for lines running up the Ghats from the coast, show that such a line would be very expensive. The traffic prospects of the Shimoga-Bhatkal project were investigated in 1920, and, as they were not hopeful, further consideration of the project was dropped.

NUMBER OF APPEALS FILED UNDER THE INDIAN INCOME-TAX ACT IN CERTAIN DISTRICTS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

1079. *Mr. D. V. Belvi: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of appeals filed under the Indian Income-tax Act in each of the six districts in the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency in each of the last five years; and
- (b) the total number of appeals in which the original assessment was either set aside wholly, or reduced, during each of the five years and in each of the six districts?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: (a) and (b). Two statements are laid on the table giving the information required, and also the number of assesseees.

Statement showing number of Appeals filed and successful under Sections 30 (1) and 32 (1) of the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, in the Southern Divisions of the Bombay Presidency for the years 1923-24 to 1927-28.

Section 30 (1), i.e., from the Income-tax Officer to the Assistant Commissioner.

Year.	Belgaum.		Bijapur.		Dharwar.		Kanara.		Kolaba.		Ratna- giri.		Total.	
	Filed.	Successful.	Filed.	Successful.	Filed.	Successful.	Filed.	Successful.	Filed.	Successful.	Filed.	Successful.	Filed.	Successful.
1923-24	133	23	58	24	78	10	57	19	116	48	98	44	540	168
1924-25	98	32	95	25	35	15	31	11	113	27	82	32	454	142
1925-26	32	19	15	4	31	9	16	3	88	44	57	22	239	101
1926-27	56	14	50	14	51	22	24	12	51	19	64	24	296	105
1927-28	144	79	76	17	85	37	73	10	121	47	74	20	573	210

Section 32 (1), i.e., from the Assistant Commissioner to the Commissioner.

1923-24	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	7	1
1924-25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1925-26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1926-27	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
1927-28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Statement showing the number of assesses in the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency during the years 1923-24 to 1927-28.

Year.	Belgaum.	Bizapur.	Dharwar.	Kanara.	Kolaba.	Ratnagiri.	Total.
1923-24	819	609	1,100	249	441	421	3,639
1924-25	780	640	1,033	242	404	420	3,579
1925-26	713	627	1,122	269	471	367	3,559
1926-27	750	656	978	259	488	382	3,510
1927-28	824	736	1,144	365	626	412	4,107

PROTESTS OF BAR ASSOCIATIONS AGAINST THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN HIGH COURTS BILL.

1080. ***Diwan Chaman Lall:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the protests, made by Bar Associations in India, against the provisions of the Indian High Courts Bill?

(b) Have Government made any representations to the Secretary of State for India, or the British Cabinet, regarding the undesirability of the clauses relating to the eligibility of Indian Civil servants for Chief Justiceships, and the prescribed minimum quota of Indian Civil servants for judgeships of Indian High Courts?

The Honourable Mr. J. Orerar: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me to question No. 987 on the 11th instant, and to the supplementary questions arising on it.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

NUMBERS OF PERSONS OF VARIOUS COMMUNITIES HOLDING CLERICAL APPOINTMENTS IN POST OFFICES IN PESHAWAR CANTONMENT AND ABBOTTABAD.

326. **Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) the present number of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs holding clerical appointments in the post offices in Peshawar Cantonment, and Abbottabad;

(b) the actual interpretation of the words:

(I) "inequality of communal representation",

(II) "minority and majority communities", and,

(III) "prevention of preponderance",

mentioned in the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs' circular letter No. 516/12/27, dated the 22nd November, 1927; and

(c) how the instructions contained in the letter quoted above are meant to be carried out in the North West Frontier Province?

(2) Is it a fact that the Muslim community is a majority one in the North West Frontier Province, while in communal representation in the postal service it happens to hold a low percentage of appointments?

(3) Are Government aware that the letter cited above, and the letter No. Staff-A.-02229/28, dated the 17th July, 1928, issued by the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs for removing inequalities in communal representation in the services of the Department are being used by the Office of the Postmaster-General, Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province solely for the exclusion of Muslims from those services?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given by me on the 11th of this month to the same question which was asked by Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz.

ALLEGED ORDERS AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS TO THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT IN CERTAIN DIVISIONS OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

327. Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan: (1) Is it a fact that:

- (a) in November last the Postmaster, Peshawar Cantonment, sent up to the Postmaster-General for approval, the examination papers of two candidates, one Hindu, and one Muslim, and although the Muslim candidate had only one mistake in dictation, and the Hindu six, it was the Hindu with six mistakes that was accepted, and the Muslim with one rejected, and that orders were issued at the same time that no more papers of Muslim candidates should be sent in and
- (b) similar orders excluding Muslims have also been given to Peshawar and Derajat Divisions practically stopping, with effect from 1st April, 1928, the recruitment of Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province, where they form as big a majority of population as 95 per cent.?

(2) If the answers to part (1) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what modifications they propose to make in the instructions to stop the grave injustice done to the Muslim community, and the sensation prevailing at present among the Muslims of the Province? If none, why not?

Mr. H. A. Sams: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given by me on the 11th of this month to a similar question No. 985 asked by Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz.

REJECTION ON MEDICAL GROUNDS OF CERTAIN HINDU CANDIDATES FOR CERTAIN IMPERIAL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

328. Mr. S. C. Mitra: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

- (1) whether he is aware that Babu Panchanan Chakravarty, who passed the B.A. examination of the Calcutta University, securing first place in the examination, was not allowed by the Bengal Government to appear at the Indian Civil Service examination in 1927 on the ground of a slight narrowness in the chest?
- (2) whether it is a fact that he was not allowed in 1928 to compete at the All-India Finance examination though he stood first in the M.A. examination, on the mere ground that he suffered from a slight ringworm on his waist?
- (3) whether another brilliant Hindu candidate was not allowed by the Bengal Government to appear at the 1928 Indian Police Service examination on the ground of his having slight tendency towards hydrocele?

- (4) If the answer to the above questions be in the negative, will the Honourable Member state on what medical grounds they were not allowed to sit at these examinations?
- (5) Is it a fact that Mr. Fazlur Rahman Khondokar was allowed by the Bengal Government to sit at the Indian Police Service examination in 1928, even though, he was declared by the Medical Board to have been suffering from hernia?
- (6) Is it a fact that the Police Service requires a more healthy body than the Indian Civil Service or Finance Service? If so, will the Honourable Member state why the two candidates referred to in questions (1), (2) and (3) have been debarred from examination while the candidate referred to in (5) has been allowed to sit at the examination? Will the Honourable Member please place on the table any other facts which led the Government of Bengal or the Public Services Commission to justify the differential treatment in the case of these candidates?

The Honourable Mr. J. Ozerar: (1) The answer is in the negative.

(2) The disease had attacked the candidate in various parts of his body, and the Medical Board reported that his condition was severe. In view of this report, the Public Service Commission did not consider that his admission to the examination could be justified.

(3) I know of no such case; but if the Honourable Member will specify the candidate whom he has in mind, I may be able to give him further information.

(4) These have been stated in my answer to the earlier parts of the question.

(5) Mr. Khondokar was reported by the Board to be suffering from hernia, curable by operation, and in accordance with the usual practice was admitted conditionally.

(6) For all these Services it is necessary that the candidate should be passed fit by a Medical Board. As regards the remainder of the question, I have nothing to add to what I have already said.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S ASSENT TO AMENDMENTS OF STANDING ORDERS.

Mr. President: I have to announce that, under section 67 (6) of the provisions of the Government of India Act, the Governor General has, on the 14th March, 1929, accorded his assent to Amendments Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7, and has withheld his assent from Amendment No. 8 passed by the Legislative Assembly, to Standing Orders, on the 14th March, 1929.

SECOND STAGE— *concl'd.**Expenditure charged to Revenue—concl'd.*DEMAND No. 38—ARMY DEPARTMENT—*concl'd.*

Mr. President: The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion which was before the House yesterday :

"That a reduced sum, not exceeding Rs. 5,35,800, 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, 1930, in respect of 'Army Department'."

Dr. B. S. Moonje (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, yesterday when we adjourned I was dealing with the question of the practical difficulties that our Government feels in the way of giving to our boys military education of the kind which the English people give to their boys in what are known as public schools of England. I find that one of the greatest practical difficulties,—practical certainly it is,—is the strong feeling of pessimism that seems to have taken hold of our British administrators. They think India can never be made capable of undertaking her own defence herself single-handed, without the help of the Britishers. They think that Indians will never be able to command armies, and defend India, without the assistance of British officers. Our late Commander-in-Chief, the late Lord Rawlinson, had gone to this extent in this pessimism, that he could never visualise a time when he could think he could safely entrust the defence of India to Indians, when he could think that Indians could be coming forward in large numbers to take the place of the British officers in the Army, or that they would be trained to take a lively interest in the profession of arms. He could not conceive of such a time, he could not visualise such a time ever arriving. He says that, not less than between two to three thousand people are required for officering the Indian Army, and he thinks that, even in a population of 30 crores, it is difficult to find 3,000 men competent enough to be the officers of this Army. He goes further and says that, even supposing we could select such men, train them in Dehra Dun, and force them through Sandhurst and Woolwich, he feels sure that, after they had been in the Army for 3, 4, or 5 years they would be so tired of that Army life, they would be so exhausted, they would be so fatigued, they would be so terrified of the risk of Army life and so fed up that they would think of giving up their papers, and would retire or resign. That is the kind of pessimism and that is I think the greatest practical difficulty in our way. But this is a mere speculation. We say that we can give you quite a good number of competent men. Our British officers say that they cannot find them. It is a mere speculation. Who is going to prove what is the fact? Who is going to show us the way to decide? Can history guide us? Can history teach us any lesson—history of the immediate past, and history of the remote past too? Can it be any guide to us? If we look at the history of the immediate past of the Mahrattas, what do you find? Do you find this kind of pessimism or chicken-heartedness in the Mahrattas? Do you find this kind of dislike for Army life among

the Mahrattas? I am not going to give you the evidence of Indian historians because it may be said that being Indians they will be partial to their own men. I am going to speak through the words of an Englishman, a historian of the namesake of our late Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Rawlinson. He wrote in the *Times of India* of the 6th November, 1928, as follows:

"What exactly was the appearance of the famous Mahratta Army which swept over India from Tanjore to the Indus and gave our troops a tough task at Assaye and Kirkee? (Cheers). (Kirkee was fought in 1818, hardly 110 years ago). Fyer describes Shivaji's hardy troopers as being 'Like our old Britons, half naked and as fierce . . .'"

After the Mahrattas had changed in time from naked and fierce troopers into gentlemen, how does Mr. Rawlinson then find them to be? How do they appear to him? He says:

"The Mahratta gentleman of those days thought little of his house or lands, his home was in the camp and the saddle and he was chiefly proud of his elephants, and his swift despatch camels, his Damascus blade and above all his horse."

And we are told today (the Skeen Committee's Report, p. 17) that:

"It may be difficult to find recruits who in civil life, are used to horses and horsemanship and who would be able to afford the cost of providing their own horses."

That was the army of the Mahrattas. Such were the gentlemen that composed the Mahratta Army. That was the army which the Mahratta race produced about 110 years ago. Now, shall we come to still nearer past? I shall mention only one incident of the Indian War of Independence, generally called the Mutiny of 1857, which was fought out hardly 75 years ago. It is of a lady, a Mahratta Brahmin widow of about 22 years old popularly known as the Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi. I ask you to search and to find out if you can in the history of the world a similar instance of leadership, intrepid courage, initiative, and skill on the battlefield in a woman. I would again prefer to speak through the words of an Englishman. Kaye and Malletson have written a History of the Indian Mutiny, of 1857. What do they write of this Mahratta lady, a Brahmin widow of hardly 22 years?

"She" (Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi) "proved herself a most capable ruler. She established a mint, fortified the stony places, cast cannons, raised fresh troops. Into every act of her Government she threw all the energy of a strong and resolute character. Possessing considerable personal attractions, young, vigorous and not afraid to show herself to the multitude, she gained influence over the hearts of her people. It was this influence, this force of character (which is said to be wanting amongst us in these days), added to a splendid and inspiring courage that enabled her some months later to offer to the English troops, under Sir Hugh Rose a resistance which, made to a less able Commander, might even have been successful."

This is what the Mahratta race produced hardly seventy years ago. If history can be any guide, is anybody justified in saying that so long as the Mahrattas live in India, quite apart from the Sikhs, quite apart from the Jats, quite apart from the Rajputs, and other fighting classes of India, is anybody justified in saying that, so long as the Mahrattas live in this land, there will be a want of capable men, a want of young men fit for army service and fit to take the risks of battlefields? Well, I would not go so far as to say that this is adding insult to injury, but I would say this is a sample of pessimism which has taken hold of your hearts and it does not become you.

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

I would now remind you of the history of your long past, the long past history of the present day Britishers. And this history of the long past of the Britishers was written by a British historian. He says that Britons, in those days, were so reduced to helplessness during the time when the Empire of Rome was over them, as the British Empire is over us to-day, that, when that Empire fell and they became defenceless, they did not know how to defend themselves. Fortunately, we are not in that kind of helpless position. We know we have got men, we have got chivalry, we have got courage, and we only want training and opportunities. The historian says that they, the Britons of those days, went about in search of renowned generals in Europe for protection and the fame of the renowned Aetius, Prefect of Gaul, having reached their ears, the Britons sent their ambassadors with letters in the following mournful strain, as the historian tells us :

"To Aetius thrice counsel, the groans of the Britons. The Barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea throws us back on the swords of the Barbarians; so that we have nothing left but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered."

D'Henry's History of England, 2nd Edition, Vol. I, p. 129.

Such a race, by training, has been now built up into a race which has founded an Empire over which it is their quite legitimate boast that the sun never sets. Training is such a thing. Training does not recognise whether a person is martial or whether a person is not martial. What we Hindus call *samskar* is called training by the westerners. *Samskar* makes a man, *samskar* makes a beast of a man. If the training that is given is the training of a clerk, you can make only clerks. If the training that is given is the training of soldiers, you can turn them out into good soldiers. Therefore, I appeal to the British people, I appeal to the people who are responsible for the Government of this country, divest yourself of this pessimism. This is the most practical difficulty in your way and in our way. We shall help you to divest yourself of that pessimism if you will.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran: Non-Muhamadan): It is not pessimism; it is distrust.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay City: Non-Muhamadan Urban): It means the same.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: And will you not take a lesson from your own history of the immediate past, and that lesson is taught to you by your own men. This is what Colonel Repington says in his book, "Policy and Arms", at page 105:

"With our rusty, if venerable, eighteenth century systems, we (England and America) both took between two and three years to create our national armies and during that period an enemy could have done with us pretty much as he liked, had we been alone. We too often forget the fact that French, Russians and Italians stood in the breach while we English speaking people were improvising our Armies."

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.)

He goes further and says:

"Should we in India not take any lesson from this? If we thus remain unprepared for the emergency (and who can say when that emergency is going to arise), where shall we find French, Russians and Italians to stand in the breach, while we shall be engaged in creating a national army in India."

Does not this history teach you a lesson? Should you not accept your own history as your guide? I therefore say let us both combine together, let us both co-operate with each other and come forward and say, "From to-day we shall engage ourselves whole-heartedly in evolving a national army in India for the defence of India, so that the army may be of use in an emergency both to India and the Empire whenever the need comes". National armies are not made in a day. It took you three years to create a national army in spite of your military tradition, in spite of your public school education and in spite of your wealth. Russians, Italians and French had to stand in the breach between you and your enemies. Let us take a lesson from that blunder of yours, so that it may not be said of us that we again committed the very same blunders and we did not take the lessons of history to heart.

I have now to bring to your notice an argument that is always flung at our face—that we want self-government and *Swaraj*, and that we have never been taking any kind of trouble about preparing for self-defence. Lord Rawlinson also had been saying the same thing. One day he was sitting in this Assembly and he writes in his diary about his experiences of that day. He says:

"A motion was brought forward in 1924"

—when perhaps we were non-co-operating—

"for the grant of full Dominion status at once. I did not speak, as the main issues are purely political, but I observed that none of the advocates of the proposal even mentioned the prime difficulty. A country cannot govern itself if it cannot defend itself, and it will be many a long year before India can do without British troops and officers."

Sir Hugh Cocke (Bombay: European): He did not say "Never".

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Many a long year here means to the end of time that is, "never". Rightly or wrongly, we Indians have become so impatient that, many a year must mean 5 or 10 years at the most and not more but if it means more then in our dictionary it means "never". This kind of argument has been advanced from time immemorial, that is, from the time when the Britishers came to this country. They have been saying, "We have come to India to train Indians for self-defence and for Self-government". And this kind of arguing will go on perhaps to the end of time, that is, to the end of the British Empire, when that will come, and even then in their eyes India will not be found capable of defending herself. But a beginning has to be made. 150 years of your rule have passed away. When is that beginning to be made? If our Commander-in-Chief, late Lord Rawlinson, was really earnest and if he had begun, say even in 1924, four years would have passed by this time. If "many a long year" means 5 years, 10 years or even 50 years, and if a beginning had been made in 1924, at least four years would have been over by now and we would have been nearer the goal by four years. But we are today in exactly the same position in which we were when Lord Rawlinson said this four years ago. Perhaps ten years hence, when the next Commander-in-Chief and the next Viceroy come, we will again find ourselves in exactly the same position. I ask, is that the right way to go about the thing? When we have been bringing it persistently to the notice of the Government that the Territorial Force should be looked upon as the beginning of the national army and that it should be expanded.

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

and that its training should be diversified by raising different units such as the Air Force Section, the Artillery Section, etc., what response have we been getting? Nothing encouraging. The Shea Committee says that 'Until a higher standard of efficiency in the infantry has been attained, these units should not be raised'. Is there true reasoning and honest logic in this? Why I say true reasoning and honest logic is because I doubt it. In my speech the other day on the Budget, I had proved by quoting figures, that for the training of the Indian Territorial Force, if I remember aright, now Rs. 5-8-0 is spent per head but on the training of the Auxiliary Force about Rs. 12-8-0 is spent per head. If this kind of discrimination and stringency is going to be persisted in the training of the Territorial Force, I ask—will ever a time come when you shall satisfy yourself or anybody will be satisfied that the training of the Territorial Force has reached a high standard of efficiency. No. This kind of logic does not appeal to us. Make your attempt as complete as possible, as complete and generous as we think it ought to be and if the required standard of efficiency is not then attained, then alone the blame will come upon us and I am sure that will never be. The Shea Committee further says:

"We are however definitely of opinion that Government should then"

—that is, when the required standard of efficiency is attained—

"make the attempt if conditions otherwise appear to be favourable and at the time should consider the possibility of diversifying the training in the University Training Corps by giving artillery training therein. For we recognise that the desire to develop the Territorial Force all round is one which ought to be met so soon as material circumstances afford the prospect of success. The attempt need not be long postponed. We are sanguine enough to hope that without departing from the conditions which we propose, a beginning may be made with a few squadrons of cavalry and a battery of artillery within the next 4 years."

The Shea Committee's Report, page 17.

This Report was brought to light two years ago. There are still two years, according to the time limit proscribed. I asked a question whether there is any proposal for creating more units and the reply was, "There is no such proposal". Should we not make an attempt to make these conditions possible by intensifying the training in the remaining two years' time? Even this the Government does not agree to do and the Territorial Force will remain pretty much the same two years hence as it is today. I have now finished, but before finishing my speech, I want to ask some categorical questions, some specific questions of the authorities concerned.

My first question is, what lead have Government given to local Governments, or what lead do they propose to give, as recommended by the Skeen Committee in the matter of "emphasising the paramount national importance of reforming the educational system of India in the directions we (the Skeen Committee) have recommended" that is, that the military education of boys should commence in schools? I want a definite and clear reply to my question. What lead have Government given or do they propose to give? If they have not given any lead yet, what lead do they propose to give in the immediate future? I want a clear and definite reply to this question.

My second question is, do the Government propose to raise other units, and particularly the air force section, the artillery, the machine gun and

the tanks corps sections? What I am particular about is the air section. Only the other day two more squadrons of the Air Force were imported from England, though people for the last four years have been crying for the raising of an air force section in India, but no response has been made, and a large amount of expense has been saddled upon India by importing the two squadrons. I am not objecting to it if there were any immediate need of it, but what I say is, why don't you make a beginning in the education of our boys for the purpose of starting an air force section, so that in the near future, you will not again need to get extraneous help from Britain?

Do Government propose to raise other units, besides the infantry, so as to bring the Territorials in line with the Auxiliaries, and if so how soon? May we expect an announcement? We are not satisfied with the present condition either of the Auxiliaries or of the Territorials. I should not be understood to mean that I have got any kind of jealousy against Auxiliaries. If the Anglo-Indians comprising the Auxiliaries regard themselves as Indians owning India as their motherland, then they have as much right to demand facilities for the military education of their boys as we Indians have. Therefore I should not be misunderstood on that point.

Now, my third question is, do the Government propose to respond to the keen desire of the people and co-operate with them, by taking early steps for starting a military college in India? The Committee report that a military college should be started in India in 1933, and they have given their calculation and have cooked up the whole thing and prepared a ready-made scheme and put it before the Government, saying that it will be quite possible to start a military college in 1933. Do they, or do they not, intend to take action on that recommendation of the Skeen Committee?

Now I am going to ask my last question. It is a very simple one, absolutely very simple. There is no kind of complication in it; I do not think there is anything impractical in it. It is a simple question. I am going to ask Government, do Government propose themselves to start rifle clubs for our school-going boys as they have started in England, in South Africa, in Australia and in New Zealand? Do they propose to start rifle clubs, rifle associations in the schools, colleges and for the people generally in India? Or at least—I am going to put a still simpler question—will they afford every facility and every encouragement if the people come forward and start rifle clubs? This is a perfectly simple question, and quite a practical proposition too. It is absolutely an uncomplicated question, and I don't think there ought to be any difficulty in the way of answering it. I expect a definite reply from the authorities concerned. I have finished.

Colonel J. D. Crawford (Bengal: European) : Sir, I always feel that this debate on the Army Department is one of the most important debates in this House. It is obviously the fundamental problem of self-government in India, and therefore it deserves the very serious consideration of every one who believes that the intention of the British Cabinet is to make India a responsible self-governing country, and an integral part of the British Empire, (Hear, hear). I, therefore, deprecate the speech which fell from the lips of Diwan Chaman Lall yesterday. It failed entirely to take into consideration the various factors of the problem. It failed to

[Colonel J. D. Crawford.]

recognise the realities of the situation, and it ended up by being offensive in tone and offensive to the distinguished officers who are carrying out our military defence (Hear, hear) and who are not responsible for the constitutional conditions prevailing in India. That is not a helpful contribution to the debate. It was thoroughly unconstructive, it was thoroughly futile in every way.

On the other hand, I turn to my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, to find him making a very serious study of the whole problem, putting forward suggestions which will give us the groundwork on which we may hope to build.

Now, before I turn to this question of Indianisation, there were two points raised in this debate of interest to a military man. One is the big question of how to build up an Indian Army, officered by Indians, and the other was an interesting question raised by Mr. Arthur Moore, as regards a change of outlook in our military authorities in regard to the means of defence in this country. I will deal with the latter point first. I do not think I am prepared to follow Mr. Arthur Moore into that land of dreams in which he visualises a world which would move and have its being in the air. But I do recognise with him that modern inventions and modern improvements are constantly necessitating a change in the outlook of those responsible for the defensive measures of any country.

Now the first error which I think Mr. Arthur Moore committed was in trying to place India and England in the same category as regards the defensive measures required by each. He drew attention to the vast difference between the proportions of ground troops and the Air Forces in England and the position in India. The question of a country's defences is very largely a question of its local conditions. Now aeroplanes as an offensive force must have a concentrated target to be effective. In the intensely civilised countries of the West you have, in the capitals of those countries, what is practically the nerve centre of the whole country concentrated in one place. It is possible, therefore, that an offensive against that nerve centre may change the morale of the whole country. At the same time you have to consider the question of your defensive measures in case of an attack upon yourself, and that necessitates in those countries a bigger attention being paid to the dangers from the air. But where in India are we faced with quite the same position? Have we along our frontier any big nerve centre which is concentrated and open to attack, and which would change the morale of the country?

Mr. Arthur Moore (Bengal: European): May I say that it was the appearance of a single aeroplane over the enemy's capital which ended the last war India was engaged in?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I quite agree with Mr. Arthur Moore and recognise the possibilities that aeroplanes may be so used. A classic example of this, I think, Mr. Moore will find in the French campaign against the Riffs. There the French concentrated enormous air forces, which came against people who were not going to be frightened, and consequently their morale was not affected and the French had to use their ground troops. The effect on morale may come off, but if it does not, you are left with nothing, and have to take your ground troops for your work.

All these defensive measures which we are using today have their limitations. It was only a month or two ago that Delhi found itself faced with a petrol famine, and it would be quite easy to imagine the whole of your mechanical means of transport being put out of action by the fact that petrol was not available and you would find yourself once more going into action with your loads on donkeys. That is always likely to happen. Again, aeroplanes and all mechanical devices of all sorts are dependent upon the nature of the ground they have to move on. So far as aeroplanes are concerned, they must have secure landing grounds. These are the limitations. Surely the correct attitude is to keep a just proportion between your ground and your air according to the particular problem and according to the nature of the problem with which you have to deal. I think, so far as we can see—I have no doubt that the Army Secretary will be able to give more information—we have not lost sight of the value of modern inventions in war. For instance the only increase which we had in our military strength during the past year has been, as was pointed out by Dr. Moonje, about two squadrons of air force. Obviously the Government realise the position and the more recent evacuation of the Legations in Kabul shows that our Government are not backward in recognising the use to which aeroplanes can be put.

Mr. Arthur Moore: They had to borrow the machines from Irak.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I regret that fact myself. It is a fact that machines had to be borrowed. A squadron of Victoria aeroplanes is badly needed.

Again as another instance regarding the use of air force, take our internal security problem. A quarter of our military budget—approximately a quarter—is spent on internal security measures. Now, of what use would aeroplanes have been in the riots at Calcutta or the riots in Bombay? Obviously none. We could not have used them.

Mr. Arthur Moore: Yes, to transport reinforcing troops quickly.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I will grant their value for purposes of mobility. But the presence of troops on the spot is in the nature of a preventative measure—a fact that may mean you need not ever bring into use force to maintain peace. Increased mobility is no doubt one of the advantages that will accrue from the use of aeroplanes, but if you are going to use aeroplanes for the purpose of maintaining internal security, if at all you are going to use them, they can only be used in a punitive manner, which is both intense and indiscriminate, which I believe, would never receive the sanction of this House.

There is one other factor in this particular problem and that is the question of cost. I have made some inquiries and I find that the cost of maintenance of one squadron of fighting planes costs Rs. 22½ lakhs per annum. That is the cost of maintenance of four battalions of Indian infantry. I ask any gentleman here whether he would sooner have 12 aeroplanes to do your work or four battalions of infantry to do the work, and I think this would open one's eyes to the actual position. Planes are expensive, but I do not mean to say that we should not, as Mr. Arthur Moore suggested, keep our outlook up-to-date and recognise the advantages of all these various means of warfare and constantly be revising our defence plans in accordance with them. But I do submit that the very success

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which has been obtained at Kabul is liable to lead to a swinging of the pendulum too far the other way. What we want to do is to keep a just sense of proportion in this matter and to see all our means of defence are adequately suited to our particular requirements.

Now, I would like to turn to the very important question raised by Honourable Members opposite, namely the question of Indianisation. You already know that I was one of those who criticised the Skeen Committee, not in any sense that I do not want to get on to the problem, but in the sense, that I believe that those lines were not really the way in which to tackle the problem. I think Dr. Moonje is on better lines. He is endeavouring to lay the groundwork which will produce the men that we require not only for our Army, but for all our other administrative services in this country. I do not say that that is all that should be done. It is obviously right that we should concentrate on training now. It is no good bewailing that it has not been done. We must face facts as they are. We find, in all spheres, great difficulty in getting the stamp of men required to carry the new responsibilities being granted to us. Therefore in every direction it appears to my mind that the first point should be concentration on training, and that training should be at the earliest possible age. Dr. Moonje bewails the fact that nothing has been done. I think he joined hands with me the other day in forcing on the Government certain steps in that direction.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: The Government have not done anything so far. They have done only the post office work.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: We must allow Government a certain amount of time. I do not think it is more than a fortnight since we passed that Resolution. All that we know is that Government accepted it. The Government said they would make it effective in the areas under their immediate control, and so far as the Provincial Governments were concerned, they would press on them the adoption of such a policy. I think Dr. Moonje is moving on the right lines. He asks, what has the Government done? I will say what has Dr. Moonje done. There has been the Hartog Committee going into the whole question of education in India. It is a most competent body to look into these things.

Honourable Members: We have nothing to do with the Hartog Committee.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Unfortunately some of the Members were misled, and they refused to co-operate with the Committee and thus they lost a good opportunity of driving home on that Committee the changes in the educational system which they feel so keenly about. You must take the blame for having lost the opportunity. You have not used the opportunity that was afforded to you, no matter what your views may be on the Simon Commission, no matter what your position is regarding the Simon Commission—I think it does not matter even if you have objected to the composition of the Commission—you might have availed yourself of the opportunity and driven home on the Committee that is set up for this particular inquiry the fact that the whole of our educational system should be reformed.

On the question of Indianisation, I feel that the House is constantly forgetting the fact that a battalion has 30 officers. I think each British battalion has 30 to 32 officers and Indian battalions have some 30 officers. Now of that 30, 18 are already Indians. Now, what I suggest is, that instead of worrying yourself momentarily about the small British element at the top, your obvious plan should be to set out to make these 18 Indian officers who are now in the battalions more effective, more highly educated and more capable of fulfilling the duties of their jobs and capable of advancing, through the usual professional examinations, to the higher ranks in the battalion. In fact, anyone who enters the Army as an officer in charge of a platoon, would have the right, if he has the capacity, eventually to go up to the rank of Field Marshall. That is I believe a better way of doing things, and I venture to think a more rapid way of getting on to the job which you have at heart.

In spite of the fact that the Army Secretary spoke only yesterday, not one of the Members, who are tackling this difficult and interesting problem, took him up on what he has been doing. Dr. Moonje says nothing has been done. I beg to differ from that opinion. I think very much has been done. We hear of two colleges, one at Jhelum and the other at Jullundur, established for the training of boys from the age of 7 to 18. Has Dr. Moonje visited these colleges? I certainly suggest that he should. I understand these colleges are turning out very fine material indeed. Not only did he mention these two, but also there is another one at Dehra Dun which he mentioned

Dr. B. S. Moonje: The admissions there are confined to certain classes known as the so-called martial classes.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I imagine it is confined at the moment to certain classes.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: There you are.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I have got something to say on that point. I understand that Government are going to open another college at Agra of the same description.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: The Government have done nothing.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: There are already two colleges which I mentioned, and in addition they are going to open one at Agra.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: No, not at Agra.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: What have you done? There is no use of rushing in and setting up 50 colleges at one and the same time. First you have to establish a few colleges, and if they are effective, and if they are run on right lines, then more will follow. That is the only cautious policy to pursue.

Lala Hans Raj (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Will they admit my son into any of these colleges?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I would suggest to the Honourable Member to put the question to the persons responsible. I know one of his sons, who is already a gallant officer in the Army holding commissioned rank. The particular point that interested me most was the proposal to open

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what is to be known as the Kitchner College for improved training of the existing Indian officers. That is the line which I think is the correct line for development. Although, for some reason, the Government do not want to say so, the Government are opening a military college, which, in years to come, will be an Indian military Sandhurst. Now, Sir, the recruitment to that college is, I think, limited in certain respects. We have got a very difficult problem. The men who enter into the Indian Army today do so in the hope that they may rise one day to the rank of a Subadar-Major. Their needs also have to be considered; and we cannot change practice right over at once, and we could not have the change even if we wanted it. We therefore want some half-measure, some transitional measure. In this college I understand, it is the intention of the military authorities to adopt the suggestion that I have made, of taking youngsters from the Army, picking out such of them after two or three years' service, as are likely to become, in course of time, suitable Indian officers, and then give them a real officer's training in the new Kitchner College. That, to my mind, is a very sound idea. I think we have also got to recognise that we will have, at the same time, to leave some of our commissioned ranks open to the men who come through the ranks. I think the Government might as well consider whether, in that College, they could not recruit by examination, a certain number of individuals from the various schools throughout India. I think we might leave a proportion undoubtedly, open to a general examination. That seems to me to give scope to what Dr. Moonje requires, and quite rightly. I do not think we want to confine our activities solely to what are broadly known as the martial races. Dr. Moonje has spoken much about a national army; and that is one of the difficulties. He speaks of a national army and expounds to the House the fighting value of the Mahrattas, Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Muhammadans and others. That is our difficulty; we must recognise that it is one of the difficulties of the problem we have to face, as to how we are going to have a national army

Dr. B. S. Moonje: The Mahrattas, the Punjabis, the Sikhs, don't they constitute the Indian nation?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: But why does he talk of them? It is perfectly true that they are all portions inside the Indian nation, which is more superficial than real

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Just as there are the Irishmen, the Scotsmen, the Welsh and the Englishmen, so there are the Rajputs, the Sikhs the Mahrattas and others constituting the Indian nation.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Not yet, Sir. When that time will come I do not know; perhaps in the course of a few years, but you have not got that far today. You must face the fact. Go to an Indian regiment and you will see for yourself the way in which the sepoy looks upon an Indian officer, no matter how straight an Indian King's commissioned officer is. He is practically a suspect the whole time. That is the mentality which has got to be changed, before you can make any real serious advance.

Honourable Members: What is this due to?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Honourable Members ask me this question. I think it is for them to ask this question of themselves, what is it due to? Not only have you got to give them educational reform, but you have got to concentrate on social and religious reform, and then are you likely to march more towards an Indian nation. But so long as your attention is concentrated too deeply on the religious side alone, and too little on the national side, you will find yourself, to my mind, in an undoubted difficulty in regard to this matter.

Now, those are some of the difficulties you have got to overcome. I submit that the Government have moved—it is of course open for the Honourable Members opposite to say that that movement has not been sufficient—but I say they have done a considerable amount in what I believe a very useful direction. And as I said, Dr. Moonje himself is hard at work on the more essential need for the ground work to be done in regard to the military colleges. There is a loose use of the term "military college". Some are thinking of a college, the equivalent of Sandhurst; others use the expression to cover what we in England would class as preparatory or public schools. I think, if we confine our use of the term "military colleges" to those institutions devoted to the training of officers, and call the others preparatory schools and colleges even though their purpose is to produce men who can finally be admitted into the military college, we will clear up some of the confusion that exists. So, there we are. That is the way in which I look upon the problem. I believe that we are making a substantial start

Honourable Members: No.

An Honourable Member: In an entirely wrong way.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: That is what I submit—I have some knowledge of the Indian Army. I have been there for 18 years, and I submit it is a practical and effective method of getting what we want. I think we should take all the advantages of the training that we can get in the colleges in England. I do not think we can expect today that a military college here will be able to give us all the qualifications which we can get from Sandhurst.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: What is the practical difficulty in our having a Sandhurst here?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: If you mean the establishment of a military college here that will give you the training and qualifications of Sandhurst, in that case I say that we cannot do that immediately. Do you mean to say that a new University, which is started in India, has the same standard of qualifications as the old Universities? Of course not. The older Universities have greater qualifications.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhamadan): Therefore do not start.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I say the Government are making a start; that is the very point I wanted to make out. We cannot expect to produce in the new college individuals with the same qualifications as we can get from Sandhurst. In course of time undoubtedly we will be able to have them; but if today we start with a military college where you can train people to get qualifications suitable to the job they are asked to do

Dr. B. S. Moonje: What is the time-limit?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: The Honourable Member is ever sticking to time-limits. I submit you cannot fix the time-limit in such cases. You can only expect that the development will be so rapid that the time will be short. You cannot tie it down like that

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): Some approximate time you can give.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Some estimate you want

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): With your 18 years' experience, what is your estimate?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: If you mean an estimate of the time for bringing into being a training college, that is largely a question of your lower educational work. If you can push on with your educational work, I do not see why your military college should not, in the very near future, be turning out the stamp of officers that you require.

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Who is responsible for the low educational qualifications? This Government, any way.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Government is of course responsible for everything, and the people in the country are never responsible for anything. Dr. Moonje was speaking of our splendid public schools in England; but the whole of them are practically provided for by the parents. We have not got that spirit here in India. People here are not prepared to pay for the education of their children in the same manner as parents are prepared to pay in England.

Mr. B. Das: We could not do all that here without you! you wait till next year.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I am afraid I differ from my Honourable friend. We cannot afford to spend our time over these things

Mr. Chairman (Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas): Will the Honourable Member proceed with his speech? I have allowed enough conversation across the floor.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: That is my point, Sir, that something is being done and being done on lines which I believe will be effective and are practical. In my opinion I do not consider that the vote of censure is justified on grounds which the other side have so far failed to put forward.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, this is not the first time that we have heard my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford on the question of the Army in India. I always listen to him with great respect and with great interest but I am always disappointed, and today my disappointment is keener than ever. He divided his speech into three definite sections. First, he began by saying, this is a very important debate. I understand that position. Then he said it has a constitutional bearing. Again I understand that. But he did not go further, because he still feels that he is a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army, and if he decides to go into the constitutional issue he may get court-martialled.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I cannot be court-martialled.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. K. O. Roy: Well, Sir, there was then a duel between my gallant friend Colonel Crawford and Mr. Moore over the military advantages of ground troops and aircraft; but in dealing with ground troops and aircraft my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford forgot to mention three primary considerations, namely, that the Indian Army is not a defence force, because it is an offensive as well as a defensive force—in fact, more offensive than defensive—that the Indian Army has a great obligation upon it of internal security, and, lastly, that in the Army in India we have to differentiate between two classes, the white army and the black army. So under the circumstances the duel which took place between Mr. Moore and Colonel Crawford had no real foundation in the debate.

Now, Sir, the next point I come to is, what is the position of the Viceroy's commissioned officers? I am at one with my Honourable friend in improving their position; but we want the sons of our intelligentsia to get into the commissioned ranks of His Majesty's Army in India. That has been our demand for the last 4 years to which we have received no reply yet.

Well, the other day my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas advised us to follow, and to trust the Honourable the Finance Member. I have trusted him so far. Every vote I have recorded this year has been in his favour, but this vote will be cast against him because I am conscious that there has been no response of any kind to our demand. I tried my best to read my Honourable friend Mr. Mackworth Young's speech this morning. I congratulate him on his well-earned C. I. E., but I cannot congratulate him on his speech. He told us that the Indianisation of the eight regiments will take 22 to 25 years. When Mr. Jinnah told us that, under the scheme of the Government of India, even partial Indianisation would take 100 years, I believed him to be wrong; but after reading Mr. Mackworth Young's speech, I believe that Mr. Jinnah was right and my reading of the situation wrong. But at this stage I wish to leave the Sandhurst Committee's Report alone because the Government is fully conscious that, if there is one thing on which Indian opinion is unanimous, it is in support of this Report. I come now to the constitutional aspect. There is one consideration which has resulted from my study of Army administration in India and I have studied it, not like my friend Colonel Crawford for a short time, but for 25 years, and the net result of my study is the conviction that we want a national army and a policy of rapid Indianisation. How is that to be achieved? Not under the existing system. Where is the Commander-in-Chief, the Honourable Member in charge of the Army, today? Where is he? There is not a Minister here responsible to this House, although this may be an irresponsible House. Whoever the Army Member is, should be in his seat today. Where is he?

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): He is in Lahore.

Mr. K. O. Roy: I am very glad to have the news from you but I, as a newsman, already know where he is. But the position is that so long as the administrative control, and the executive control are vested in

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one man. India will not get the right national military policy, she cannot get it. Sir, what is the practice in other countries? The Commander-in-Chief has been abolished in most countries, but I agree, I do not deny for one moment, that there is need of a Commander-in-Chief here in India. But what I consider to be the most pressing need today is a civilian Member for the Army. The supremacy of the civil authority over the Army in this country is absolutely essential. On this point, since Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar left this Council, his lead has been forgotten.

And what is the next thing? We want to secure a national military policy. We want a proper Army Council with a strong representation of the civil element on it. Every country has got such an institution except India, and it is high time that India got it too. The present moment is psychological. There is to be a review of the constitutional position in India, not only by the Simon Commission but by His Majesty's Government. The position of the Commander-in-Chief must come under review. This is the time when we should put forward our proposals. What we want in India is a re-assertion of the civil authority over Army affairs. We want an Army Council, created by Act of Parliament or by Act of this House or by a Royal Warrant. As soon as we get these changes, but not till then, the Army will be able to move on. But today what is the position? The executive head of the Army makes proposals, and the administrative head sanctions it. And what is his position—will the House consider for a moment? He, as the Commander-in-Chief, occupies a most unenviable position. He has four masters to serve—the Governor General in Council, the Secretary of State and his Military Secretary, next the Imperial General Staff, and fourthly His Majesty's Government and the Imperial Defence Committee.

What can the Commander-in-Chief do? The authority over the Indian Army should be transferred to this country to an Army Member, assisted by an Army Council. Unless we get this, there is going to be no national military policy and no Indianisation of the Army. What my Honourable friend Mr. Mackworth Young has put forward is mere eyewash, and Colonel Crawford has only added to the fog. Sir, I oppose the motion.

Munshi Iswar Saran (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, we have all listened to the speech of my Honourable and gallant friend Colonel Crawford with much interest. I am afraid Colonel Crawford and other members of his Group do not appreciate the real feeling of this side of the House. It was last year that Colonel Crawford referred us to a Resolution passed by the European Association, and he read it to us. I am not going to trouble the House by reading it over again. What the Resolution said was that the European Association had considerable sympathy with the aspiration of Indians for military service. Colonel Crawford nods his head and I am glad I am right. Now let me tell Colonel Crawford and the European Group once for all that we are not only anxious to get military service but we are anxious to get perfectly prepared for the defence of our country. We are anxious that the defence of our country should be undertaken, at as early a moment as possible, by Indians, and we feel deep humiliation that we have been made so helpless that, for our own defence, we have to depend, not on our nationals, but on foreigners and outsiders. Perhaps some of my Honourable friends of the European Group may imagine that I am overstating the case. Well, I shall ask my Honourable and gallant friend.

Colonel Crawford, in perfect friendliness, how would he feel if England had to be defended, not by Englishmen, but by Germans and Austrians and Nepalese and Chinese? In putting this question, I do not wish to be offensive. I say, Sir, that the British Army may be the most efficient Army in the world. I shall go further and say the British Army may be the most economical army in the world; still I shall protest against its continuance in India, because I say in India there ought to be an Indian Army, and it ought to have the defence of the country in its sole charge

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do we honestly know enough of the art of how to defend ourselves yet? Don't the Hindus and Muslims fight amongst themselves?

Munshi Iswar Saran: My friend, Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed imagines that all his countrymen are in bulk and size like him (Loud laughter). Sir, my Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Crawford, said that the question of military administration was of fundamental importance as it was connected with the question of self-government. It is imagined, I am sorry to say, even by some of the Honourable Members who are occupying the Benches on this side of the House, that, in order to get self-government, you must be prepared to undertake the complete defence of your country. I submit, Sir, that if we study the history of the colonies, we shall find that no such condition was laid down for the establishment of self-government in the colonies.

Mr. T. Gavin-Jones (United Provinces: European): Yes, Sir.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I beg pardon: I say emphatically a hundred times "no". My friend says "yes", and I am now going to give him the facts. If he will be good enough to turn to Keith's book, he will find that, not long ago there were some self-governing dominions with no military forces worth the name. My friend ought to know, that it was in the year 1858, that the Imperial Government used to spend about £4 millions every year on armies in the colonies, and the colonies only paid about £3,80,000. I will tell my friend, who has very enthusiastically said "yes," that a departmental committee, in the year 1859, reported strongly against this system, but the Imperial Government had no mind to withdraw troops separately so as to embarrass the responsible governments. We know, Sir,

Mr. T. Gavin-Jones: If the Honourable Member will read a little bit more about the history of the Dominions, he will find that no Dominion has ever attained self-government while it was necessary to keep the British Army in the country for internal defence.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Canada.

Mr. T. Gavin-Jones: No, Sir.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Yes, Sir.

Mr. T. Gavin-Jones: There was a dispute between the British Parliament and the Government in New Zealand and the British Parliament would not give New Zealand self-government until the British Army left the country. Take the history of Ireland . . .

Mr. President: Order, order.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Now my Honourable friend, Mr. Gavin-Jones is very dogmatic and when you find a person very dogmatic I am afraid you are irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that that person—I shall use the politest expression—is lacking in knowledge and information. Now, Sir, I say that we are anxious to have the defence of the country in our own hands; but let it not be imagined that it is absolutely essential that we should be able to defend our country before we can see self-government established in India.

Sir, I do really think that my Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Crawford, is friendly (*An Honourable Member*: "No.") and that he is sincere. But his difficulty is that he does not realise the hunger that is in our hearts. He takes upon himself . . .

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I realise the hunger, but I also realise the difficulties.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I am coming to that. I am much obliged to my Honourable friend. Colonel Crawford takes a benevolent interest. He says "Good gracious me! You people seem to be in a great hurry. Jinnah and Co. are terribly impatient; what do you want? You want an Indian Sandhurst? Look at what you are getting, you are having a school at Jhelum and another school at Jullundur—two excellent schools; and then there is going to be the Kitchner College. What more do you want? You have got your Dehra Dun College as well. Your boys will begin to get a better training and education, and ultimately, at some date in the dim and distant future, they will be ready to become officers holding King's Commission."

But before proceeding any further, I would ask my Honourable and gallant friend not to talk about religion and social matters. These things are beyond him. He knows a great deal about the Army and I recognise his authority when he talks about that. But when he talks about nationality, I am afraid he walks on dangerous ground. If he will take my friendly advice, he should cease talking about it.

Colonel Crawford says, you cannot have an Indian Sandhurst which will have the same reputation as the Sandhurst in England I entirely agree. There can be no two opinions about it. No sane and impartial man will be inclined to question that statement. But, I ask my Honourable friend, is that any reason for holding that we should not have an Indian Sandhurst? How are we going to make a start? When will the time come when, the moment you start an Indian Sandhurst, it will have the same position and the same status as the English Sandhurst?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: No time.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Tradition, a long period of successes—all these things go to give an institution a reputation. How can you start with that reputation? My Honourable and gallant friend might as well say that all our Universities, the Benares University, the Aligarh University, the Dacca University and all the rest of them cannot have the same reputation as the Oxford or Cambridge University and therefore we should not have them at all. What sort of an argument is that?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I never said that.

Munshi Iswar Saran: You never said that? I am awfully sorry. I must be particularly dense because I understood my Honourable friend to mean that; if he did not mean that

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I did not mean that. I only say that we could not expect any military colleges we may start to become the equivalent of Sandhurst forthwith.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Precisely. It is perfectly true that, if we start a Sandhurst today, it cannot possibly have the same reputation as the Sandhurst in England; but I say that that is no reason why an Indian Sandhurst should not be started. In course of time, the Indian Sandhurst will have the same reputation as the English Sandhurst and our Sandhurst will have the same tradition behind it as has the English Sandhurst.

Mr. K. Ahmed: You ask the House to be satisfied with the nomenclature only?

Munshi Iswar Saran: Yes, as some people are satisfied with membership only. (Laughter.)

Sir, my Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Crawford, has found fault with Diwan Chaman Lal because according to him, his speech was offensive in tone. I assure him that, having regard to my tastes, and habits, I cannot be offensive even if I wish to, but the naked truth has to be told, and I hope my Honourable friend will not accuse me of being offensive. There are certain questions that you have got to come into close grips with. What is the nature of the Indian Army today in India? I say, Sir, it is an army of occupation. I had thought that some people would be shocked on hearing it, but I am glad to see they are not. Now, I am going to read to this House, not my own opinion, but the opinion of a Committee appointed in 1879, over which Sir Ashley Eden presided, and this is what the Committee said:

"The duties of a British regiment in India are not those of a garrison in times of peace. The mere garrison duties are performed by the native regiments. Our position in India is dependent on the readiness of our British regiments to strike at a moment's notice in any direction. And they must be maintained on a war footing if they are to answer the purpose for which they are intended."

Now, Sir, if that is not an army of occupation, I should like to know what else it is? But, Sir, luckily for me, I find that the late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, has himself used this expression about the Army in India. This is what he says:

"Now that we have decided to trust the Indians and lead them to self-government, we cannot justify an army of occupation."

Sir, I submit with great respect that this idea is still at the back of the minds of the authorities concerned, and struggle as much as we may, they try to find one excuse after another for maintaining as much as they can of the existing system.

What does the Army Secretary say about the withdrawal of British troops, or about the reduction of British troops in India? "Oh! British troops are necessary in order to stiffen the Indian troops"—this is what he says; and this is also what His Excellency the late Commander-in-Chief said in one of his speeches. I find, Sir, that exactly the same

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thing, though not in the same language, was said by Sir E. B. Johnson, K.C.B., some time ago. "It appears to me of great importance that the presence of our British troops should be widely seen and felt to be a reality". To the testimony of the military authorities my Honourable friend the Army Secretary added the testimony of a member of the Indian Civil Service, and said that those of them who have had charge of districts know that, when British troops were visible, people cowed down and the fear of disturbance disappeared.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Just as the Hindus and Muhamnadans were cowed down in 1926 during the Hindu-Muslim dispute.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Be more intelligent and sensible. Then, we find that Sir Charles Wood has said: "It is impossible to deny that there are constant elements"—I would ask my Honourable and gallant friend Colonel Crawford to note these words, "of danger in the ambition or fanaticism of portions of the population in various parts of India, and that the presence of a body of European troops may prevent disturbance". So the element of ambition as well has to be guarded against.

The question of the reduction of British troops has been agitating the public mind for a long time, and I submit that the argument that has been advanced from time to time in support of the maintenance of British troops in this country is really the outcome of these and similar other sentiments. Disguise it as you will, the fact remains that, apart from other considerations, the real consideration is that you do not trust us and that you wish to strengthen your power in India.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: In the last ten years British troops have been reduced.

Munshi Iswar Saran: We want the entire lot to be reduced. That is our whole point. I am not offensive.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunsru (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): The proportion remains just the same.

Munshi Iswar Saran: As my friend says, the proportion remains the same, and that is really the crux of the situation.

I venture to think, Sir, that the labours of the Skeen Committee have all gone in vain. What is the position? We are told, "Oh! do not be in a hurry; we have made an experiment; be cautious; be very careful lest you should break the machinery itself; let us test you; let us see whether you are fit; we have given you 10 or 20 young commissioned officers every year: What more do you want; we have to be satisfied whether you will be able to discharge the higher duties that will be entrusted to you." This, in short, is the meaning of the opposition. Now, in addition to what my friend, Dr. Moonje, has told you, I shall read to the House the opinions of British authorities themselves about Indian troops and about Indian officers. I am reading from the Report of the Commission of 1879:

"That the company and troop commanders and native officers ought to be encouraged to take upon themselves full responsibility for their troops and companies in the field, in cantonments and in detachments. Along the North West Frontier, where native officers are often in command of frontier posts, the discipline maintained in such commands is excellent, and the sagacity and promptitude displayed by native commanders of posts can hardly be surpassed."

Mind you, I am not referring you to our ancient history,— I am referring you to a Report written by your own officers, to show that there was a period of British rule in this country when Indians were company commanders and troop commanders, and they had proved a valuable asset to the North West Frontier, where they had rendered a most excellent account of themselves. Let me give another quotation. In 1880 Lord Lytton was the Viceroy, and he said:

“I find it impossible to speak too highly of our native troops and officers. They constitute the backbone of the British power in India, and, regarded as fighting material they leave little to be desired.”

I submit, Sir, this shows that, even in the eighties, we had Indians in charge of commands, and they used to do the work which is now being done by commissioned officers, and their work and worth was highly spoken of, not by Indian historians, not by Indian critics, but by British officers. A British Viceroy has characterised their work as excellent and unsurpassed . . .

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Does the Honourable Member contend that that is the only material to build on?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): That is not the only material; there is much more.

Munshi Iswar Saran: My friend catches at a straw like a drowning man. I quite sympathise with him. He wants to defend a hopeless case and he fights with all the valour and skill of an experienced soldier. Yes, take that material alone and say today here and now, if you have the authority, that Sikhs and Pathans and Rajputs only will be appointed as commissioned officers and that in five or six years' time all the commissioned posts will be given to them. If you say that, I for one will agree to it tentatively, but you don't say that. What have you done? If you have done nothing for the wretched and cursed middle classes, what have you done for the martial classes? If you had said, “Don't mind these educated babus, B.A.'s and M.A.'s; they are no good; they do not belong to the martial races, but we are going to do something for the martial races.” If you had said that, I would have understood you. But what have you done?

My Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Crawford, asks us to be patient. You find that on the 1st April, 1929—and if I am wrong, I hope my Honourable friend the Army Secretary will correct me—there will be 7,364 officers holding King's commissions and there will be 88—as large a number as 88—Indian officers, plus three Indian officers in political employ, for which I suppose we have to thank my Honourable friend Sir Denys Bray and the Department which he represents. In 10 years' time,— I shall ask the House to remember this—in ten years' time, on the 1st April, 1939, the number of Indians holding King's commissions will be 91 and the English officers holding King's commissions in India will be 7,364. I say, and I say deliberately, that you do not mean business and you imagine that we are so many children who can be gulled by your talk. Let me tell you that we may be helpless, but we are not gullible. Yesterday the Army Secretary said that suitable candidates were not forthcoming. I shall ask, has his Department studied the Report of the Skeen Committee, and if it has, and I dare say it has, I am certain it has, I ask what

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steps have Government taken to remove those difficulties and grievances which have been mentioned by the members of that Committee? The Skeen Committee say,—I am quoting their opinion for what it may be worth—at any rate, there was one distinguished soldier who was the President of the Skeen Committee:

“We believe good potential material to exist which the efforts of Government have not yet succeeded in reaching.”

I ask what efforts have been made by Government to reach that material which is mentioned by the Skeen Committee? Have Government, in accordance with the recommendations of that Committee, tried to facilitate the admission of candidates? Have they done it? In regard to military matters, a layman has to speak with very great diffidence, but, Sir, I may tell my Honourable friends here that if the competition is thrown open—you may lay down as many hard and strict rules as you like about physical, moral and intellectual fitness, but if you do not tack on to them some other unnecessary conditions and qualifications—I undertake to give you at least 200 candidates of the right type from my own Province, and if I do not do it, I shall make a sporting offer, I shall resign my seat here and shall not come and worry the Army Secretary any more. I am connected with Indian students. I am connected with educational institutions in my own province. I know what I am talking about. If you will only accept the recommendations in the spirit in which they have been made, let me tell you frankly that the requisite number will be forthcoming in no time.

There is one other question. While speaking on the 8-unit scheme, the Army Secretary said, “You seem to imagine that there is involved in the scheme an invidious segregation.” I say there is, and I am not going to ask the House to accept my statement. I am going to ask the House to accept the statement of a man who ought to know. Lord Rawlinson, before he came out to take up the post of Commander-in-Chief here, said:

“People here are frightened of this talk of Indianisation, and old officers say, they won't allow their Sandhurst sons to serve under natives. The only way to begin is to have certain regiments with native officers only.”

Then, again, Lord Rawlinson said:

“To my mind the only solution is to begin by making some cavalry and infantry regiments wholly Indian. This will avoid that difficulty of making white officers serve under Indian officers.”

An Honourable Member: Shame.

Munshi Iswar Saran: It is no good crying shame. Sir, I ask, in all seriousness, are we wrong when we say that one of the reasons why this 8-unit scheme has been launched is, among others, that British officers should not have to serve under Indian officers. My Honourable friend here says it is the only reason; I know it is, but I am afraid of Colonel Crawford, and therefore I say one of the reasons. There may be other reasons.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: There may be.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Yes, there may be other reasons, but this is one of the reasons, and I hope my Honourable and gallant friend will be

frank enough to admit it. I think he will agree that this is one of the reasons

Colonel J. D. Crawford: The main reason.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Thanks very much. This is the main reason. If that is the main reason, then my Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Crawford, must admit that no language that some Members might employ on this side of the House is strong enough to describe the strength of feeling that this invidious segregation has aroused. (*Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Non-Official Benches*). My Honourable friend, Colonel Crawford, says, this is the main reason, the Commander-in-Chief says the same thing, and the Army Secretary most quietly gets up and says,

"Don't talk of invidious segregation. There is nothing of the kind. What you forget is that this is the quickest way of furthering your object."

Now, where are we? Sir, the whole truth is this. Disguise it as much as you will, you have got the superiority complex, there is no getting over that. You do not trust us. Your interest is, I say so deliberately, that most of these posts, as long as possible, should be held by young men of your own country. For these reasons you are continuing the present system against which we have been loudly complaining and which we wish to condemn today.

Sir, there is only one other matter which I shall mention and it is this. The fault is not entirely of this Government. It is the Government in England as well which must share the blame with the Government of India here. There, again, lest there should be any misunderstanding, I shall quote Lord Rawlinson himself. He says:

"The fact is that the whole Government, having introduced the reforms scheme are now afraid that they are going too fast. They are trying to put on the brake, and the machine is inclined to run away from them, but we must trust the Indian or not trust him. The schemes have got to be carried in their entirety with a view to eventual self-government or else"

mark these words,

"we must return to the old method of ruling India with the sword. There is no half way house."

Therefore I submit that Government have to make up their mind. They ought to be perfectly sincere in their efforts to nationalise the Army. They must be prepared to nationalise the Army as soon as they can, or they must be prepared to face the struggle which, let me tell them in all humility but with perfect seriousness, will, as one day succeeds another, grow in volume and in strength and in bitterness. We can vote against this grant for very many reasons but at the present moment we are confining our attention to these two points—nationalisation and the rejection, as I would call it, of the Report of the Skeen Committee. Sir, this is a very important matter and I shall ask the authorities here to communicate to the authorities in England the strength of our feeling and say that they ought to be clear in their own minds. Let them read most carefully the words of Lord Rawlinson, and I shall suggest to my Honourable friend, the Army Secretary, to have these words written in letters of gold in his Office, so that, whenever he comes in he may read them, and the extra cost of having them written in letters of gold will be cheerfully paid by this House.

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

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

Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz (Punjab: Nominated Official): Mr. President, Sir, the Honourable Member who spoke last said that, in his opinion, the defence of our country should be in our own hands, and he also said that in India there ought to be an Indian Army and the defence ought to rest in the hands of that Indian Army. Sir, this is no doubt a very laudable ambition, which I fully share but I hope I shall be permitted to point out the several obstacles in the way of the realisation of that idea because these simple words, very simple words, hide half a dozen social earthquakes. It is a very legitimate desire on our part to wish to defend our own country and entirely to nationalise our Army but for that it is necessary, not only that Brahmin should inter-dine with Brahmin, but the Brahmin should also dine with the *Pariah*. In India even today, some Brahmins could not eat with other Brahmins. The first thing to be borne in mind, therefore, is that, if our Indian Army has to defend India—defence, after all, is much less important than our very life—there ought to be something like unity. Without that you cannot have an Indian Army defending India. There are other things, but an ounce of fact is said to be worth more than a ton of theory. In 1910 in Peshawar, exactly 19 years ago, we had riots. I was then in the Secretariat there. The troops were sent for, as shops were being looted. The first troops to arrive were Indians. It is very difficult to give the whole story, but I wish the House to understand that, for a few minutes, passion ran very high and the situation became dangerous, and until the arrival of the British Tommy, the imperturbable British Tommy, it was a case of touch and go.

I wish to say nothing more about that, but I should like the House to understand that,—not only our Indianisation, but the whole of this democratising of our institutions depends, to a very great extent, on the presence of the British Army here, and I wish to explain that by another incident. We are now going forward in certain social matters at a very rapid pace. What is there to defend, not the Hindu from the Mussalman, the Bengalee from the Mahratta, but the orthodox Brahmin from the unorthodox Brahmin, our *Acharyas* from our *Mitras*, the *Shafi Daudis* from a budding Kumal Pasha? We are going at a very rapid pace. I suppose, when I retire in a few years, my ambition will be to wrest power from the Maulvis. If we have any sense of sportsmanship in us, we ought to give those Maulvis a fair chance. Supposing again these people who want to go ahead at a very rapid rate—that is the kind of social earthquake which is hidden behind Mr. Iswar Saran's simple words.

An Honourable Member: We don't want the 'Tommys.

Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz: We don't want them, but we must wait long enough till we develop that spirit of sportsmanship. I don't want to say a single word against Indianisation of the Army, but I believe that the British Tommy's presence here has a great practical effect in teaching us the true spirit of sportsmanship. An Honourable Member yesterday said that the poor man pays a very heavy price for the British Army. I am the poor man's servant, and I hope those in this House, who are not his servants, are at least his friends. Sir, undoubtedly the poor man is

taxed, and he pays very heavily; but, Sir, he has very luxuriant tastes. He likes music and he likes prayer, and these two come to blows in our streets, music and prayer. It is unfortunate, and I do not wish to harp on it, but there is the fact that recently, when the dead body of a murderer was being carried through the bazar, there was a solemn procession, as he was regarded as a martyr. I will also refer to two other instances, the riots after the funeral in Lahore and the riots in Delhi. My point simply is this. When Munshi Iswar Saran told Colonel Crawford that Indians were able to defend their own country and that Colonel Crawford should give up talking about religion, M. Iswar Saran should have had the courage to tell our common people that they should bury their creeds and their religious differences fathoms deep before they think of defending India with an Indian Army, because otherwise men get passionate and excited, and then there is very grave risk of trouble in the ranks of the defenders themselves.

I want to refer to another fact and that is this. At present I am serving in a district which is full of retired Indian officials, full of hundreds of young men who want to get into the Army. I wonder if the people in this House know this much about their country that for hundreds of years these people, in the pride of their birth, have not sown such a thing as a vegetable. They will sow wheat and gram, but will not sow vegetables. The Rajput will not sow vegetables or a flower. He will say, "I am not a *mali*, I am a *zemindar*" and that pride of birth he carries with him into the Army. One result of this is that some new Indian officers holding the King's commission have had queer experiences with their soldiers but I do not wish to repeat those harrowing details.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Go on, go on, tell us something more.

Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz: No, I won't go on with those details, but I do wish to insist that until these people, who, in their pride of birth, will non-co-operate with such a thing as a vegetable, are educated and brought up to a certain level of thought, it is idle to dream of a nationalised Army. I ask, if Honourable Members in the House know this fact and how many years do they think it will take to get an ordinary Rajput or a Jat to co-operate with a vegetable?

An Honourable Member: What about the vegetarian Tommy?

Mr. K. Ahmed: What about meat? Go on about meat also.

Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz: How many years will it take an ordinary Jat to give up his non-co-operation with a vegetable? If we have the sense to look to the real significance of these things, if we have the sense to look into the soul of these facts, I think we will find that it will take at least 50 years for that class to come into line with men whom it is our ambition to produce from our Indian Sandhurst.

I wish to refer to another fact. I hope it is within the memory of Honourable Members in this House that once Mr. Arthur Moore had the hardihood to make a sweet appeal to the Leader of the Opposition. That was last year. The word thundered at him by the Leader of the Opposition was "revolution". This year, in this very session, Mr. Keane had the hardihood to appeal to the Leader of the Opposition, and the word that was hissed at him was "revolution". I want to say that there are

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millions and millions of people who do not want a revolution. I will fight against revolution, and it must be said that, to protect such people, their property, customs and creeds, we must have the British Army. It is not because the British Army is a good in itself. But I am positive about this point, that the British Army is not a monument so much to the glory of the British, as it is a monument to our own prejudices and stupidities. That is the whole secret of it and we ought to be ashamed of it. Until we are prepared to establish firmly among our own people a spirit of complete confidence, it is idle to say that the British Army should go home and that we will manage our affairs. For what is happening today? Untouchables are denied the right to walk on roads, and draw water from wells and enter temples. That must cease. I am behind no one in my patriotism. I am as much a nationalist as anybody in this House. I certainly want that we should manage our affairs without the help of anybody. I was in Jhang for five or six years, where I also served before. That is the place where, in 1915, certain ignorant zemindars got hold of the rumour that the Germans had come and that the British had gone. It was the most tragic chapter in the history of that place. This rumour spread from small villages to bigger villages and what did some undesirable people do? They burnt some account books in some villages. They were, however, soon over-powered and some of them were brought to the headquarters. Ignorant people, do you know what they said? When they came to the railway station and saw railways still whistling, they said to the man who misled them, they said in their own vernacular to that man "You set us about this thing. If the British had gone out of India, how could railways be still seen" (Laughter). That is the basic fact, that is the mentality of our people, which we have got to bear in mind. What is the use of talking high patriotism in this House without caring to educate the ignorant masses in the country. The whole trouble is this, that the agitation about the Army is top heavy agitation. It does not pay proper regard to the requirement of the man who is in the village.

As I see some of my Honourable friends are anxious to speak on this motion, I will just give the details of one more incident before I sit down. In my present district, it seems that when Shahab-ud-Din Ghori came to attack Prithvi Raj, the scene of action was near Hansi—any person who is anxious to see the place can see it because it is only four hours run from here by car. It seems that some devoted Brahmin took out from a temple a most marvellous idol of black stone, an idol carved out of a whole stone and buried it. That idol was recovered recently, only a few years ago. The condition on which that idol was made over to the Hindu public was that approach to that idol would be open to all alike, to touchables as well as to untouchables. Two years have passed. The other day I still got applications that untouchables were not allowed to see the idol. Litigation has started. There is the agreement with the Government that this idol committee will set up a new temple and allow all people to go near the idol and yet, instead of that, litigation has started and some interested people refuse to allow untouchables to go near the image. I do not want to refer to that incident except to show how people are treated. I am a nationalist. To me that idol represents symbolically the resuscitated soul of India. Undoubtedly it does. And the problem before us

is that that image, that symbol of the reborn soul of India, has to be saved from the clutches not of the British Army but from the clutches—I will not say from the clutches of whom—the House knows that. That is exactly the problem that remains to be solved. If you want the Indianisation of the Army, you have got to save it through the British and give it to those people who are fit for this work. The whole point is that no provision has been made for the education of the masses, and unless the higher caste people are good enough and kind enough to descend from their high level to that of their brethren who are uneducated, there is no use of talking of nationalisation of the Army. That is the whole point. That is why I stood up to speak at this stage. If Mr. Iswar Saran wants that the defence of the country should be left in the hands of Indians, he should understand that that is possible only, when, as between Indians, there will be no distinction, either of caste or of creed. Sir, I have done.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated Anglo-Indians): Sir, my only reason for standing up today, at this late hour, is that I do not wish to give a silent vote without an explanation to the European Group. I wish here and now to state that I propose to vote against the Demand, (Hear, hear) and to support the motion for its rejection. Although a member of the European Group, on this matter I speak as an Anglo-Indian and I think it is my duty to place before this House the views of the Anglo-Indian community whom I represent here. In doing so, I wish to place this House in possession of certain undeniable facts in regard to the position of the Anglo-Indian community in the Army.

Mr. K. Ahmed: You should have moved a cut.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I am one of those who believes with other Members on the Opposition Benches that India cannot obtain complete self-government unless she has her own army for the purpose of self-defence. But, in saying so, I do not imply I agree with some of the speakers who said that India can do without the British Army. Nor do I agree with my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran in stating that India can do without the British officer or the British soldier. I submit he is here for a certain purpose and may be for a certain time to fulfil the duties that are allotted to him, and that the British Army is still needed and will be needed for many years to come for the protection of this country.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, in raising the debate yesterday, brought the Sandhurst Committee Report up as his chief point. Sir, I agree entirely with the report of the Sandhurst Committee, and I consider Government lost a great opportunity last year for bridging the gap between themselves and the opposite side of the House. I think it would have been much better had Government, instead of assuming the rôle of infantry men and entrenching themselves on their side of the House, formed themselves into a corps of engineers and built a bridge across the floor of this House and met the forces on the opposite Benches in a friendly spirit of give and take. It was a grand opportunity lost, for, in my opinion, had the Sandhurst Report been accepted, it assuredly would have given the House and the country an impetus and a forward step towards the realisation of India's national military aspirations.

Now, Sir, it may be wondered at by some Honourable Members why I have adopted this standpoint. I have done so for a very specific purpose, and I wish to ask the Army Secretary a specific question—what position

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does the Anglo-Indian occupy in the Army in India? Almost absolutely none. He is denied admission into the British Army, which he was allowed to join before and during the past Great War, because he is not an European. He is denied admission into the Indian Army today, and the reason given is that Government do not wish to disturb that homogeneity of the Indian army which it is the object of good military organisation to ensure. Now the Anglo-Indian is not allowed to join the British Army, but the pure Europeans can join it. At the time of the war, however, when England wanted more men, they gladly enlisted the services of Anglo Indians. Nearly 10,000 of its sons and daughters went to the various theatres of war. Over 20,000 of its sons were employed in the Indian Defence Force. They supplied over 30,000 or nearly 80 per cent. of its manhood in defence of the country, a contribution unparalleled in the Empire. Today in times of peace, the Army Department turns round and says: "We cannot enlist you". That is what the Commander-in-Chief said last year with regard to their enlistment in the British Army. But, he said: "We will admit you into the Indian Army". Surely, Sir, it is not necessary for me to impress on the Army Secretary that that offer to the Anglo-Indian community is not an acceptable one. He must realise that the Indian Army is constituted on a caste system and must therefore realise that no Anglo-Indian could be admitted into the Indian Army if he wanted to, and yet he says: "We will admit you into the Indian Army". As what? I ask you as what? This is what the Secretary, Army Department, writes in his despatch No. 81982/1 (A. D.-1), dated Simla, 11th September, 1928, which is Government's reply to the Anglo-Indian Deputation to England of 1925:

"All classes of appointments in the Ordnance factories and the Ordnance Inspection Section that are held by civilians are open to Anglo-Indians, with the necessary qualifications. They are also eligible for appointment to the Military Dairy Farms;"

I suppose to look after the Army cattle—

"as clerks and store-keepers in the supply services; as clerks, store-keepers, sepoys and artificers in arsenals; as artificers and clerks in the mechanical transport, as sub-divisional officers, sub-overseers, clerks, draughtsmen and store-keepers in the Military Engineer Service, as farm overseers, assistant farm overseers and clerks in the Remount Department; and as clerks and veterinary assistant surgeons in the Veterinary Department."

These are the services that are now offered to Anglo-Indians. Need I ask the Honourable Members opposite, who were your martial races in the dark days of 1857? And need I remind the Army Department that it was the Anglo-Indian who stood side by side with the Britisher in the dark days of the Mutiny.

An Honourable Member: What about the Sikhs?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I do not deny any martial race the glory of the part they played but I say the Anglo-Indians too did their part. In return, what does the Army Department offer the Anglo-Indians today? Nothing, except as clerks and store-keepers in the civilian and quasi-military branches of the Army; they are denied entrance into the regular Army itself, except one member a year into Sandhurst and for which we are very grateful. Can the Army Secretary deny that they have any other position in the Indian Army today except that of clerks? Will he contradict me when I say that the Anglo-Indian is a martial race?

Mr. K. Ahmed: They are not good fighters.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I will fight the Honourable Member who asks this question any day he wants, Sir. (Laughter.) Will the Honourable the Army Secretary deny what I have stated, I ask? The community has produced men like Colonel Skinner (Hear, hear), and another great soldier who belonged to this country, and who was one of your Commanders-in-Chief, Lord Roberts. Do you not know that he was an Anglo-Indian? Are you not aware that it was an Anglo-Indian who brought down the first German Zeppelin? Did not Brendish, an Anglo-Indian telegraphist save the Punjab? And yet today the Army Secretary, in his official reply to the Anglo-Indian Deputation which Lord Birkenhead received in 1925, writes to the following effect:

"Apart from the administrative difficulty of forming a unit which, if the principle of the demand is to be fully met, would have to be manned *and officered* entirely by Anglo-Indians, and for which, owing to lack of interchangeability, special arrangements would be necessary both for maintenance in peace and for the replacement of casualties in war, it cannot be denied that assurances of the kind required are not forthcoming. The military authorities are definitely of the opinion that an Anglo-Indian unit would not constitute an accession to the fighting capacity of the Army in India of such military value as to justify the acceptance of administrative difficulties and special arrangements, while such a proposal would involve a serious departure from that homogeneity which it is the object of good military organization to ensure. This opinion the Secretary of State and the Government of India have found it impossible to challenge, and they, therefore, regret that the proposal must be rejected."

Sir, I stand here today and state—the Army Secretary can correct me if I am wrong—that the Secretary of State, in his reply to the Government of India did support our demand for an Anglo-Indian unit either infantry or battery, but it was the Army Council in India that turned it down—and why? With the record of military services we have given to the British nation, and the record of dogged loyalty with which we have followed you, what is the reward we have got? A flat "no". Is that the reward we deserve after hammering at the door of the Army for over 100 years? I repeat the Secretary of State did support the request made by the Deputation; and it was the Army Council in India that turned it down. And why? Munshi Iswar Saran today said that it was a superiority complex. And I would state here, on the floor of this House, that there is no department of the Government of India in which there is that racial prejudice, that superiority complex, more markedly demonstrated than in the Army Department (Hear, hear). I myself have had that experience in the Army. I have undergone the suffering, and even today nothing is done to minimise this purely imaginary disparity, and let it be said now to the discredit of the Army Department that it is entirely responsible for our ostracism from the Army. Sir, I talk in no idle words. I am trying to speak dispassionately, but it is difficult for me to do so, in the face of the return which the Anglo-Indian community has received. I am now told the Government are prepared to grant facilities for the employment of Anglo-Indians in certain civilian sections of the Army. I desire to tell the Army Department, if that is all they can offer our men then they can keep those appointments. What is our position in the Army? We have been told that the Anglo-Indians form the backbone of the Auxiliary Force. Yes; we form today the backbone of the Auxiliary Force and for the past 70

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years have been the main stay of the Old Volunteer Force and the Indian Defence Force and we are told, in the same despatch, that,

"The Auxiliary Force in the past has owed no small share of its success to its Anglo-Indian members, and the Government of India are themselves convinced that its present organisation provides the best means of satisfying the military aspirations of the community on the lines that are most acceptable to themselves and of the greatest use to Government."

Now, Sir, I take my stand on that. If I am fit for the Auxiliary Force why am I not fit for the regular Army? The Indians are demanding a larger share in the Army. I demand the same for my community. You must make a beginning, and I feel I must tell you that it is not fair when using us in the Auxiliary Force in such large numbers—where we have been so great a success—to insult us by saying, we would not constitute an accession to the Army in India. The Auxiliary Force consists of nearly 30,000; of which over 20,000 are Anglo-Indians and yet how many Anglo-Indians are given Commissions in this Force? Are we unfit to officer these battalions? In the 1925 deputation we asked for more commissions. What is the reply that we got?

"Commissions are granted strictly on the merits of the candidates and no departure from this system can be contemplated."

Sir, when Mr. Jinnah and the Opposition Benches stood up last year and asked the Government Benches to increase the number of Indians as officers in the Army, the Army Member did not give him this reply—on the contrary the number has been increased, as recommended in the Sandhurst Report. But to us, after 60 or 70 years of faithful service in the Volunteer Force, the Indian Defence Force and today in the Auxiliary Force, we are told that, if the Officer Commanding considers you fit to be promoted, you may be promoted; they cannot depart from this system. How long, I ask, will this state of affairs continue? But let me assure this House our loyalty was not bought and it can never be bought for it is inherent in us. It was our duty to our King and country that made us play our part in the past as in the present and not an insignificant one. You recognise that we are the backbone of the Auxiliary Force, and in the next breath, you deny us any place in the regular Army of India. Is this logical? Is this consistent? Then again, you refer to army traditions which we are said not to possess. What are the army traditions today? The Great War killed these to a large extent. Today many of your officers coming to India belong to families without any army record or traditions whatever. There is therefore no use talking of such qualifications. You have given very few opportunities to Anglo-Indians in the Auxiliary Force, for when we ask that our claims be further recognised in the commissioned ranks, you turn them down. When we ask you to take them into the regular Army, you deny us this right, except on impossible terms. How long does the Army Secretary think he can continue this practice? You are surely not surprised when I take my stand in this House and say that I support the motion refusing this demand, as a protest against the policy of the Government? Sir, I do so with every sense of responsibility, and I do so with all the emphasis at my command. Let the Army Secretary realise it. Have you not made use of the Anglo-Indian community since the time you came to India and before you had managed to secure the allegiance of the martial races of today? Have we ever failed you, no

matter when and what the call to us was? Will the Army Secretary deny the truth of these statements?

Mr. K. Ahmed: You were not then in existence at all.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: From early John Company days till to date, whenever there has been trouble, you have always depended on us. Recently you have always used the Auxiliary Force to quell railway strikes and other civil disturbances and have, in this way, placed us in open hostility with Indians, with whom we have to work side by side the next day. Have you ever considered what is the price or sacrifice we have paid for our loyalty to the Raj and how our future generations will suffer in consequence? But we have never failed you and you know this. I am not bargaining for my loyalty but I beg of the Army Department not to play with it in this callous manner. It is ungenerous of you to treat us like this. It is distinctly discreditable to you to deny us the little niche we ask in the military organisation of the regular Army. You say Anglo-Indians are admitted into the Dehra Dun College. But does this satisfy the requirements of the community. Do you think there are not members in my community who are as capable to fill the position as any British or Indian officer in the Army, surely we are not so bankrupt in martial instincts and traditions? During the war, when you required men, we gave our thousands of men who have shown their martial instincts. But today these services are completely forgotten and we are denied admission in the Army, except as subordinate clerks or overseers or artificers. And having placed us there, you think you have done mighty well for a community which has at all times loyally stood by, you and helped you. Sir, I maintain such a return stands to the discredit of the Army Department. To treat a community, which has always been loyal to the Government of India and to our King, in this way, is distinctly un-British. I call it an act of ingratitude and look upon it as an ugly spot in the administration of the Army in India. Does the Army Department realise that, when the community stood by the Britisher it did not expect nor ask for any return but it did not expect to receive such callous treatment as its only reward. The Britisher must not forget that we are his offspring, and as such on him rests a sacred duty—the protection of our future. It is a moral obligation we demand from him and he cannot, as a Britisher, deny this to us at the present juncture. We demand a suitable place in the Army in India. Give us an Anglo-Indian battery, an arm of the army in which we have distinguished ourselves, or allow us to enter all ancillary branches of the army on an adequate salary. Surely I am not asking too much, in view of the cry for Indianisation of the Army and retrenchment in Military Expenditure? Sir, I stand here today to support this motion.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Sir, I should like to add one or two words to this debate. When my Honourable and gallant friend Colonel Crawford constituted himself as the apologist of the Army Department, I thought he was overdoing his part. He was protesting too much as it were. What was the upshot of all that he said? The powder and shot which he wasted came only to this, that the Government, that the Army Department, has been doing enough for Indians in the way of training them to take their rightful place in the military service of their country. But what in fact have the Government been doing? They have established one military college at Dehra Dun which is a military college only in name. Some years back, some of us had the privilege of witnessing that institution, and we

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were surprised to be told that riding and shooting were not taught in that college at that time. I do not know if that sort of training has since been instituted there or not. I hope it has now been instituted. We want military institutions to be multiplied in this country.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend went on to speak about the Air Force, and he joined issue with my Honourable friend Mr. Arthur Moore. On this matter I have already spoken at some length in the course of the general budget discussion, and I quoted some military authorities to show that, with the establishment of the Royal Air Force, and the expansion of military aircraft, it was possible to effect some saving in military expenditure so far as ground troops were concerned. In reply, on that occasion, I understood my Honourable and gallant friend Colonel Crawford conceded that point; but I was surprised to hear this morning that he had again veered round to his old position, namely, that it was not possible to effect any considerable saving in military expenditure with the expansion of the air forces.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I do not think I gave that impression. My whole point was that we must remember the limitations of new weapons having regard to our particular problem of defence.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: I stand corrected. Then, Sir, it is cast in our teeth that we cannot make much advance in our political life so long as we do not have a national Army; and when we go round and ask that we should be given our rightful place in our Army we are told we are not fit as yet to take our rightful place there. We are, in a way, moving in a vicious circle, and this was clearly pointed out by no less a personage than Lord Rawlinson when he said:

"The trouble is that the solution of the political problem, in so far as the self-government of India is concerned, is and must always be, directly dependent upon the military problem; that is to say, it is impossible to envisage a self-governing India without an Indianised Army. The process of Indianisation of the Army must proceed extremely slowly if it is not to prove a complete failure. On the other hand, the pressure which has been, and is being exerted by the *Swarajists* and the views of many of the more moderate politicians who look to self-government in eight or ten years' time, will probably force the political side of the problem to proceed more rapidly than the military side can ever hope to proceed, and the supreme difficulty, therefore, arises of keeping these two processes of development at anything like an even rate of advance."

The result is, as I have said, we are proceeding in a vicious circle. We cannot make any advance in the political sphere because we are told that we are not fit for it so long as we are not fit to take charge of the Army and the defences of our country. When, on the other hand, we claim that we should be given a proper place, our rightful place, in the military service of our country, we are reminded that the time is not yet ripe for that. The whole groundwork, the whole outlook of the Army and of the Government of India, is one of distrust. In this connection, Sir, I would refer to only one quotation from a book written by a high military authority, and that is "*Forty-one Years in India*" by Earl Roberts. This is what he says. It reveals the mentality of the military authorities and the Government of India. At page 583 Lord Roberts says as follows:

"Indian soldiers, like soldiers of every nationality, require to be led; and history and experience teach us that Eastern races (fortunately for us), however brave and accustomed to war, do not possess the qualities that go to make leaders of men, and that native officers in this respect can never take the place of British officers."

Sir, that expression in parenthesis "fortunately for us" reveals the mentality of our British fellow-subjects. The wish is father to the thought.

Mr. K. Ahmed: It goes against you!

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Sir, the British Government have very conveniently divided India into martial and non-martial races. Lord Roberts himself on the next page says:

"I have no doubt whatever of the fighting powers of our best Indian troops; I have a thorough belief in, and admiration, for Gurkhas, Sikhs, Dogras, Rajputs, Jats and selected Muhammadans."

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Selected Muhammadans?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: That is what he says "selected Muhammadans".

Mr. K. Ahmed: Pathans.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Not Kabeer-ud-Din!

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Well, Sir, at page 532 Lord Roberts says:

"No comparison can be made between the martial value of a regiment recruited amongst the Gurkhas of Nepal or the warlike races of Northern India, and of one recruited from the effeminate peoples of the south."

This indicates, Sir, that, for their own purposes, they have divided India into what they call martial races and effeminate races. Now as regards the Rajputs, none will deny the claim of the Rajputs to be one of the military races according to the authority which I have just quoted. But let me analyse the position of the Rajputs in the composition of the Indian Army. I asked a question, Sir, on this subject on the 10th March, 1928, and in reply, the Army Secretary furnished me with a statement giving the composition of the Rajputs as combatants in the Indian Army. I will not read the whole of that statement but I will merely give the gist of it. In the Punjab, in the year 1918, there were 4,320 Rajputs; in 1927 there were only 1,243 Rajputs. In the United Provinces, in 1918, there were 21,726 Rajputs; in 1927 there were only 3,806 Rajputs. In Rajputana, in 1918, there were 6,347 Rajputs, in 1927 there were only 2,527 Rajputs. In other districts, in 1918, there were 8,171 Rajputs and in 1927 there were only 388 Rajputs. The total comes to this: in 1918 there were 35,564 Rajputs, while in 1927 there were only 7,909 Rajputs, showing a progressive decline in numbers.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Surely in 1918 the whole Army was mobilised for War and we had a much larger number of troops than we have today?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: I should like to ask the Honourable the Army Secretary as to why recruitment is being confined to trans-Frontier people, and men of non-Indian or extra-Indian areas—for example, the Gurkhas of Nepal and people like the Afridis and others, while recruitment to the Indian Army from India itself is being discouraged. Now there are whole areas, as I said, like my own Province of Bihar and Orissa, where recruitment has been totally discontinued. There are also areas like Madras, if I remember aright, and Bengal, where recruitment to the military service has been prohibited. I will only say

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this, that the Indian Army has been kept to dump down the surplus population of England, and this is not my view only. This is the view of Sir Lepel Griffin who once said: "We must send our superfluous boys as we cannot find a career for them at home." As I was saying, the whole military policy is saturated with the spirit of distrust, and we cannot get the Government to do anything effective for us so long as that spirit of distrust lasts. I will only add that the conception of our policy on the North West Frontier is also such as to call for a word of protest. As I said in the course of my speech the other day, the whole policy is such as to consume a huge part of our expenditure on the Army Budget. This is the policy which was outlined by Lord Curzon about the year 1904: He said:

"I spoke last year about the increasing range of our responsibilities in Asia; and a good deal has happened in the interim to point those remarks. My own view of India's position is this: she is like a fortress with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces, and with the mountains for her walls on the remainder. But beyond those walls, which are sometimes of by no means insuperable height, and admit of being easily penetrated, extends a glaciis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but we also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite content to let it remain in the hands of our allies and friends; but if rival and unfriendly influences creep up to it and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelled to intervene, because a danger would thereby grow up that might one day menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and as far eastwards as Siam."

Now, Sir, the Army in India is kept up to that standard, namely, that it must be in a position to deal with any sort of disturbances that might arise in those neighbouring countries. The huge expenditure of the Army in India owes its origin to the amalgamation scheme of 1859 when the East India Company gave place to the British Crown. At that time the Army in India, as well as the Army in England were amalgamated into one organised whole, and since that time our expenditure on the Army had to keep pace with the growing demands of the Army in England. Let us see in this connection what Japan has done. I will not burden my speech with quotations—I will just conclude with one little thing. At page 169 of the Japan Year Book for last year it will be seen how Japan has tried to evolve her military policy and how her policy has been modelled in order to create a national army and the whole nation is kept in training and in arms. But, here, as I said, the whole thing is saturated with distrust and it is for this reason that we do not seem to make any progress; and so long as this state of things lasts, we shall not be justified in allowing the military expenditure to go without a word of protest; and with these words I oppose the Demand.

An Honourable Member: I move that the question be now put.

Mr. Rajvaranjan Prasad Sinha (Patna *cum* Shahabad: Non-Muham-
madan): Sir, I should like to associate myself with the opposition to this Demand and to state very briefly my reasons for doing so. I consider the attitude of Government in the matter of Indianisation of the higher ranks of the Army to be not only profoundly disappointing but a real and very definite menace to our future progress. I consider this attitude to be a far greater menace to our aspirations than even the appointment of the Simon Commission. After all, the appointment of a handful
3 P.M. of Britishers to settle our political destinies is merely absurd; but this is different, this is much more serious. If the one is an insult,

the other is real injury—an injury to the vital interests of India, and if I may be permitted to say so, to the vital interests of the British Empire as well. Now, Sir, what is the situation with which we are confronted to-day? The situation is, shortly, this: At the present pace at which the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the Army is proceeding, it will take hundreds of years before the army is completely nationalised. Now, Sir, the most ardent well-wishers of the British Empire—and I should like to count myself among the number—would hesitate to assess the life of the Empire, as at present constituted, at hundreds of years; and so it comes to this, that if the present policy is persisted in, there is no hope of our ever obtaining a complete or even a substantially complete measure of Indianisation. I submit, Sir, that that is the situation which faces us to-day. There is no doubt that we have come to a complete deadlock on this all-important question. After constant and repeated pressure from this House the Government appointed a committee, known as the Indian Sandhurst Committee, composed of very distinguished and well-balanced men. The Committee produced a very valuable report after making exhaustive inquiries, and a very complete survey of the whole situation. I venture to submit Sir,—and I do so without fear of contradiction—that the labours of the Committee represent the best effort that was ever made by anybody or by any Committee to solve this question of Indianisation. The Committee put forward a 25 years' scheme for progressive Indianisation, fixing the limit at 50 per cent. Indian officers at the end of that period. The scheme did not go beyond that. Now, Sir, can there be a more moderate, a more reasonable scheme than this? Yet the Government turned down the main recommendations of the Report, and instead of adopting a well thought-out, progressive and definite scheme, leading up to a definite objective, as outlined in that Report, they have reverted—or rather stuck—to the old, old policy of drift, giving away a few more crumbs, and regaling us here with vague talk of future hopes and Imperial difficulties—the usual stuff with which this House is entertained from time to time by the Army Secretary.

Now, Sir, this is the deadlock at which we have arrived. It seems—for the time being, at any rate—that the bureaucratic gardener has succeeded in cheating the blossom of its fruit, to use the metaphor used by the Leader of the Opposition the other day. But may I submit, Sir, that this demand for Indianisation is somewhat different from the other hardy annuals that come up before this House. It has this difference, I think, that it has been nourished and fed, not so much on speeches and debates, not even on the mistakes committed by Government, but on red blood—on the rich red blood of India's sons, shed in the defence of the Empire on three continents; and history tells us, Mr. President, that there is no gardener in the world—not even the bureaucratic gardener—who is clever enough to deprive the blossoms of this tree of their ultimate—their inevitable fruition.

Sir, I do not wish to pursue the metaphor further, but I should like to emphasise that no nation has yet succeeded in strangling and suppressing, for all time, the natural craving of another nation to bear arms and to fit itself for self-defence. I wish Honourable Members opposite could realise this and give up trying, if for nothing else, at least for the sake of their own good name and for the sake of that much-talked-of declaration of 1917, which, it seems to me, our rulers have got into the habit of repeating as a sort of charm or *Mantram* to exorcise all hostile criticism. I may,

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however, assure Honourable and distinguished gentlemen opposite that, so far as this side of the House is concerned, we have ceased to enthuse, even if we ever did, over the words of that pronouncement; in fact, we have begun to feel rather amused at the solemn manner in which reference is always made by our rulers to that very famous declaration. Sir, I do not wish to detain the House longer. I oppose the Army Demand, and trust that all sections of the House will unite in throwing it out.

Several Honourable Members: Sir, the question may now be put.

Mr. G. M. Young (Army Secretary): Sir, I have spoken already on the general military policy of Government, in the course of this debate, and although a number of speeches have been made since then, I do not think that very much fresh ground has been traversed, or that very much has been said which is not covered or met by what I said in my speech yesterday, or by what I said in my speech in the Army Department debate last year. I propose, therefore, not to weary the House with a long speech now, but to confine myself simply to answering one or two specific questions that have been put to me in the course of the debate.

I listened with great attention to the discussion which took place between that distinguished ex-Flying Officer, Mr. Arthur Moore, and that distinguished ex-General Staff Officer, Colonel Crawford, on the comparative merits of the air arm and of ground troops. I have heard discussion on very similar lines in high military circles, and I can assure the House that the question is always before us. The exact extent to which air forces can displace ground troops in the defence of this country depends on a variety of local considerations. I cannot give my Honourable friend Mr. Arthur Moore the definite assurance which he requires that there will be, within a year or so from now, a radical change of policy; but I would point out to him that the renovation of the whole of our fighting squadrons with the latest types of machines, with far higher power and ceiling than the present machines possess, and the introduction, at the same time, as an experimental measure, of troop-carrying machines in the course of the next year or two, will necessarily cause our experts to consider whether the whole relation of the two arms to each other will not require revision. As regards troop-carrying machines, my friend Mr. Arthur Moore urged the adoption of three-engined aeroplanes as against two. I know, Sir, that there are advocates of three-engined aeroplanes, but there is no three-engined service machine existing at the present moment even in England. The instance that he quoted of the machine that came down in Afghanistan the other day does not support the three-engined machine as against the two-engined machine. The reason why that machine came down was that water which was in the petrol froze, and however many engines there had been, the same thing would have occurred, the machine would have come down.

Then, Sir, as regards the renewal of our fighting squadrons, my friend Mr. Arthur Moore drew attention to the speech of the Air Minister the other day, from which it appeared that, at the end of this year, all the air squadrons on the British establishment will be armed with the latest type of machines, with air cooled engines, except for four out of the eight

squadrons in India. That is true, Sir, and those four squadrons will be re-fitted in the following year. The reason why we are not renewing all the eight squadrons together, is that it would be a most uneconomical thing to do. We should suddenly have to scrap the whole of our front line and reserve machines; it would be impossible to find a market for them, and we should have to spend enormous sums on the new machines. By holding up the re-equipment of the four squadrons for one year, we shall be able to use as reserve the machines of two squadrons, I think, that have been refitted this year; and we hope also to be able to get something back on those machines by selling them for instructional purposes later on . . .

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunru: May I ask whether the Honourable Member can be heard at the Reporter's table?

An Honourable Member: Louder please.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. G. M. Young: I now come, Sir, to my friend Dr. Moonje. Whenever I hear him speak on army matters I find myself in a quandary, because there is hardly anything that he says on the subject with which I am not, in principle at any rate, in agreement; and it is always a mystery to me how it is that we find ourselves walking into opposite lobbies at the end of the debate. With everything that he says about improving the standard of education, and inculcating a patriotic and martial spirit among the educated youth of this country, no one can but agree. He has asked me four specific questions and has kindly given me a copy of them. His first question is: what lead has the Government of India given to Local Governments, or proposes to give them, as recommended by the Skeen Committee? The answer to that question is the Resolution which was moved by my Honourable friend himself in the House the other day and accepted, subject to an amendment moved by my friend Colonel Crawford

Dr. B. S. Moonje: That was *my* lead; but I want to know what lead the Government of India themselves have conceived and given to Local Governments.

Mr. G. M. Young: This is the answer to his question, what lead has the Government of India given or does it propose to give to the Local Governments. My Honourable friend is a great admirer of the public school system. I understand that he intends to introduce something of the kind in his own province. If so, I can only say "more power to him". I would point out that, by accepting this Resolution, the Government of India have committed themselves to take steps in the provinces which are under their immediate control to introduce compulsory physical training and games.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: And drill.

Mr. G. M. Young: Which are beyond anything that is done in public schools in England, because there, although games may be in certain schools, to all intents and purposes, compulsory, the compulsion emanates, not from the Government, not always from the educational authorities..

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but most frequently from the boys themselves. This also I think answers question No. 4, which refers to the starting of rifle clubs in connection with schools and colleges. My Honourable friend is aware that our Universities have their cadet corps like Universities in Great Britain, and Government are committed to a policy of increasing those cadet corps to their natural limits. They have also committed themselves to encouraging rifle practice on miniature ranges in the territories under their immediate control.

My Honourable friend then asks me if Government propose to raise various technical units in connection with the Territorial Force—air force, artillery, tank corps and other sections,—on the same lines as exist in the Auxiliary Force. There are no air force sections, I think, in the Auxiliary Force. My Honourable friend knows that the urban units, which have been started in the Territorial Force, are supposed to be the counter-part of the units of the Auxiliary Force. They have the same type of training and they will be recruited, we hope, from, generally speaking, the same class of persons as those who serve in the Auxiliary Force. Those units have just been started. I am sorry to say that, so far, the response in the shape of recruits has not been very rapid or very encouraging. But, I hope that sufficient response will come soon, and that we shall shortly have efficient territorial urban units. When we do have them, there will arise the question of introducing other arms, more technical arms. Until the experiment has proved so far a success, that you have efficient infantry units, I think it is premature to talk about starting other units. As my Honourable friend knows, we have taken steps to start air units and engineer and artillery units in the regular forces. . . .

Dr. B. S. Moonje: My point was this. As there are so many different sections such as the artillery, air force, etc., in connection with the Officers' Training Corps in England, do Government propose to start such units in connection with the University Training Corps here?

Mr. G. M. Young: And if so, how soon? My answer is that until the Territorial infantry units have become a success, the question of units of other kinds cannot arise. Even the provincial Territorial battalions have not yet reached a standard of efficiency which would justify the expense of starting technical units, such as artillery units and air squadrons. My Honourable friend also asked whether the military schools and colleges that are existing and are shortly to be started, will be kept open for admission to all boys who may care to join them, irrespective of what he calls the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial races. The Dehra Dun School, as he knows, is open to candidates of any class or creed. My Honourable friend said, yesterday or today that he looked forward to *bania* officers. Sir, there are already *bania* officers with the King's commission in the Indian Army. I know, at least, of one who passed through Dehra Dun and Sandhurst. The other schools to which reference has been made in the course of this debate, the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools, are for the sons of Viceroy's commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Indian Army. The Kitchener College will be a training institution for persons already serving in the Indian Army. So, colleges of that type will be confined to the same classes as are recruited in the Army. Colleges of the Dehra Dun type, and I hope more of them

will come into being, will be open to all classes. I think that covers my Honourable friend's questions.

I now come to my Honourable friend Mr. Roy. He apparently took exception to a statement that I made that the eight units could not be Indianised in under 22 or 23 years, and seemed to regard that as a very slow process, compared to what is recommended by the Skeen Committee. My only point in stating that it will take 22 or 23 years, was that it takes at least that time before any officer, British or Indian, can reach sufficient seniority to command a regiment. The officer establishment in no regiment can be completely Indianised until an Indian has reached the command of the regiment. Under the Indian Sandhurst Committee's proposal, whatever the number of units that were Indianised (and that would depend on how many candidates were forthcoming), in none of those units would you have a completely Indianised officer establishment in 22 or 23 years, because it was an essential part of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's recommendation that British and Indian officers should serve side by side in the same units. So that, under their recommendations, at the end of 22 or 23 years you might have, you would have, units commanded by Indians, but you would not have units in which all the officers were Indians. Under the system which Government propose to continue, which is the principle of the eight units (it does not mean necessarily sticking to eight units, it is simply adopting the principle of Indianisation by units), under that system, at the end of 22 or 23 years, you would have several regiments with a completely Indian officer establishment. My Honourable friend raised the question of a civilian Army Member, and said rightly that this was a subject which he had no doubt would be considered by the Indian Statutory Commission. But what he forgot to say was that there is on record a pronouncement of this Honourable House on the question of a civilian Army Member. A Resolution to the effect that there should be such a Member was brought before this House by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar in March, 1921, and was negatived without a division. That is the only recorded pronouncement of this House on the subject.

I come now to my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran. He asked me two questions. The first was—what are we doing to reach the good officer material which we all admit exists in India. Sir, we have adopted all the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee in this respect, and put them into force. We have given the very widest publicity to the syllabus for the examination, and to the terms and conditions of service in the Indian Army. That we have been successful is evidenced by the fact that we had, before the first examination which was held last November—the first examination under the new rules—between 700 and 800 applications for the syllabus from every part of India. It is perfectly clear to me that there is no part of India in which the intelligentsia are unaware of the openings offered in the Indian Army for Indians. Not only that. We have got into touch with the Universities with a view to starting a propaganda campaign among the students there. My Honourable friend also said that, if the competition were thrown open, he would undertake to produce 200 candidates. I think I heard him correctly. The competition is open, Sir, and for the last half-yearly examination we had 117 candidates, so that in the whole year we may expect about 234. If my Honourable friend can produce another 200, I shall be very grateful to him. I cannot understand what his grievance is against Government and what he means by suggesting that the competition is not thrown open. The competition is

[Mr. G. M. Young.]

thrown open to everybody, and those who qualify at the examination pass into Sandhurst, Woolwich or Cranwell as the case may be.

There is only one other point on which I should like to touch, in connection with the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report, and that is a question which my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, gave me, and which I overlooked just now—when did we propose to establish a military college in India? This is going back over very old ground, but as my Honourable friend has put me this specific question, I had better restate the position. The Indian Sandhurst Committee, as we all know, suggested that the college should definitely be established in 1933. The reason why they suggested that particular year was that, according to their time-table for expansion of the number of vacancies to be offered, if those vacancies were filled with qualified candidates, by 1933, there would be, on the one hand, more candidates than Sandhurst could accommodate, and on the other hand a sufficiency of candidates to justify the founding of an Indian military college. Government, as I said last year, entirely accept that position. When we have that number of candidates, the question of establishing an Indian military college will undoubtedly arise. What we cannot do is to prophesy that that event will take place in 1933. I have never been able to understand what Honourable Members want, nor how we have turned down, as they say, the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee in this respect. We have started this year with exactly the number of vacancies for Sandhurst which the Committee recommended. We have never, up to this moment, succeeded in obtaining the full number of candidates for the vacancies at Sandhurst. All we say is that we are not going to raise the number above 20, above the initial recommendation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, until we get something like 20 candidates. The Committee, on the other hand, postulate 20 this year, 24 the next year, 27 the next year and so on, subject of course to suitable candidates being forthcoming

Dr. B. S. Moonje: If sufficient candidates have not been forthcoming, will Government undertake a propaganda among the colleges and students?

Mr. G. M. Young: I have already told the House that we have undertaken propaganda among the students. That is exactly what we are doing. We have given the very widest publicity we can and we are trying to get the men. That is what Honourable Members do not appreciate. I do not think I have anything more to say except

Dr. B. S. Moonje: There is one part of my question which remains unanswered. That part of the question is that if the people themselves start rifle shooting clubs in connection with the schools and colleges, will Government give facilities and encouragement. That remains unanswered yet.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, I have only one word more to say. I heard with distress the passionate harangue delivered by my Honourable friend Colonel Gidney just now. Everybody knows, I think, how whole-heartedly and disinterestedly he has worked for his community, with a great measure of success; and I cannot help feeling that it is a pity that

he should advance his views in this House in the language of passion and hyperbole. No one would suppose, from the way in which he addressed the House, that his sole grievance was the failure of Government to organise a combatant unit of Anglo-Indians in the Army. Now, Sir, I very much regret that Government are unable to organise that unit. But there are communities in India, more numerous than the Anglo-Indians and with equally martial traditions, who are in the same predicament.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: And equally loyal to:

Mr. G. M. Young: He referred to famous soldiers like Colonel Skinner, who were Anglo-Indians. No one would suppose, from the way he talked, that Anglo-Indians are eligible for commissions along with Indians in the Indian Army. If they belong to the domiciled community of pure Europeans, they are eligible for commissions in the British Army as well; and what is more, special facilities have been given them to sit at examinations in India, in order to spare them the trouble and the expense of a voyage to England. I feel that I must repeat my regret that my Honourable friend should have pleaded his cause in so exaggerated and angry a manner.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Is there no reply to my question?

(No reply was given).

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 5,35,800 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, 1930, in respect of 'Army Department'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—44.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Alexander, Mr. William.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Ashrafuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Sayid.
Bajpai, Mr. G. S.
Bower, Mr. E. H. M.
Bray, Sir Denys.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Chatterjee, the Revd. J. O.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Sir Hugh.
Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.
Crawford, Colonel J. D.
Crerar, The Honourable Mr. J.
Dalal, Sardar Sir Bomanji.
French, Mr. J. O.
Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr.
Hira Singh, Brar, Sardar Bahadur,
Honorary Captain.
Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Keane, Mr. M.

Lall, Mr. S.
Lamb, Mr. W. S.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Mitter, The Honourable Sir Brojendra.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Muhammad Nawas Khan, Sardar.
Mukharji, Rai Bahadur A. K.
Mukherjee, Mr. S. O.
Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
Rao, Mr. V. Panduranga.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Rau, Mr. P. R.
Sams, Mr. H. A.
Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.
Shillidy, Mr. J. A.
Simpson, Sir James.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Stevenson, Mr. H. L.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Webb, Mr. M.
Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
Young, Mr. G. M.

NOES—61.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Abdullah Haji Kasim, Khan Bahadur
 Haji.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sesha.
 Belvi, Mr. D. V.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chunder, Mr. N. O.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Farookhi, Mr. Abdul Latif Saheb.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Gulab Singh Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Hans Raj, Lala.
 Ismail Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Iswar Saran, Munshi.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
 Jogiah, Mr. V. V.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
 Kunsru, Pandit Hriday Nath.
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.

Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Mitra, Mr. S. C.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Munshi, Mr. Jehangir K.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Phookun, Sriput T. R.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Roy, Mr. K. O.
 Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
 Sarde, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Shafee, Maulvi Mohammad.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Singh, Kumar Ronanjaya.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Rajivaranjan Prasad.
 Sinha, Mr. Siddheswar Prasad.
 Tok Kyi, U.

The motion was negatived.

DEMAND NO. 76—NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,02,24,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1930, in respect of the 'North-West Frontier Province'."

Introduction of Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province on the Lines of other Provinces.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move:

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

The subject matter of this motion is the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province on the lines of other provinces. Sir, a friend of mine once gave me a description of a lobster. A lobster, said he, is a red fish that moves backward. The North-West Frontier Province is really the lobster of India. Ever since its separation from the Punjab and the advent of the forward policy, the North-West Frontier Province has moved backward. Honourable Members are aware that its judicial administration, when it was part of the Punjab, was under the control of the Chief Court of the Punjab, now elevated to the status of

a High Court. Its executive administration was under the control of a civilian of great experience, called the Lieutenant Governor, and now it is in the hands of a Chief Commissioner. The Court of the Judicial Commissioner, much inferior in rank to the old Chief Court, consists of two Judicial Commissioners. In case of difference of opinion on important questions of law and facts, the judgment of the senior judge prevails as there is no third judge. So far as the executive administration goes, the military men have taken the place of the civilians. The Province has been transformed into a vast cantonment. I know the Frontier Province very well. I have lived in that Province. My deceased father was the leader of the Bar in the Dera Jat Division. I know almost all the Khans of the Province. I know all the public men there. Whenever they come to Lahore, they stay with me. We have always talked about the conditions and state of affairs in the North-West Frontier Province. I assure you, Sir, that I do not exaggerate when I say that during our conversation about the Frontier Province I have seen tears in their eyes and woe unto the Province when she sees tears of old men.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Why don't you go and live there?

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: It is impossible for me to live permanently in a Province administered by the iron hand. It is a land where no one can enjoy liberty of action and speech. I know I could not remain in that Province. I still hold landed property there. But I know I shall never return to that declining land. It is bad for a province whose sons shed tears over the unhappy plight in which they find themselves.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Then, you are a self-interested person.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: The value of the property in the Punjab and other provinces has risen tremendously. But price of lands in the North-West Frontier Province has decreased because its administration is so very unsatisfactory.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it because you hold lands there you say this?

Mr. President: Save me from my friends (Laughter).

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: Well, Sir, the rich resources of that province are not tapped, there is no encouragement for needed development at all. The attitude of the Government is indifferent, if not callous, towards the welfare of the inhabitants of that Province. We are told by our able and distinguished Foreign Secretary, the Honourable Sir Denys Bray that the matter of reforms is under consideration. God knows how long it is going to be under consideration, and when the consideration will mature into a definite decision. The present state of things is intolerable. I understand, however, that the Government have suggested to the Royal Commission that the Frontier should be given the moth-eaten Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. If it is true, it will certainly take away the earth underneath the feet of the moderates. I have no doubt in my mind that this will give an opportunity to extremists to find a favourable atmosphere in some carefully selected area to launch their campaign of civil disobedience. I am not for civil disobedience. I will advise people not to resort to civil disobedience or non-payment of taxes. But I am constrained to say on the floor of this House that Indians feel very much affected by the refusal of political reforms to the North-West

[Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz.]

Frontier Province and they do think and believe that, after all, Government are playing delaying tactics. Had the Frontier Province remained part of the Punjab, there is no doubt that she would have enjoyed the benefits of the reforms. Its municipalities and district boards would have enjoyed the benefit of the system of election based on the broad franchise. I remember the famous minute of Lord Curzon on the separation of the Frontier Province from the Punjab. I was then a young man. My father and I advised our friends the Khawans to oppose the separation as it was harmful to their best interests. The Khans did not listen to our advice, and behold they have come to grief. The people of the Dera Ghazi Khan district and of the Isa Khel tahsil of Bannu district did listen to our advice and they refused to be separated. Behold they are now in a prosperous condition, and better off. It is really very bad on the part of Government not to give reforms to the Frontier Province and create a situation of desperation and despondency.

Now, Sir, I remember a resolution was moved in the Punjab Council, in regard to the burning question of re-amalgamation of the Frontier Province to the Punjab. It was moved by my friend Malik Firoz Khan Noon, now the Minister for Local Self-Government. I say on the floor of this House that we were told by a responsible official that the Government of India were determined to give a Legislative Council to the Frontier province, as good as we have in the Punjab.

Sir Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary): Which official made that promise on the floor of the House?

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: I will not tell you his name. But I tell you, Sir, that he was a responsible officer.

Sir Denys Bray: Did he say so publicly in the House itself?

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: It is in the Resolution of the Punjab Council that the Frontier Province must be given a Legislative Council. (Hear, hear.) The Punjab Council refused re-amalgamation simply on the ground that the Frontier Province was bound to get a Council of their own. The voting was taken mainly on the question of re-amalgamation or separate province with a separate Council.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: And so did Sir Denys Bray.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: I dare say he did then. He is a bit changed now. Of course he must obey his master's command. Anyway he desires to give a Council of some kind, known to himself, to the North-West Frontier Province.

Sir Denys Bray: That is all right.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir Denys Bray also recommended it.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: He recommended of course. But he is still considering his recommendations. Well, Sir, the Punjab Council came to the conclusion that, after all, it would be better to have a separate North-West Frontier Province. The Resolution was carried. The idea of re-amalgamation was rejected, and the idea that the Frontier Province must be given a separate Legislative Council was approved.

Now, Sir, so far as this House is concerned, its verdict on the question of introduction of full-fledged reforms is clear and emphatic. In 1921, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer moved a Resolution in this House, recommending to the Government to appoint a committee to enquire into the question of reforms in the Frontier Province. In pursuance of that Resolution, a committee was appointed called the "Bray Committee", over which our most popular, and esteemed friend the Honourable Sir Denys Bray, presided. The Committee came to the conclusion that reforms must be given to the Frontier Province. It came to the conclusion that the people of the Frontier Province were intelligent people and capable of managing their own affairs and were not in any way inferior to the people of the other provinces. They came to the conclusion that the cost of the reforms would not be much. Indeed it was a paltry sum of Rs. 42,000, including the pay of the Minister. The Report of the Committee was published in 1924. But no action was taken to carry out the recommendations of the Committee. Indeed the Government completely slept over the matter.

In 1926, Mr. Sayyid Murtuza moved a Resolution to the effect that the dyarchical constitution of reforms prevalent in other major provinces should be adopted for the Frontier Province. The Resolution was adopted. In 1928 again, my friend, the Honourable Sarfaraz Hussain Khan moved that the Resolution of this Assembly of 1926 should be given effect to. The answer was given that the matter was under the consideration of Government. I want to ask a straight question and I want a straight answer. Is it a fact, or is it not a fact, that the Government of India have recommended to the Statutory Commission that the moth-eaten Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 be given to the Frontier Province? If that is a fact, do Government believe that it will satisfy the people of the Frontier Province and the people of India? Certainly not. I humbly submit that the Government have been most unfair to the people of the Frontier Province. The Government say that the Frontier people are not yet fit to manage their own affairs. They say it now; why did they not say so at the time the Report of the Committee was written by my friend Sir Denys Bray and his learned colleagues? If the people of the Frontier Province cannot get reforms after 80 years of British rule, if you think they are still unfit to manage their own affairs, I say it is a very sad confession. What a sad commentary on the management of the trustee (Hear, hear).

The next point often urged by the Government is that there is the financial difficulty; financial difficulty in what respect? It is only a sum of Rs. 42,000 that is required, and yet they say there is financial difficulty.

There is no financial difficulty. There can be none. Those who
 4 P.M. live in the Frontier Province know that the Frontier is divided into two parts; i.e., the tribal area and the settled area. We are concerned with the tribal area, and we do not want any reforms for that area. But we want reforms for the districts in the settled area. Can anybody deny the fact that most of the money that is budgeted for the North-West Frontier Province is spent on the tribal area? Those who know the Frontier, know full well that most of the money goes to the tribal area and is spent on roads which are maintained for Imperial purposes and on police which is kept for Imperial purposes, that is, for all-India purposes. If you were to demarcate the money between the two areas, you would find that there is ample money both for the good administration of the Province as a whole and for the expenses of the reforms, if introduced. Well, Sir, it is then said that the Hindus do not agree to the reforms, as if the Government cares for the Hindus or the Muhammadans' interests, or their opinion.

[Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz.]

The fact of the matter is, Sir, that the Hindus wanted re-amalgamation of the Frontier Province to the Punjab. They were crying for it but that was not given. I know some of them say, "while there is tension between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, let us not care for the reforms"; but I know, in their heart of hearts, the Hindus would have the reforms, subject of course to the condition that they are given adequate representation in the Council, to which the Mussalmans unanimously have agreed. All the political bodies in India—the Congress, the Muslim League, and also the people of the Frontier Province—are in favour of immediate introduction of full-fledged reforms in the North-West Frontier Province because, after all, it is a part of India. Peshawar, the capital of the North-West Frontier Province, was the seat of the Buddhist civilization in prehistoric times. In the times of the Afghans, and Moghuls, it held a very important position. The people of the Frontier are in every way fit to have the same reforms as are enjoyed or will be enjoyed by the people of other provinces. Everybody is now agreed that reforms must be introduced in the Frontier province; but the Government is obstinate. I submit, Sir, it is a united demand of India, and it is high time that Government were to condescend to this reasonable and overdue demand. It is not denied that "the security of India depends on the contentment, well-being and good administration of the North-West Frontier Province". Why the Government have not done so yet, I do not know. Is there some mysterious danger, some mysterious demon that haunts them, that makes them say, "No, the danger is so imminent?" Sir, I do not see where the danger is. Honestly I do not see it. I know the North-West Frontier Province well, and I do not see any danger whatever. Where is the danger? All that I can see is the attitude of the strong man who says to the weaker "I shall not give you reforms because I have said so." It is certainly very disappointing to me. It is certainly disappointing to the Mussalman community. It is certainly disappointing to all right-thinking and good citizens of India, and I humbly submit and request the Government to give reforms to the North-West Frontier Province on the lines of other Provinces without further delay. Any lesser scheme of reforms will not be acceptable for a Province which was created by the Government in the teeth of opposition. Sir, I move my cut.

Sir Denys Bray: Sir, I am disappointed again. I hoped that I might at last have the privilege of listening to words of wisdom from my Honourable friends on those front Benches opposite. Their silence disappoints me much. I had hoped they would speak. I had hoped to have gathered strength from the encomiums, if they were to be encomiums, that would be paid to Government. I had hoped that, if they were to attack Government, I might no less—so perverse is man—have gathered strength from the attack. As it is, I must be content to gather strength from the encomiums and attacks of my Honourable friend, and from them alone.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: That is quite enough.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): He is a host in himself!

Sir Denys Bray: I found his attacks rather perplexing. There was so much pathos in his voice when he talked of the Frontier that I thought, what a pity it was he did not remain there, to put it right! His account

of it all was so pathetic, it reminded me of the passage of the rat from the sinking ship. So once again I have to proceed in this debate without the help of my friends opposite. Lassitude apparently has fallen upon them this warm afternoon.

Mr. B. Das: You had our help last year.

Sir Denys Bray: To them, it seems, the debate comes as a twice or thrice-told tale—a little stale, a little flat, perhaps unprofitable. To me there is the stimulus of thronging difficulties faced—my Honourable friend makes light of them all!—difficulties all but surmounted, and the end coming at long last into sight. He taunts Government with delay, and he ran over the history of the case to prove it. Let me run over the history of the case again, to draw another and a more serious moral. There was, first, of course the famous Resolution of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, foreshadowing the very extinction of the Frontier Province and its submergence into the five rivers of the Punjab, from whence it arose. There is in that a reminder, Sir, of a tremendous problem, a problem of tremendous import, not merely to the India of today, but even more to the India of tomorrow, a problem solved and put out of the way. Those were days when I enjoyed unlabourious ease in the Council of State, and the defence of the Frontier against the onslaughts was led by my old friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Then, as a direct outcome of that Resolution, came the appointment of a Frontier Committee to go into the whole internal Frontier problem. It was a Committee on which Frontier experience and political thought were rather happily blended. There was Mr. Raza Ali, then the rising hope of the Council of State; the present Chief Commissioner of the Province; the present President of the Punjab Legislative Council; a Sessions Judge of the Punjab; Mr. Abdur Rahim, a Frontier notable, and a member of this Assembly; that keen and critical brain, Mr. Rangachariar; myself; and my old friend—alas no more!—Mr. Samarth, whose interest in Frontier problems, and especially in the Sandeman solution of them, always attracted me very much. I have gone over the composition of the Committee, Sir, because from it I myself anticipated at the time a clash between political thought and Frontier experience. Would I had been right. There was no such clash. The clash was far more serious. It was communal.

The Committee entered upon its labours in Peshawar, the harbinger—as in its innocence it thought—of reform and peace and goodwill. There was nothing in the evidence of the first witness to disturb our complacency. The first witness, Sir Abdul Qaiyum—I greatly regret his absence here today; I regret it the more in that it is sickness that has robbed us of the aid of his broad outlook, his vigorous speech, and what is almost more to the point, the uncommon commonsense of a very experienced man of the world. He spoke, as I have heard him speak since, with great force, but with restraint and a guard over his tongue. But before the second witness had his say, there was lighted a fire of communalism that took one of our number at any rate wholly by surprise. Surprise was soon to deepen into alarm, alarm into dismay. It was a blaze of communalism that followed in our path. Nor was the fire spent in the Frontier Province. It spread rapidly to the Punjab. Before the Committee had even considered its findings, the Punjab Legislative Council rushed in—and foremost in the rush, as I gathered from his speech, was my Honourable friend—rushed in where we ourselves were fearing to tread. And with what result? I am not sure whether my friend gave a full picture of it to the House. The Muslims

[Sir Denys Bray.]

to a man voted on one side and the Hindus to a man voted on the other—Hindu against Muslim, in conflict undisguised. And what was the later history, Sir, in our own House? I will say nothing of the alarms of questions and motions which were put, or threatened to be put, on the paper, and which the wholesome fear of setting communal strife astir quashed. Let me turn to the actual debates. Like my friend I would remind the House—dare I remind the Leader of the Opposition?—of that dramatic debate in which my friend Sayyid Murtuza was left, bereft of Party, eloquent, alone, the sole Swarajist in the House, pleading to empty benches for reforms in the North-West Frontier Province . . .

Pandit Motilal Nehru: My learned friend ought to know better; he ought to know what the cause of that was. It was no less than a Congress mandate to walk out of the House that left Sayyid Murtuza alone in the House.

Sir Denys Bray: A walk out, Sir? When a debate of such great moment was in progress? Sir, there is no need to remind of the tenseness in the House in those anxious days of debate. May I remind the Leader of the Nationalist Party of that speech of his, crying halt to the haste of over-zeal, calling for caution, fearless and courageous in its facing of the communal issue, with warning again and again as its dominant note? And there is another speech stamped on my memory—the speech of my old colleague, Mr. Rangachariar, who led the minority of the Committee, an impassioned speech against reforms, impetuous, powerfully worded, powerful in its force. I pass on to more recent events. I pass over two years . . .

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar: Last year's debate.

Sir Denys Bray: And pass from storm into calm (*Mr. M. A. Jinnah:* "Hear, hear.") And when I think of the change, there is in me the glow of success; and it is that change which has given me the joy of battle for this debate. But last night when I turned over the half-forgotten pages of the Report, the joy of battle dissipated into feelings and thoughts for other. For the spokesman, who was the embodiment of that change, is with us no longer. Yet again and again in the sessions I have felt his presence—such is the subtle after-life of personality—I feel his presence to-day; for in so far as the change can be attributed to any one man, I feel myself that it must be attributed to Lala Lajpat Rai, always a staunch political opponent of mine, but among my political friends, it warms me to think, perhaps the most generous. Once the bitterest opponent of Muslim aspirations in this critical corner of India, his speech, twelve months ago, contributed, so I felt then and so I feel now, more than anything else to that confluence of opinion which has set in, apparently among all Parties, strongly, steadily, in favour of the introduction of rational reforms in the Frontier Province.

Instead of my friend charging the Government with casting the blight of delay on the problem, he ought rather to rejoice, with the rest of the House, that the Government did not rush headlong, break-neck, into action that might have sent the hungry flames of communalism through India. It is surely better that the Province should endure its soul in patience a little while, than that all India should grievously suffer. Delay? Why delay has been the triumph of statesmanship over communalism . . .

Pandit Motilal Nehru: And of British rule

Sir Denys Bray: I am eager, Sir, to give a tribute to those who have schooled themselves to think, not communally, not parochially, but imperially on this problem. But let no one deny the tribute that is due to Government for resisting the great temptation to lay patience aside; the tribute that is due to them for guiding the two communities into the way of settlement and peace.

So I oppose the motion, and in opposing it I would, in particular, claim the votes of my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Nationalist Party, and of his Party. For, embedded in a speech which contained much with which I was in disagreement irreconcilable, there was a passage which seemed to me, at the time, transparently wise:

"In this state of things,"

He was referring to an intense communal feeling in the Frontier Province:

"it is for the Assembly and the Government to consider what is the right course to adopt. I am not opposed to reforms altogether, but I submit that the Resolution before us, which asks that reforms which obtain in other parts of India, should be introduced now in the Frontier Province, is premature. I submit that the best course to adopt is that, when the time comes, as I hope it soon will, for considering the question of further reforms in India as a whole, the facts relating to the Frontier Province should be fully examined and the Commission"

and I hasten to say that the Commission my Honourable friend visualised is very different from the Commission eventually constituted:

"should be asked to recommend in what form and to what extent self-government should be established in the Province."

Words of practical wisdom, I thought, and it is this advice that Government has adopted as its own. (Laughter.)

My Honourable friend, Mian Shah Nawaz, seems to have been scared by some papers referred to in a local newspaper, which give, as he thinks, the views that Government have placed before the Statutory Commission on this subject. Now, the memorandum to which he refers has no sinister bearing on the subject whatsoever. It was merely designed as a convenient introduction to the case, descriptive of the system of administration in the Province, descriptive of the various authorities—the Report, the debates in this House and the other, and so forth—summarising the *pros* and the *cons* that had been adduced in those papers, but suggesting no line itself, making no attempt to influence or prejudge the deliberations of the Commission in any way whatever. My friend asked me, "Whether it is or is not a fact that Government recommended to the Commission the introduction of the moth-eaten reforms of 1909 in the Frontier Province?" Let me impart unto him a secret. It is not a fact.

I repeat, the deliberate waiting on the passage of time has been signally vindicated by the event. We are now, this House is now, able at last to ventilate a very momentous subject without fear of exciting communal passion. Two years ago that was impossible. But the fires of communalism in this problem appear to have been quenched by the all-quenching hand of time. We have seen both communities bending their efforts together on the solution of a problem once combustible, and once, as it almost seemed to me, eternally estranging. I claim, Sir, that the Government's attitude towards this problem has been an attitude of great

[Sir Denys Bray.]

wisdom and statesmanship. I ought perhaps to confess that their attitude, at one time, seemed to myself almost as dilatory as my friend thinks it to be now. But I have passed through the many difficulties, I had almost said dangers, of the whole problem, and I possibly know more of its history than does my Honourable friend. I have known no problem in the compass of my experience more dangerous, if rashly handled. Divide and rule are words that come lightly to thoughtless lips. Trippingly they run on the tongue, these three sort words packed with much of the history of ancient Rome. In my living experience I know of no problem in which that unprincipled principle might have been directed with deadlier effect into the heart and bosom of India than a hasty decision, a summary decision, upon it. Divide and rule may have rung true on cynical lips in the streets of Rome—though even that I can hardly believe, such was the unifying, vivifying force of Roman law and Roman polity. To-day they ring wholly false. They ring false, because they are false to the ideas and ideals, which spring imperiously from English thought and English literature, from the very fibre of the English language itself. Far beyond the ken of ancient Rome is the spirit that informs our Commonwealth of Nations—the urge in each constituent nation towards organic unity and growth and self-realisation and self-government within a fuller sustaining whole, 'the whole sustaining and itself sustained'. And if you want proof, look here upon this case!

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.)

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I have put down a motion in my name, but as there is not enough time, I merely rise to support the cut moved by my friend. I do not understand how it is that the Honourable the Foreign Secretary evades the whole issue of introducing reforms in the Frontier Province by bringing forward the bogey of communalism. May I ask him if there is not communalism already here. If that is so, why suggest reforms here? This is one point.

Then another thing is this. Look at the step-motherly treatment accorded to the Resolution which was passed by this House about seven years ago. It is now seven years and six months since this Resolution came before this House. My friend Sir Sivaswamy Iyer first brought forward a Resolution in this House which was adopted. Then a Committee known as the Frontier Inquiry Committee, which was presided over by the Foreign Secretary himself, was appointed to investigate into the whole question. The Report of that Committee pointed out that the people of the North-West Frontier Province were as capable and as fit for the management of their own affairs as any other people. How is it then that the Foreign Secretary now comes forward and says that, because of the existence of communalism there, or because they have not made adequate progress, or because of other things reforms should not be granted to the people of the Frontier Province? I do not understand this. A Resolution was first moved in September 1921. Look at the time that has elapsed since then. Then an inquiry was undertaken in 1922 and a Report published in 1924. Why was all the intervening period wasted? Now, even after the Report was published, was anything

done to introduce reforms there? Was any step taken by Government to introduce reforms in the Frontier Province, even after publishing their Report? My friend Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur moved a Resolution. Even then was any step taken? For two years nothing was done, and then I had the honour of moving a cut in 1928. Now, 1928 has passed and it is 1929. From 1921 to 1929 no step has been taken, though it was first said that the people were quite capable of managing their own affairs. Is this the way in which you are co-operating with us? Are you co-operating with us? Resolutions were passed by this House, which is the creation of your own Parliament, and still you do not give effect to them. There were two Resolutions and one cut on this question and still nothing is done. Is that co-operation? And may I ask who are non-co-operating? Our opinions are flouted, our opinions are disregarded, we are treated as if we were merely so many children. I need not say more, as there is hardly any time and the guillotine may fall. I heartily support the cut moved by my Honourable friend, Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz.

Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur (South Madras: Muhammadan): I associate myself with the previous speakers in supporting the cut. Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Denys Bray, laid strong stress on the fact that the Swarajist and Nationalist Benches are not united. He will be disappointed when he sees that all the Swarajists and the Nationalists vote in favour of this cut. (Hear, hear.) Again, he referred to one point that the Leader of the Nationalist Party spoke against the Resolution when it was moved by me in 1926. There also he was wrong. The Nationalist Party was formed after the Resolution of this House had been passed. The then Leader of the Nationalist Party spoke in favour of the reforms last year, I mean the late lamented Lalaji. Of course, one Honourable Member who spoke in his individual capacity was against this motion at the outset, but even he is not now against the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province. So there is no communalism so far as this question is concerned. There is no difference of opinion whatever regarding it and Government cannot take shelter under such a thing. As my Honourable friend Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan has rightly pointed out, are not Government introducing reforms in places where there is also communalism? Communalism in such a big Empire like India may exist for some time, but you cannot go on putting off reform in the North-West Frontier Province on that account. The Government say that the people of the North-West Frontier Province are the gate-keepers of India and yet they do not want to give them reform. I invite the attention of the Government to the fact that the Mussalmans and the Hindus of the North-West Frontier Province do want reform now and they have already passed a Resolution to the effect that, if reforms are not given to them, they will even resort to civil disobedience. Even such a warning as this has not opened the eyes of the Government. They want to sleep over such a momentous question as this. I hope that the whole House will give its whole-hearted support to the cut so ably moved by my Honourable friend Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz. I will request my Honourable friends not to attach any importance to the fact that the mover of the cut does not side with us and does not go to the same lobby as we go to. This question of reform for the

[Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur.]

North-West Frontier Province is the property of the House. It is not the property of Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz and so I request all my Honourable friends to support this cut.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: I voted with you on the rejection of the total votable Demand for the Army.

Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur: It is an honourable exception.

Mr. B. Das: Sir, I always listen attentively and with great pleasure whenever my Honourable friend Sir Denys Bray speaks on the floor of this House, because of the beautiful flow of his language and the scholastic speech. But somehow, today my Honourable friend was depressed, he was in such a depressed mood that he spoke in such a manner that it was difficult for us, on this side of the House, to understand him. He spoke in enigmas and innuendoes. He went back to ancient history, that he ought not to have touched. He ought to have based his arguments on the facts of today. My Honourable friend quoted my late Leader of this Party, Lalaji, as to what he said on the floor of this House, last year. . . .

Sir Denys Bray: I rise to a point of explanation. If my Honourable friend thinks that the words that I quoted were those of the late Lala Lajpat Rai, I am sorry I misled him. The words were the words of the present Leader of the Nationalist Party.

Mr. B. Das: I am referring the Honourable the Foreign Secretary to the spirit of the speech of Lala Lajpat Rai last year on the floor of this House. It was for harmony and unity. What is the use of quoting a passage here, and quoting a passage there of somebody's speech and then trying to bring up communal questions and communal issues against us?

My Honourable friend Mr. Shah Nawaz referred to the fact that a certain memorandum regarding reforms in North-West Frontier Province had been placed before a certain Commission that is now roaming about the country. My Honourable friend the Foreign Secretary interpreted that as nothing but the reflection of the course of events and course of discussion on the North-West Frontier Province on the floor of this House by the Opposition Benches. This is the first time that I hear Treasury Benches taking note of the discussions on this side of the House and shaping their opinions, reflections and actions accordingly. My Honourable friend spoke of statesmanship and wisdom on the Government side, which expression of sentiment would have been all right if it had come from this side of the House, but he pays those compliments to himself and to the Treasury Benches. On the other hand, if the Treasury Benches had any wisdom, they ought to have tried to interpret to the British Parliament the question of the national demand that was discussed here only two days ago, and carried with such an overwhelming majority. But you have not done that. You do accept our national demand. Today you grow so miserable over anticipated communal troubles that may come thereafter in the North-West Frontier Province! Why this bogey of communal troubles? Last year we pressed for the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province. We are again pressing for the same. What is the use of saying that something might crop up, and quoting ancient history, the parallel history of Imperial Rome and saying that things may go wrong if there are reforms in the North-West Frontier Province?—Sir, to me the

problem of the North-West Frontier Province and the question of national demand are one. It is that, if India wants Swaraj, every part of India will have to get Swaraj. That is my view and that is the view of anybody who is claiming Swaraj for India, and it is no use, at this late stage, the Honourable Foreign Secretary introducing a line of cleavage and thereby diverting the issue. (*An Honourable Member*: "Finish"). Sir, I do whole heartedly support the proposition, and I do suggest to my Honourable friend Mr. Shah Nawaz that we should always, in the interests of the country, unite on national issues. At times—in fact very often—he and his Group—the Central Muslim Group, have voted with Government on grave national issues, and I hope that, if we bring victory to him and to the proposition he has put forward today, he will remember the common issue, common bond and will persuade his friends never to vote with the Government on future occasions on grave national problems.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): At the very outset I must express my admiration for the manner in which the Honourable the Foreign Secretary expressed his views on a subject of such contentious importance. Sir, in expressing his views, the Honourable the Foreign Secretary truly said that the ancient Roman policy of *Divide et impera* did not find acceptance so far as the problem before this House is concerned.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

Sir, he also referred, in the course of his speech, to a past pronouncement of the great Leader of the Nationalist Party, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He described how, during a previous debate, the House was charged with communalism; how the atmosphere was almost combustible. I do not recollect—perhaps I was either absent or absent-minded—that the atmosphere was so combustible, was charged with so much ill-feeling, but the Honourable the Foreign Secretary, who had taken a very active part in the debate, must know better. I have, however, just glanced through the speech of Pandit Malaviya, and I find that, even though he was in opposition, for reasons of a constitutional and all-India character, which I need not go into now, to that particular motion, so far as he was concerned, he tried to avoid all communalism—a fact which I am sure the Honourable the Foreign Secretary fully recognises. The Honourable Pandit said:

"My Honourable friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum, in appealing to us to support the proposal for reform said: 'We want to be your brethren; treat us like your brethren'. I most sincerely wish those words to prove true in practice, not only in the life of my Honourable friend but in the lives of all of us, Hindus and Muhammadans, generally in the North-West Frontier Province and everywhere else. That has been our cry. I have now been in public life for forty years and I have never been guilty of desiring to promote discord between Hindus and Muhammadans. I have seldom, if ever, advocated the cause of Hindus as distinguished from the cause of Muhammadans, either in the National Congress or the local Legislative Council, of which I was a Member for many years, or in the Legislative Assembly. I do not remember any time when I have entertained any thought of hurting my Muhammadan fellow countrymen. I should be ashamed of myself, I should be ashamed to think of my God, or to appear before Him, if I ever cherished the smallest thought of injuring any of my Muhammadan or Christian brethren."

I must place on record these burning words of sincerity of the Honourable the Leader of the Nationalist Party. I do not grudge the credit which the Honourable the Foreign Secretary took so far as the Government was concerned. That credit must also attach to the leader of the

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

Hindu community in this House and the great Hindu community outside—the one man of whom it can be said that he is *the* leader of the Hindu community, who has tried to bring about a better understanding between the two communities. I remember the days of the Lucknow Congress of 1916, when the Hindu-Muslim pact was being discussed, when the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was putting up in the office of a newspaper of which I then happened to be the Editor. I remember, Sir, the anxious days and hours that the Pandit passed. At every time, the one consideration that the Pandit had was not to injure the Muslim community, and, knowing his views as I did then—and with one or two possible exceptions, very few do know them in this House—I know what a tremendous sacrifice he made at that time. Sir, there are sacrifices of various kinds in life, but the greatest form of sacrifice is the sacrifice of a strong opinion which the Pandit has always been capable of, if by so sacrificing, he can increase the national good or add to the inter-communal understanding.

So much, Sir, for the views which the Hindūs have on this particular question of the North-West Frontier problem, or the general question, which the Honourable the Foreign Secretary touched on, of communal understanding. That, I admit, Sir, is interwoven as it were, with this Frontier question. You cannot discuss this Frontier question without discussing the Hindu-Muslim question. That is quite true, because the Frontier has often enough been made a communal question, and therefore you have to look at the communal aspect also, but the Foreign Secretary conceded, in his speech, that, so far as this House was concerned, there was a difference, and a very great difference, between the spirit which prevailed in this House before and which prevails to-day. That, Sir, is a concession to the right kind of development in inter-communal understanding, which I am sure is fast taking place. Sir, constitution making has been going on in this country, and though it has produced controversies, as it was bound to produce them, no one can lightly deny that, behind that controversy that is raging, is that one governing passion to settle this communal problem. The leaders on all sides are animated by that one single consideration. I have been in politics, and I know what anxious times the leaders pass when, especially in matters of constitution-making, communal issues crop up. But even at such a time as this, when all is not smooth-sailing, I should like to welcome the recognition of Sir Denys Bray to the fact that the spirit is changing, the situation has improved, the communal atmosphere is no longer combustible, and that there is the sunshine of hope where there was the gloom of despair.

That, Sir, is a very generous, a very happy, and at the same time a very true recognition of the fact which cannot be ignored. (*Cries of "Divide, divide"*.) That is a fact which we must all bear in mind, and especially at a time when various difficulties have been put before us in this House. And now, Sir, as you are aware, the essential form of the reforms to be provided for the Frontier Province has been agreed to by, not only the Muslims, but also by the Hindus, in all those long discussions which took place in the All-Parties Conference. No Hindu made this question a communal question. Hindus of all shades of opinion, Hindus belonging to all sections, parties and creeds, have fully recognised that

the reforms should be extended to the Frontier Province, and, Sir, so far as the Muslims are concerned, they have been speaking with one voice, with the voice of thunder, which the Foreign Secretary has been hearing, and there is abundant evidence of sympathy in his speech on the Frontier question. But charged as he is with responsibility for the Frontier, he cannot be carried away either by communal enthusiasm or by mere enthusiasm for constitution-making. We have to take into consideration the various vital facts and make it clear to the advocates of reform for the Frontier Province that, even when India is endowed with Swaraj, the Frontier Province cannot aspire to proceed at the same rapid rate at which the other provinces may be able to proceed. As it has been truly said by Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, the Frontier people are the gate-keepers of India. The gate-keepers, chowkidars as you are aware, do not always receive the same treatment as the gentlemen who live in palaces. The gate-keepers must pass sleepless nights. There is no helping it. The gate-keepers of India pass through anxious times. They must sometimes be prepared to pay the penalty of being gate-keepers. Theirs is not a problem that can be lightly played with. This House will have to go into committee, or will have to appoint a committee to investigate the special problem of the Frontier. This House cannot merely pass motions of this kind without, at the same time, deciding as to how its purpose is to be carried out. I do not believe in mere passing of Resolutions. I also insist on Resolutions being carried out. As Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said, this Frontier problem has to be considered not only from the point that is generally brought forward in important debates like this, but also from another point of view. He said:

"I submit, Sir, that the question has to be considered from the point of view of local conditions and the importance of the Province to the Empire."

I thought he meant the British Empire, but he also must have borne in mind the Indian Empire,—the Empire of Asoka, the Empire of the Moghuls and the Empire of the White Moghuls:

"All I have drawn attention to is meant to show that the question deserves to be studied very carefully. I am very sorry to have had to refer to matters which I knew would be unpleasant and disliked."

But the most pleasant thing is that the Honourable Member from the Punjab has given us, once again, an opportunity of studying this question carefully. We should not venture, on this occasion, to go much beyond studying the question, and closely studying the question, and I am sure Hindus and Mussalmans will recognise that constitution-making is going on, and that the leaders on the side of the Hindus and Mussalmans are anxious to come to a settlement. I am sure Mr. Shah Nawaz and his Party will help Pandits Motilal Nehru and

(It being then Five of the Clock.)

Mr. President: Order, order. The question is:

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

The Assembly divided:

AYES—67.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Abdullah Haji Kasim, Khan Bahadur
 Haji.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Alexander, Mr. William.
 Aney, Mr. M. F.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
 Belvi, Mr. D. V.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chunder, Mr. N. O.
 Cocke, Sir Hugh.
 Crawford, Colonel J. D.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Farookhi, Mr. Abdul Latif Sahab.
 Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Serabhai Nemchand.
 Hans Raj, Lala.
 Ismail Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Iswar Saran, Munshi.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. A. R.
 Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
 Jogiah, Mr. V. V.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.

Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.
 Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mehta, Mr. Jannadas M.
 Mitra, Mr. S. C.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Munshi, Mr. Jehangir K.
 Murtuza, Sahab Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Phookun, Srijut T. R.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan Bahadur
 Shafee, Maulvi Mohammad.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Rajivaranjan Prasad.
 Sinha, Mr. Siddheswar Prasad.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tok Kyi. U.
 Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.

NOES—34.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Bajpai, Mr. G. S.
 Bower, Mr. E. H. M.
 Bray, Sir Denys.
 Coatsman, Mr. J.
 Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.
 Crerar, The Honourable Mr. J.
 Dalal, Sardar Sir Bomanji.
 French, Mr. J. C.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr.
 Hira Singh, Brar, Sardar Bahadur,
 Honorary Captain.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Keane, Mr. M.

Lall, Mr. S.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Mitter, The Honourable Sir Brojendra.
 Mukharji, Rai Bahadur A. K.
 Mukherjee, Mr. S. C.
 Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
 Rao, Mr. V. Panduranga.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Rau, Mr. P. R.
 Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
 Sams, Mr. H. A.
 Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.
 Shillidy, Mr. J. A.
 Simpson, Sir James.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Stevenson, Mr. H. L.
 Webb, Mr. M.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 1,02,23,900 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, 1930, in respect of 'North-West Frontier Province'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 16.—CUSTOMS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 76,54,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Customs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 17.—TAXES ON INCOME.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,79,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Taxes on Income'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 19.—OPIUM.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,14,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Opium'."

The motion was adopted.

(When Mr. President was putting the Demand under "Opium" to the vote of the House, Mr. K. C. Roy was seen leaving his seat.)

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member has been a Member in this Assembly for several years and he ought to know the rules.

DEMAND No. 20.—STAMPS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Stamps'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 21.—FOREST.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,32,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Forest'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 22.—IRRIGATION (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES), NAVIGATION,
EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,13,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Irrigation (including Working Expenses), Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 23.—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT (INCLUDING
WORKING EXPENSES).

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,04,29,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses)'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO 24.—INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT (INCLUDING
WORKING EXPENSES).

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,21,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Indo-European Telegraph Department (including Working Expenses)'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 25.—INTEREST ON DEBT AND REDUCTION OR AVOIDANCE OF DEBT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,38,15,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Interest on Debt and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 26.—INTEREST ON MISCELLANEOUS OBLIGATIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 43,57,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Interest on Miscellaneous Obligations'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 27.—STAFF, HOUSEHOLD AND ALLOWANCES OF THE GOVERNOR
GENERAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,20,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Staff, Household and Allowances of the Governor General'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 29.—LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,38,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Legislative Bodies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 30.—FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,36,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Foreign and Political Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 31.—HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,06,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Home Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 32.—PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 86,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Public Service Commission'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 33.—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,48,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Legislative Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 34.—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,90,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Department of Education, Health and Lands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 36.—SEPARATION OF ACCOUNTS FROM AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,73,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Separation of Accounts from Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 37.—COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,15,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Commerce Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 39.—DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,76,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Department of Industries and Labour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 40.—CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,95,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Central Board of Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 41.—PAYMENTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,08,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Payments to Provincial Governments on account of Administration of Agency Subjects'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 42.—AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 86,52,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 43.—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 55,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 44.—POLICE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,92,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Police'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 45.—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,89,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 46.—LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,90,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Lighthouses and Lightships'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 47.—SURVEY OF INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,98,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Survey of India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 48.—METEOROLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,56,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 49.—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,52,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 50.—BOTANICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,81,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Botanical Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 51.—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,04,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Zoological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 52.—ARCHÆOLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,43,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Archæology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 53.—MINES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,59,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Mines'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 54.—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,16,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 55.—EDUCATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,91,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Education'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 56.—MEDICAL SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,45,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 57.—PUBLIC HEALTH.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,94,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Public Health'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 58.—AGRICULTURE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,69,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 59.—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,68,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 60.—INDUSTRIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,01,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Industries'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 61.—AVIATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,60,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Aviation'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 62.—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,13,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 63.—CENSUS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Census'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 64.—EMIGRATION—INTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Emigration—Internal'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 65.—EMIGRATION—EXTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,01,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Emigration—External'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 66.—JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,35,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Joint Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 67.—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,43,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 68.—INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,35,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Indian Stores Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 69.—CURRENCY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 46,42,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 70.—MINT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,86,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Mint'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 71.—CIVIL WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,51,58,000 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, 1930 in respect of 'Civil Works'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 72.—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 38,73,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 73.—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,46,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 74.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,09,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 75.—REFUNDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 65,60,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Refunds'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 77.—BALUCHISTAN.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,88,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Baluchistan'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 78.—DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,84,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 79.—AJMER-MERWARA.

Mr. President: The question is: .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,79,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 80.—ANDAMANS AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,15,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Andamans and Nicobar Islands.'"

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 81.—RAJPUTANA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,43,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Rajputana.'"

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 82.—CENTRAL INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,66,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Central India.'"

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 83.—HYDERABAD.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,96,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Hyderabad.'"

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 84.—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,45,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—Secretary of State for India.'"

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 85.—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 52,90,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—High Commissioner for India.'"

The motion was adopted.

B.—Expenditure charged to Capital.

DEMAND NO. 86.—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SECURITY PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Security Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 87.—FOREST CAPITAL OUTLAY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Forest Capital Outlay'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 88.—IRRIGATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,99,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Irrigation'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 89.—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,11,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 90.—INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Indo-European Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 91.—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CURRENCY NOTE PRESS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 52,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency Note Press'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 92.—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 40,00,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Vizagapatam Harbour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 93.—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,000 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 1930, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Lighthouses and Lightships'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 94.—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,71,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Commuted Value of Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 95.—NEW CAPITAL AT DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,19,63,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'New Capital at Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

C.—Disbursement of Loans and Advances.

DEMAND NO. 96.—INTEREST-FREE ADVANCES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 90,25,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Interest-free Advances'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 97.—LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,10,63,000 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, 1930, in respect of 'Loans and Advances bearing Interest'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 16th March, 1929.