

8th February 1930

THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

Volume I, 1930

(20th January to 24th February, 1930)

SIXTH SESSION

OF THE

THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1930

~~Chamber suggested...~~ 18-X-73



DELHI
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
1930

Legislative Assembly.

President :

THE HONOURABLE MR V. J. PATEL.

Deputy President :

MAULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, M.L.A.

MR. M. A. JINNAH, M.L.A.

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SIR ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN, KT., C.S.I., M.L.A.

Secretary :

MR. S. C. GUPTA, BAR.-AT-LAW.

Assistant of the Secretary :

RAI SAHIB D. DUTT.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN SURAJ SINGH BAHADUR, I.O.M.

CONTENTS.

PAGES:

VOLUME I—20th January to 24th February 1930.

Monday, 20th January, 1930—

Statement by Mr. President <i>re</i> Protection of the Assembly Chamber and its precincts	1-3
Members Sworn	3-4
Questions and Answers	4-44
Unstarred Questions and Answers	44-81
Resolution <i>re</i> Attempt to wreck the Viceroy's Train—Adopted	81-84
Governor General's assent to Bills	85
Statement laid on the Table	85-86
The Indian Sale of Goods Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	86
The Indian Contract (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	86
The Inland Steam-vessels (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	86
The Dangerous Drugs Bill—Appointment of Mr. E. F. Baum to the Select Committee	87
The Cantonments (House-Accommodation Amendment) Bill—Appointments to the Select Committee	87
The Transfer of Property (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	88
Resolution <i>re</i> Fixing Minimum Wages—Adopted, as amended	88-92

Tuesday, 21st January, 1930—

Members Sworn	93
Questions and Answers	93-130
Statement by Mr. President of his position in relation to the boycott of the Legislatures	131-34
Statement laid on the Table	134-61
The Hindu Widows' Right of Inheritance Bill—Circulated...	162-68
The Imperial Bank of India (Amendment) Bill—Motion to consider negatived	168-93
The Arya Marriage Validation Bill—Discussion on the Motion to refer to Select Committee adjourned	193-97

Wednesday, 22nd January, 1930—

Resolution <i>re</i> Stipends of the Members of the Carnatic Family --Adopted	199-201
Resolution <i>re</i> Currency Offices—Withdrawn	201-02
Resolution <i>re</i> Slaughter of Milch Cows—Negatived	203-35

Thursday, 23rd January, 1930—

Member Sworn	237
Statement of Business	237
The Arya Marriage Validation Bill—Circulated	237-63

CONTENTS—*contd.*

PAGES.

Thursday, 23rd January, 1930—*contd.*

The Reservation of the Coastal Traffic of India Bill—Re-circulated	...	...	...	...	263
The Indian Steam-vessels (Amendment) Bill—Passed	...	...	...	...	263-66
The Mussalman Wakf Validating (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	...	...	...	...	266
The Court-fees (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	...	...	...	...	266-68
The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Motion to circulate, negatived	...	...	...	...	268-71
The Indian Electricity (Amendment) Bill—Withdrawn	...	...	...	...	271-74
The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	...	...	...	...	274
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	...	...	...	...	275
The Indian Religious Pictures Trade Marks (Prevention) Bill—Introduced	...	...	...	...	275

Saturday, 25th January, 1930—

Address by H. E. the Viceroy to the Members of the Legislative Assembly	277-82
---	-----	-----	-----	-----	--------

Monday, 27th January, 1930—

Member Sworn	...	...	...	...	283
The Indian Merchandise Marks (Amendment) Bill—Appointments to the Select Committee	...	...	...	...	283
The Indian Patents and Designs (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	...	...	...	...	283-88

Tuesday, 28th January, 1930—

Closing of the Galleries of the Legislative Assembly Chamber	...	...	...	...	289
Short Notice Question and Answer	...	...	...	...	289-90
Resolution <i>re</i> Recruitment for the Indian Medical Service—Adopted, as amended	...	...	...	...	290-312

Wednesday, 29th January, 1930—

Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	313-38
Unstarred Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	339-48
Statement of Business	...	...	...	...	348
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	...	...	...	...	348
The Indian Sale of Goods Bill—Passed	...	...	...	...	348-58
The Indian Contract (Amendment) Bill—Passed	...	...	...	...	358
The Transfer of Property (Amendment) Bill—Passed	...	...	...	...	359

Tuesday, 4th February, 1930—

Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	361-83
Unstarred Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	383-94
Short Notice Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	395-404
Resolution <i>re</i> Report of the Indian Road Development Committee—Adopted, as amended	...	...	...	...	405-21

CONTENTS—*contd.*

	PAGES.
Wednesday, 5th February, 1930—	
Questions and Answers	423-36
Unstarred Questions and Answers	436-37
Statement laid on the Table—Reports on the Damage done by Floods in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan	437-44
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—(Amend- ment of section 552)—Motion to refer to Select Committee negatived	444-59
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—(Amend- ment of sections 205 and 540A)—Motion to refer to Select Committee negatived	459-69
The Indian Religious Pictures Trade Marks (Prevention) Bill —Circulated	469-73
Thursday, 6th February, 1930—	
Statement of Business	475
The Dangerous Drugs Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee	475-76
The Provident Funds (Amendment) Bill—Passed	476
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Passed	476-79
Demands for Supplementary Grants, in respect of Railways...	479-83
Working Expenses—Administration	479-81
Working Expenses—Repairs and Maintenance and Operation	481-83
Appropriation from the Depreciation Fund	482-83
Strategic Lines—Working Expenses and Miscellaneous	483
Saturday, 8th February, 1930—	
Questions and Answers	485-90
Unstarred Questions and Answers	490-92
Resolution <i>re</i> Relations between Railways and Inland Steamer Services in Eastern Bengal—Withdrawn	492-98
Resolution <i>re</i> the Present System of Education in India— Adopted, as amended	499-543
Resolution <i>re</i> Medical Research—Debate adjourned	543-50
Tuesday, 11th February, 1930—	
Members Sworn	551
Questions and Answers	551-72
Short Notice Questions and Answers	572-75
Messages from His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor- General	575-76
The Cantonments (House-Accommodation Amendment) Bill— Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	576
Resolution <i>re</i> Medical Research—Withdrawn	576-89
Resolution <i>re</i> Enfranchisement of Indians in Ceylon—Adopted	590-618
Wednesday, 12th February, 1930—	
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	619
The Indian Merchandise Marks (Amendment) Bill—Presenta- tion of the Report of Select Committee	619

CONTENTS—*contd.*

PAGES

Wednesday, 12th February, 1930—*contd.*

The Court-fees (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	619
The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	619
The Indian Lac Cess Bill—Introduced	615-20
The Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	620
The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	620
The Steel Industry (Protection) Bill—Introduced	621
The Dangerous Drugs Bill—Passed	621-24
Amendment of Standing Orders—Motion to refer to Select Committee, adopted	624-25
Election of Members to the Select Committee on the Amendment of Standing Orders	625

Thursday, 13th February, 1930—

Motion for Adjournment—Strike on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway—Motion for leave being granted fallen through	627-31
Statement of Business	631-32
The Hindu Gains of Learning Bill—Referred to Select Committee	632-45
The Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill—Discussion on the Motion to refer to Select Committee adjourned	645-75

Monday, 17th February, 1930—

Members Sworn	677
Questions and Answers	677-718
Short Notice Question and Answer	718-19
Unstarred Questions and Answers	719-22
Election of Members for the Select Committee on the Amendment of Standing Orders	722
Statement laid on the Table	722-27
Presentation of the Railway Budget for 1930-31	727-37
Panel of Chairmen	737

Tuesday, 18th February, 1930—

The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	736-40
The Insolvency Law (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	740
The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	741
The Steel Industry (Protection) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	741-44
The Indian Lac Cess (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	745-47
Election to the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association	747
Election of Members for the Standing Finance Committee for Railways	747
Election of a Panel for the Central Advisory Council for Railways	748
Demands for Supplementary Grants	748-56

CONTENTS—*contd.***Tuesday, 18th February, 1930—*contd.***

Elections to the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association, the Standing Finance Committee for Railways and the Central Advisory Council for Railways ...	766
--	-----

Wednesday, 19th February, 1930—

Election of Members to the Select Committee on the Amendment of Standing Orders ...	757
The Railway Budget—General Discussion ...	757-818

Thursday, 20th February, 1930—

Questions and Answers ...	813-22
Orders by His Excellency the Governor-General ...	822-23
Allotment of Dates for the General Budget ...	822
Discussion of certain Heads of Expenditure by the Legislative Assembly ...	823
Message from His Excellency the Viceroy ...	823-26
Arrangements for Protection of the Assembly Chamber and neglected ...	859-59
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Passed, as amended ...	827-28
The Cantonments (House-Accommodation Amendment) Bill—Considered ...	829-43
Statement of Business ...	843-44
Arrangements for Protection of the Assembly Chamber and its Precincts ...	844-45

Friday, 21st February, 1930—

Member Sworn ...	847
The Railway Budget—List of Demands—	847-93
Demand No. 1—Railway Board—	847-93
Standardisation of Wages ...	847-48
Recent revised rates of East Indian Railway Wages ...	848-49
Abolition of the additional post of Labour Member on the Railway Board ...	849-84
Displacement of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans on the various Railways ...	884
Re-examination of the Convention of the Separation of Railway Finance from General Finance ...	884-93

Saturday, 22nd February, 1930—

Member Sworn ...	895
Questions and Answers ...	895-901
Unstarred Questions and Answers ...	902-12
The Railway Budget—List of Demands— <i>contd.</i> ...	912-66
Demand No. 1—Railway Board— <i>contd.</i> ...	912-66
Re-examination of the Convention of the Separation of Railway Finance from General Finance ...	912-44
Relations of Railways with their customers ...	944-48
Indianisation of the staff of Railways ...	948-49
Failure of the Railway Board to settle Labour Problems and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Labour troubles ...	949

CONTENTS—*concl'd.*

PAGES.

Saturday, 22nd February, 1930—*cont'd.***The Railway Budget—List of Demands—*cont'd.*****Demand No. 1—Railway Board—*cont'd.***

Non-development of Railway communications in Orissa... 950-51

Reorganisation of the Central Advisory Council for Railways and of Local Advisory Committees ... 951-55

Removal of penal clauses from the agreements by Company-managed Railways and their reintroduction ... 955-58

Policy of Government Recruitment to Accounts and Audit Department of Railways and how Provincial quota is neglected ... 958-59

Larger employment of Mussalmans ... 959-66

Monday, 24th February, 1930—

Appointment of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru to the Library Committee ... 967

The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee ... 967

The Steel Industry (Protection) Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee ... 967

The Railway Budget—List of Demands—*cont'd.* ... 967-1020Demand No. 1—Railway Board—*cont'd.* ... 967-1020

Larger employment of Mussalmans ... 967-98

Desirability of State Railways running Steamer Services between Important Points in the Railway System ... 998-1002

The Dacca-Aricha Railway Project ... 1002-20

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 8th February, 1930.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REQUISITION OF VILLAGERS TO GUARD THE RAILWAY LINE.

249. ***Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is true that many village people were made to stand along the railway line between Delhi and Tughlaqabad and at other places during the recent tour of His Excellency the Viceroy for the purpose of watching the line or some other purpose?

(b) If the reply to part (a) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether the services of these people were requisitioned through the police or through some non-official agency?

(c) Were these village people impressed into service by way of *begar* or did they come voluntarily on payment of remuneration?

(d) If any remuneration was paid what was the amount *per head* and what was the total cost?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state the hours during which these persons were on duty at the various places?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: (a) I can only deal with that part of the Honourable Member's question which is specific, and I have ascertained that the allegation to which it refers is without foundation.

(b) to (e). The questions do not arise.

ENGAGEMENT OF SCOTLAND YARD POLICE FOR INDIA.

250. ***Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Is it true that Scotland Yard policemen have been imported in connection with the recent bomb outrages in India?

(b) If so, how many persons have been so engaged and on what pay and for what period?

(c) Are Government aware that the importation of a foreign agency is resented by the services concerned?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: (a) It is entirely untrue.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY TO THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

251. ***Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Are Government aware of the dispute about the rate at which electricity is supplied to the Delhi Municipality and its citizens by the Delhi Traction and Lighting Company?

(b) Is it a fact that there is a glaring disparity between the rates at which the said Company buys electricity from the Government and supplies the same to the Delhi Municipality and its citizens?

(c) Will Government kindly quote both the rates?

(d) Is it a fact that the Delhi Municipality have requested the Government not to enter into any fresh agreement or to sell the electricity generating plant to any person including the Delhi Traction and Electricity Company before consulting them or considering their offer?

(e) What reply if any, have Government given to the Delhi Municipality?

(f) If none so far has been given, what reply do Government propose to give?

Sir Frank Noyce: The necessary information has been called for and will be supplied to the Honourable Member on receipt.

SALE BY GOVERNMENT OF PLANT AND ELECTRICITY TO THE DELHI TRACTION AND LIGHTING COMPANY.

252. ***Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Do Government contemplate the sale of its electricity generating plant to the Delhi Traction and Lighting Company and are any negotiations in progress in respect of such sale?

(b) Have Government entered into any fresh agreement with regard to the sale of electricity to the Delhi Traction and Lighting Company?

(c) If so, will Government kindly lay on the table a copy of such agreement?

(d) Are Government aware that the popular belief is that the Government wants to benefit the Delhi Traction and Electricity Company whose capital is mainly European at the expense of the citizens of Delhi?

(e) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of having a Joint Electricity Board on the lines of the Joint Water Board for Old Delhi and New Delhi?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No, Sir. A committee has, however, been appointed by Government to report on a proposal recently received from the Company asking for a revised agreement for the sale of electricity. The Committee's Report has not yet been received.

(b) The reply is in the negative.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) The reply is in the negative.

(e) I am not prepared to make any definite statement on this suggestion at present, but it will receive due consideration.

SALE OF SILVER FROM THE PAPER CURRENCY RESERVE.

253. ***Mr. N. G. Kelkar:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state precisely the statutory powers under which they have sold silver from the Paper Currency Reserve?

(b) Is it a fact that by the sale of silver undertaken by Government a certain portion of the notes in circulation was left without a corresponding liquid reserve?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether there was any loss arising from the sale of silver and if so, whether it has been charged to the revenues of India? If it has not been, has it been included in the suspense account, and if so, how long do Government intend to keep it in the suspense account?

(d) What was the reason that prompted Government to stop disclosing the details about the reserve in the form of securities in the annual report of the Controller of Currency since 1925-26?

(e) Are Government satisfied that the amount of Reserve mentioned in the latest Paper Currency Statement (December 31, 1929) is satisfactory and that it is actually represented by as much bullion or securities?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: (a) The constitution of the Paper Currency Reserve is at present regulated by the provisions of section 19 of the Indian Paper Currency Act (X of 1923). Subject to the restrictions laid down therein, Government, as the chief currency authority, have full power to vary the form in which the Reserve is held.

(b) The result of the sale of rupees as silver is that the backing to the note issue corresponding to the amount of rupees sold ceases to be rupees held at their nominal value and is converted into gold securities representing the bullion value of the rupees sold, supplemented by Treasury Bills for the difference between the nominal value and the bullion value. The intrinsic value of the backing, independent of the Treasury Bills, remains the same, but in a sense it becomes more liquid and it has the additional advantage of earning interest.

(c) In one sense there is of course a nominal loss, which arises because rupees are held at their face value, but the real value of the Reserve is not affected by the sale of silver. This nominal loss has not been charged to revenue but remains in suspense. The question of its final adjustment is under the consideration of Government.

(d) The published records show all that Government is required to publish under section 27 of the Indian Paper Currency Act. The publication of additional details was discontinued because it was considered not to be in the public interest that they should be disclosed. The practice now followed is in accord with that of the Bank of England and of central banking authorities in other countries.

(e) As regards the first part of the question, the Government consider that the assets held in the Paper Currency Reserve, combined with those in the Gold Standard Reserve, to represent a satisfactory reserve, although, as I have made clear on other occasions, they think it desirable that part of the large holding of silver rupees should gradually be converted into gold or gold securities. I do not understand the significance of the second part of this question. Of course the Government are satisfied that their returns are correct.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: With regard to (d) will the Honourable Member give a somewhat clearer idea as to what sort of public interests are served by not giving the information?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: It is not desirable that the public should always be informed of the exact transactions in Government securities. That has been adopted as the practice by central banks in all countries.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: Has there been a change in the practice? Were the details given before and stopped now, or has it been a continuous practice not to give the details?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: The change was made in the form of the return, I think, in 1925, and since then the same practice has been followed. There has been no recent change.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: What was the reason for the change in practice in 1925?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: I have already given the reason that it was considered not to be in the public interest to continue to publish the details.

THE CASH ON DELIVERY SYSTEM.

254. *Colonel J. D. Crawford: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the value of India's outgoing business on the C. O. D. system?

(b) What are the countries with which such business is done?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) The value of C. O. D. parcels sent from India to foreign countries during 1928-29 was Rs. 8,71,015.

(b) Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Johore.

INDIANISATION OF SUPERIOR STAFF IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

255. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) Will Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken to Indianise the gazetted and the superior non-gazetted staff in the ordnance factories?

(b) How many Indians are working in the ordnance factories as (i) Works Managers, (ii) Works Inspection Officers, (iii) Assistant Works Managers, (iv) Foremen, and (v) Assistant Foremen?

(c) What is the standard of qualifications laid down by Government for the appointments mentioned in part (b)?

(d) Is it a fact that the posts of Assistant Works Managers are not advertised in the Indian papers?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Owing to the dearth of Indian candidates with the necessary technical and practical qualifications for the appointments referred to by the Honourable Member, the Government of India selected and appointed an Indian gentleman in 1926 as an Assistant Works Manager under training for a period of five years to acquire the necessary qualifications. This gentleman is still under training.

A system of apprenticeship training has also been in force in the ordnance factories for some time. After five years' training, the apprentice is appointed as a supervisor or a journeyman, and is given further practical experience to qualify him for the higher non-gazetted appointments.

(b) (i), (ii) and (iii). None.

(iv) One.

(v) Seven.

(c) I will furnish the Honourable Member separately with a statement giving these qualifications.

(d) No, Sir. Whenever there is any chance of securing a suitable candidate in India, the vacancy is advertised in the Indian newspapers.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Is it the idea to defer appointing a second apprentice till the Indian gentleman mentioned by the Honourable Member has completed his five years' training?

Mr. G. M. Young: I must ask for notice of that question.

INDIANISATION OF SUPERIOR STAFF IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

256. ***Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Is it a fact that the post of (i) a Chemist Assistant Manager for the Cordite Factory and (ii) a Metallurgist Assistant Manager in the Metal and Steel Factory was advertised only in England in the recent past?

(b) What qualifications were looked for in these two cases? Did Government endeavour to ascertain whether there was any suitable Indian to fill in these appointments?

(c) Have departmental and warrant officers of the Indian Army Ordnance Corps been appointed as Assistant Works Managers, permanent and officiating, in these factories?

(d) What was the standard of technical and general education of these men?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes.

(b) A statement showing the qualifications required will be furnished to the Honourable Member separately. From this statement it will be apparent to the Honourable Member that there was no likelihood of an Indian with the requisite qualifications being forthcoming in this country. The posts were advertised in the United Kingdom where Indians with the necessary qualifications could have applied.

(c) A few departmental and warrant officers of the Indian Army Ordnance Corps employed in the factories have risen to the rank of Assistant Works Manager, but none have been appointed Assistant Works Manager direct from the Indian Army Ordnance Corps. The system of employing Indian Army Ordnance Corps men in factories is dying out and their places are being taken by civilians.

(d) The men possessed first class certificates of education and up-to-date practical knowledge of the work. They had passed the whole of their service in the class of work for which they were required and were considered suitable in every way for the particular posts to which they were appointed.

INDIANISATION OF SUPERIOR STAFF IN INDIAN ORDNANCE AND CLOTHING FACTORIES.

257. ***Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state how many military departmental officers have been appointed as Assistant Works Manager in the Ordnance and Clothing Factory after retirement, on the age limit?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the technical and general qualifications possessed by the Assistant Superintendents who were appointed just after the war? What are the present appointments held by these officers? Was no Indian available with the same or similar qualifications as these officers?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Two.

(b) Five civilian Assistant Superintendents were recruited just after the war, one of whom has since died. A statement showing their qualifications will be sent to the Honourable Member. Two of these men are now employed as Works Inspection Officers, one as a Works Manager, and one as Civil Engineer Adviser to the Director of Ordnance Factories and Manufacture, which is equivalent to a Works Manager's post.

At the time that these appointments were made, the posts were reserved for military officers and military officers were actually selected to fill them. Before they could take up the appointments, however, they were demobilised, and so they were taken on as civilians. The question of appointing Indians did not therefore arise, but in any case it is unlikely that Indians with the requisite qualifications would have been forthcoming.

RIVER EMBANKMENTS.

258. ***Mr. E. F. Sykes:** (a) Are Government aware that one of their Secretaries made the following statement in the Council of State on the 19th September, 1929 (Council of State Debates, 11, 4, 120)?

"If these embankments are placed close to the ordinary trough the almost certain result is that the bed of the river will silt up."

(b) Was the Secretary speaking on behalf of Government or in his private capacity?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) and (b). The passage referred to by the Honourable Member is a quotation from a note on the subject of double embankments by the Consulting Engineer to the Government of India, and the question whether the Secretary was speaking on behalf of Government or in his private capacity does not arise.

Mr. B. Das: Will the Honourable gentleman inquire from his Consulting Engineer about the fallacy of the argument in that particular sentence quoted?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Well, Sir, that expresses the opinion of the Consulting Engineer, who, so far as I am aware, is considered to be an expert in this particular subject.

Mr. B. Das: Is the Honourable gentleman aware that with embankments on both sides of a river the velocity of the water increases and thereby no silt is deposited?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I am quite prepared to accept the statement of my Honourable friend, Mr. B. Das, but the opinion expressed and quoted by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sykes, is that of another engineer, and this is probably a case in which two experts differ

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

THE STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF BRITISH INDIA.

151. **Sir Hugh Cooke:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Statistical Abstract of British India up to 1927-28, and up to 1928-29 have yet been issued, and if so, whether copies will be supplied to the Library? If they have not been issued when is this likely to take place?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is not possible to speed up the issue of statistical information such as that contained in the Abstract?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) The Statistical Abstract relating to the year 1927-28 is now in the press for final printing, and should be ready for issue by the end of the current month. The issue for the year 1928-29 is in preparation. Copies of these publications will be placed in the Library as soon as they are ready.

(b) The time taken to compile the Abstract has been reduced, since the first two issues were published, from about 2 years and 4 months to about 1 year and 4 months, but the Abstract for the year 1927-28 has been unfortunately delayed by exceptional circumstances. The compilation depends upon the receipt of statistics from a number of Departments under each of the Local Governments, as well as Departments of the Central Government, and if one set of figures is behind hand, the whole publication is held up. Government do not think that it is practicable to reduce the time required for compilation to less than sixteen months, but they will take any steps which are found possible in this direction.

ADMISSION TO GOVERNMENT SERVICES OF CANDIDATES WITH DEFECTIVE EYESIGHT.

152. **Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (1) Will Government refer to my question asked on the 11th February, 1929, regarding the admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts, and other Service examinations of men with eyesight corrected by glasses (No. 508, Page 649, Vol. 1, No. 9, Legislative Assembly Debates) and to their reply that the standard laid down for the guidance of medical officers allows the admission of officers whose vision can be brought with the aid of glasses to a reasonable degree of normality?

(2) Will Government refer also to the case of the candidate who was told in letter No. D-3368/29-E., dated the 2nd November, 1929, from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, that it is for the Medical Board to decide whether a certain physical disability of a candidate is, or is not, a disqualification for entry into Government service and that the Public Service Commission is not prepared to dispute the ruling of the Medical Board?

(3) Is it a fact that this candidate was passed as medically fit and allowed to compete for the Indian Civil Service examination held in January, 1927, when he stood nineteenth, but has in subsequent years been rejected for the Indian Civil Service and even the Indian Audit and Accounts Service examination presumably on account of defective sight?

(4) Are Government aware that this is not the only case in which a candidate with shortsight is declared medically fit by one Board and rejected by a different Board?

(5) Will Government be pleased to state the number of candidates rejected for the Indian Civil Service and Indian Audit and Accounts Service examinations, in the last year, merely on account of defective eyesight where such eyesight can be remedied by the use of glasses?

(6) In view of the replies referred to in parts (1) and (2) above, are Government aware that there is an impression among some of the medical

boards that the regulations for the medical examination of candidates laid down for their guidance on the subject leave them no discretion in the matter of passing candidates as physically fit, even though they are satisfied that the shortsight can be removed by glasses and will not interfere with the efficient performance of their duties?

(7) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of issuing explicit instructions to medical boards so as to make it clear to them that they have some discretion in the matter?

(8) Are Government prepared to consider also the desirability of relaxing the stringency of the existing rules and practice as regards the vision test, at least with regard to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: (1), (2) and (8). The candidate referred to appeared at the Indian Civil Service examination in January, 1927. He was subsequently rejected by the Medical Board, which examined him for the Indian Audit and Accounts Service examination held in December, 1927, on account of enlarged spleen and defective vision. The Government of India are not aware of the reasons for his rejection at any of the subsequent examinations for which he may have applied, as applications of candidates who are ineligible, or pronounced to be medically unfit, are not sent up by Local Governments.

(4) The Government of India have no information to this effect.

(5) As already explained, Local Governments are not required to forward the applications of rejected candidates to the Public Service Commission and I am, therefore, unable to supply the Honourable Member with the information he requires.

(6) and (7). The regulations lay down a minimum standard of vision required, (i) without glasses, and (ii) after correction with glasses, for the guidance of the Medical Board. The regulations are not rigid, and direct that, in cases of serious abnormality, the opinion of an ophthalmic specialist should be obtained. The instructions are quite explicit in this sense and the Government of India do not see any reason for the issue of further instructions.

(8) In view of the above, Government do not consider that there are sufficient grounds for modifying the existing rules.

RESOLUTION RE RELATIONS BETWEEN RAILWAYS AND INLAND STEAMER SERVICES IN EASTERN BENGAL.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint a committee of official and non-official Members of this House to inquire into the relations between the Eastern Bengal and Assam Bengal Railways, on the one hand, and the inland steamer services in Bengal on the other, and report particularly as to whether, and in what manner, the interests of the Railways are affected by their co-operation or competition, as the case may be, with the said steamer services."

Sir, those who are acquainted with the Eastern districts of Bengal and the province of Assam, and those who have studied the railway map of North-Eastern India, will realise the great importance that the waterways of this part of the country play in its transport organisation. More than

one majestic stream, with numerous tributaries, carry the water from the hills to the Bay of Bengal traversing the deltoid area of Eastern and lower Bengal. In a sense there is a wide belt of water that practically separates the Eastern districts of Bengal and Assam from the rest of India, and from this it will be apparent as to what importance the water transport of the country occupies in relation to the railways that, together with the steamer services, supply the transport facilities.

Sir, the steamer services which are at present owned and controlled by private organisations, supply the link between the two State-owned railways, namely, the Eastern Bengal and the Assam Bengal Railways. But although there must be some amount of co-operation for the benefit of both the steamers and the railways, the railways are more dependent on the steamers than the steamers are on the railways because, apart from the feeder services that the steamers supply to the railways, they have the run of an all-river route to Calcutta from all the important riparian marts of Bengal, which enables the steamers to compete very successfully with the railways, particularly in regard to the goods traffic. Now, it will surprise not a few Honourable Members to know that the railways at one time actually did own and manage their own fleet of steamers and they were absolutely independent of the private enterprise on which they depend at the present moment.

The Eastern Bengal Railway came into existence as a guaranteed company about 70 years back and it was taken over by the State in 1884. Shortly after that a few steamers, owned and controlled by the railway, were disposed of and some of the services transferred to the private concerns that were running competing services in the rivers of Eastern Bengal in those days. Thus, we find that in December, 1884 some of the services were given up by the Railway and were taken over by the private concerns, who were, till then, a powerful competitor of the railways themselves. This process of gradual handing over of the fleet belonging to the railways continued till 1895, when the process was completed, and since that time the State Railways have been absolutely dependent on the help and co-operation that they manage to get from the private-owned steamer companies.

Now, why was this done? I inquired from the Honourable Member in charge by a few questions as to why it is that these steamer services, at one time owned and controlled by the State Railways, were discontinued in favour of private parties operating in the inland waters of Bengal? The reply that I got was that the railway steamer services were unremunerative and, secondly, that they were unpopular and really not required, as private enterprise was already rendering a satisfactory service.

Unfortunately, Sir, the Railway Department has never been very communicative in this House in reply to questions. They did not care to tell us as to why it was that the railway steamer services were found to be unremunerative and also why they were found to be comparatively unpopular. Sir, the reason is that in those days there was a severe rate-cutting competition going on between the private-owned steamers and the railway steamers, with the result that, whereas the State enterprise could not go beyond a certain point in reducing their rates in order to fight this competition, the private steamer companies practically recognised no limit to their unfair practice, and this resulted naturally in a loss to the State

[Mr. K. C. Neogy.]

undertaking. It is not surprising also that, while the rates were made cheaper and cheaper so far as the private-owned steamers were concerned, the public at large did, as a matter of fact, prefer to patronise the cheaper private services than the State service. This really was at the bottom of the fact why the railway steamer services were found to be unremunerative and also comparatively unpopular. Personal testimony is even yet borne to the facilities that were offered to the public in those days by the private steamer concerns. I am told that payment of fares was almost a sort of superfluity in certain cases. Not only that, but even refreshments and other kinds of entertainment were provided for the travelling public.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural): Silk handkerchiefs!

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Yes, as my Honourable friend, Mr. Ghuznavi, says, silk handkerchiefs were also presented to those who chose to travel by the private-owned steamer services. And, naturally enough, having regard to human weaknesses, the State service was found to be comparatively unpopular. In those early days the principles of fixation of maxima and minima rates had not yet been clearly recognised, and there was also reluctance on the part of Government to compete with private enterprise. As a matter of fact, while the Government committed themselves practically to parting with their steamers as early as 1885, the minima rates, so far as the railways were concerned had yet to come. It was as a result of a well known Resolution of Government, dated December, 1887 that minima rates came to be imposed so as to protect the railways from such cut-throat competition. The principle of minima rates was absolutely unknown in the days when this kind of competition had to be faced by the State Railways in waterways. I do not know if similar circumstances were to happen today whether the Government would take power by legislation to put down such a rate war in the waterways of Bengal. This withdrawal of the State enterprise from the rivers of Bengal was followed by understandings, contracts and agreements between the railways on the one hand and the steamers on the other. There were, however, constant bickerings between the two parties, the railways complaining that they were not being fairly treated, that the terms of agreement were not being adhered to, that the steamers were trying to filch away their traffic—the exact expression which I find used by a responsible railway officer is that steamers have been “filching away the traffic that ought rightly to belong to the railways”—and that the penalties that were contemplated in the agreements were not being imposed owing to reluctance on the part of railways to a certain extent and owing to certain other causes. When we come to the year 1905, we find that no less a body than the Bengal Chamber of Commerce itself made a complaint against the way in which the steamer companies were behaving, and the Chamber made certain suggestions to the railway authorities which were interpreted by them to mean that the railways should provide steamers of their own for the river carriage; that is to say, at that particular moment the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was prepared to support the idea of the railways reviving their own steamer services instead of depending entirely on private enterprise. But nothing came of this representation. So far with regard to the Eastern Bengal Railway.

Coming to the Assam Bengal Railway, we find that this railway came into existence, I think, sometime in 1892 or 1893, and ever since it came into existence it has suffered almost all along its length owing to the fact that it has to face very keen competition from the steamer services. This is a fact which is referred to in an official publication called, "A Monograph of Indian Railway Rates", where, in Appendix I, it is stated that the Assam Bengal Railway is subject to competition of water transport almost throughout the whole length of this system and this accounts for the low rates that were in operation in this railway from the very first, traces of which still remain, although the relations have somewhat improved between the steamer companies and the railway. Now, Sir, this brings us to a very important question. As Honourable Members know, the Assam Bengal Railway has cost the Indian taxpayer, in capital charges something like 20 crores of rupees. But, apart from that, it has cost the Indian taxpayer in losses up-to-date to the extent of about 10 crores of rupees, that is to say, about 50 per cent. of the total capital has had to be found by the Indian taxpayer for meeting the losses of this railway, and it is stated on this official authority that the major portion of the trouble of this Railway, if not its whole trouble, is due to the fact that it has to encounter keen competition from these private-owned steamer companies. Now, Sir, I would leave it to my Honourable friend, the Member in charge, to make the calculations and tell us as to how much of these 10 crores of rupees, that had to be found by the Indian taxpayer for meeting the losses of this railway, has gone into the pockets of the shareholders of the two powerful combines that are operating in the waterways of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

So far as the Eastern Bengal Railway is concerned, it is undoubtedly true that it is more fortunately placed so far as finances go, than the Assam Bengal Railway; but yet, as the Honourable Members know, the finances of this railway have not been in a very satisfactory condition for some time, and the percentage of net earnings to the total capital outlay has been at a very low figure for some years, although it is showing signs of revival.

Now, let us turn to the opinion of a responsible railway official of the Eastern Bengal Railway as to what the effect of the steamer competition has been on the financial fortunes of this State-owned Railway which has cost the Indian taxpayer in capital charges to the extent of about 40 crores of rupees. This is what is stated:

"The history of these steamer services is well worth reciting showing as it does how from a very small beginning the steamer services have gradually appropriated to themselves traffic originally carried by the steamer *cum* railway route and the extent to which they have trespassed into spheres where once the railway had command of most of the traffic emanating from Eastern Bengal and Assam."

It can therefore be very easily imagined as to how far the financial results of the working of this railway, disappointing as they are, have been influenced by this factor.

Now, Sir, with regard to the relations that subsist between the Eastern Bengal Railway and the steamer companies, it is stated as follows:

"While outwardly cordial, our relations with the steamer companies have not always been such as to produce a good understanding, our policy being one savouring more of concession than an equitable division of traffic, doubtlessly the outcome of a desire to show that we have no intention of crippling private enterprise. While the Railway has shown every desire to work fairly and amicably and with a view to the general good, the same can hardly be said of the steamer companies whose policy throughout has savoured of flogging—unscrupulous it may seem, but desirable in the interests of the shareholders if they are to obtain a steady dividend."

[Mr. K. C. Neogy.]

These are not my words, but they are the words of a very responsible railway official. That official goes on to observe:

"The steamer companies not being barred from showing undue preference, can and do guarantee space to large despatchers in a way that the railway cannot do . . . There is no doubt that this affects the railway traffic adversely."

The again the railway officers go on complaining about the system of rebates, secret, as well as open rebates, that are granted by the steamer companies and which, these officers say, place the railway at a disadvantage.

Then again they refer to the block rates, a pernicious system, about which so much was stated in the Acworth Committee's Report. The block rates imposed by the steamer companies are characterised by these railway officials "as a bit of sharp practice". I am quoting the exact words used by them.

Now, Sir, they further complain that the steamer companies can quote any rates without regard to maxima and minima and are not obliged to give the notice that the railways are bound to give before making any changes in their rates; and the steamer companies can further give consignors free use of warehouses, free passes and other concessions which railways cannot do. These are some of the factors that handicap the Eastern Bengal Railway administration.

Now, Sir, at one time the Assam Bengal Railway wanted to have its own steamer service and that proposal was turned down. At another time the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities also were strongly of opinion that, if they were permitted to run their own steamer service, they could show a very decent profit on the additional capital outlay and they would be able to furnish a much more satisfactory service than the private owners are doing at the present moment; but all these proposals were, I understand, turned down by the authorities. With regard to this disinclination of Government to permit the Eastern Bengal Railway to have its own steamer service, I find in an opinion expressed by a responsible railway official that the Eastern Bengal Railway thought that:

"It was difficult to believe that the Government would really face a fight with the steamer companies. If it did and was prepared to spend money the Eastern Bengal Railway could, in my opinion, fight the steamer companies by itself and still show a profit on the working."

Sir, I have no desire to take up any more time of the House. This House was more than once likened by the Honourable Member and his predecessors in office to a shareholders' meeting when we were discussing the Railway Budget, because he said that the Members of this House represent the Indian taxpayers who own this great State-worked undertaking, the Indian Railways, and he compared himself to the Managing Director of the firm. Sir, taking advantage of that imagery, I invite the Managing Director on behalf of the shareholders to have a special inquiry made into the allegations that I have made and to associate a few representatives of the shareholders themselves in such an inquiry. I do not think that such a request would be considered unreasonable in any business concern and that the Honourable Member would readily concede this request.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy (Member for Commerce and Railways): I do not intend to-day, Sir, to take up much of the time of the House on this Resolution. I should like to congratulate my Honourable friend, the Mover, on the temperate and lucid manner in which he has presented his case. It is quite true, as he said at the end of his speech, that to a large extent the Members of this House in relation to the Indian Railways may be regarded as representatives of the shareholders, and if they are of opinion that conditions have come into existence as regards a section of the Indian Railways, which place them in a position of unfair disadvantage, then clearly that is a matter which the representatives of the shareholders would be entitled to investigate. I do not know, that if such a committee as is suggested were appointed, it would be necessary to explore in great detail all that happened in 1885 or in 1905, or even what was said by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in the year 1905. I think that practically that committee, although no doubt it would look into the older history of this subject, would devote most of its attention to present day conditions and consider whether there were reasons for any particular action on the part of the Legislature or Government to influence the extent of co-operation with or competition between the railways on the one side and the inland steamship companies on the other. I do not wish to commit myself today or to commit Government to any view as to whether or not a committee ought to be appointed, because I think I shall be able to satisfy the House that, whatever opinion individual Members may entertain on this subject, the appointment of a committee at this stage would be premature, and I should like to give my reasons.

During the last few months the Agent of the Eastern Bengal Railway, Mr. Mafin, has been devoting special attention to this question of the relations between the Railway of which he is in charge and the steamship companies. He has submitted a report to the Railway Board on the subject, in which he has mentioned a number of points which in his opinion are not satisfactory and where, in his opinion, some re-adjustment of the relations between the Railway and the steamship companies is desirable, and he proposes, having completed his own examination of the subject, to approach the steamship companies and to discuss this question with them. That seems to me to be a proper and business-like way of attacking the subject. The first step to be taken is that there should be discussion between the Railway and the steamship companies. When that discussion is complete, and when the Agent has reported the results to the Railway Board, then the whole matter will be considered by Government, and they will then consider whether any further action is necessary or whether the suggestion made by the Honourable Member should be adopted. But the position being what it is, it is very difficult for me to express any opinion on these questions at present because I have only heard what can be said from the railway side of the case and we have still to hear what the steamship companies will say to it. Because, while as Railway Member I am bound to fight like a lion on behalf of the Railways, yet Honourable Members must remember that I am inextricably linked with my Siamese twin, the Commerce Member, who is the particular guardian of private enterprise. Therefore, I must be careful before I commit myself to an opinion on this subject, and I must add that there is a third interest to be considered,—not perhaps so frequently mentioned in this House as it might be,—and that is the interest of the general public. Now, it is quite true that the railways may very often feel that, owing to the action, let us say, of a steamship company, they are being cut off from remunerative

[Sir George Rainy.]

traffic and are not making as much a success of it as they would like to do. On the other hand, over a large part of India, as regards all heavy goods traffic at any rate, the railways are practically exempt from competition. I do not know that it is a bad thing that in one part of India at any rate, the railways should have to carry on under competitive conditions, which ought at any rate to keep them from going to sleep.

It is for the reasons I have given, Mr. President, that Government do not feel that they can accept at this stage the Honourable the Mover's Resolution. But I can assure him that the matter is already under consideration and will be considered further and that Government are not insensible to the important considerations he has advanced. I hope, Sir, that under these circumstances, my Honourable friend will not consider it necessary to press his Resolution today.

Mr. K. C. Neogi: Sir, I also desire to congratulate the Honourable Member on his very temperate and conciliatory speech on this Resolution. (Laughter). I certainly recognise his difficulties, but I do think that the points that I have mentioned in my speech will not be lost sight of either by himself or by the Agent of the Eastern Bengal Railway when he makes inquiries into all the various factors that are connected with the question.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What about the interests of the inland steamship companies?

Mr. K. C. Neogi: My Honourable friend, Mr. Haji, asks what about the inland steamship companies. The Honourable Member in charge mentioned only two parties to the Resolution, or rather three, the railways, the steamer companies and the public at large, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Haji, very pertinently raises the question of the indigenous steamer services. It is a pity, Sir, that my Honourable friend, Mr. Haji, had not the opportunity of elaborating this particular point. But I think I understand what exactly he has in mind, because it is a well-known fact that these steamer concerns have entered into certain agreements with different parties from whom they get their goods traffic, and have thereby practically succeeded in keeping out other rivals from the field. Now when this question is being investigated, I do hope that the Honourable Member in his character as Commerce Member will not lose sight of this particular fact, and that he will freely admit representatives of all parties concerned and allow the Indian steamship companies to come and lay their case before him. Sir, the Honourable Member did not exactly give the House an idea as to how long it will take for the Railway Department to complete their inquiries. I do not know whether, when the Railway Budget comes before us, it will be possible for the Honourable Member to make some sort of a statement bearing on the question. Whether that is possible or not, I would earnestly request him to give greater publicity to what happens between the steamship companies and others, than has been the case in the past. I do not think the secret conclaves and consultations are likely to inspire public confidence. Sir, with these words I beg leave to withdraw my Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *RE* THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Dr. B. S. Moonje (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move my Resolution. The Resolution runs thus:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps for appointing a committee of inquiry for examining the present system of education in India with the object of ascertaining the causes of the defective character training of the system as emphasised and brought to public notice by the Indian Sandhurst Committee, and of reforming the system by recommending measures for the removal of these defects in the system, so as to enable the educational institutions to provide a steady flow of really first class material for recruitment as Army officers."

Sir, in view of the several amendments that have been tabled, I feel that perhaps the meaning of the Resolution has not been fully and properly apprehended. The Resolution is a simple one and has been put in simple language and the issue is put in a straightforward manner. There are only three points in the Resolution. The first point is that the present educational system is defective. The Indian Sandhurst Committee has pronounced the opinion that the present educational system is defective in that it does not produce amongst the boys who go through that system a desire for taking their due share in the defence of India; neither does it develop power of leadership the spirit of initiative and the general aptitude for dealing with and controlling men. That is the first point. The second point which the Sandhurst Committee emphasises is that, unless this system is reformed, there will not be a steady flow of really good material for recruitment as officers for the Army. The third point which the Sandhurst Committee emphasises is that the whole system should be examined and the defects removed. These are the three points which the Indian Sandhurst Committee has emphasised, and these are exactly the three points which this Resolution of mine wants to put before the House. There is no other matter. It is a straight point and we expect a straight reply from the Government. There seems to be some misunderstanding about the meaning of the words, "the character training of our educational system". The words as used in the Report or as quoted in my Resolution do not mean that Indian boys are inherently deficient in military character, much less in general moral character. It has to be borne in mind that the Resolution as well as the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, where they refer to the defective character training, do not at all imply that there is inherent deficiency of character in the Indian boys, but refer pointedly, clearly and only to that defect in the present educational system. What they, in one word, say is that the educational system is defective. They only emphasise the deficiencies in the present system of education. It is not, as some of my Honourable friends suppose, that they have impugned the character of the Indian boys as inherently defective. That is an important point that has to be borne in mind, and if that is borne in mind, perhaps some of the amendments may be needless. I am as proud of the character of my boys as some of my friends, who feel that there is at least some inference from this Resolution to the effect that the Indian boys are deficient in character. That is not the case. The Indian Sandhurst Committee does not say so. The Resolution does not say so. Who says so, I shall refer to later on. The Indian Sandhurst Committee says that the boys who go to England after having been selected in India are at a disadvantage

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

in competing with British boys. An authoritative witness before the Indian Sandhurst Committee has said:

"It must be recognised that the system of education in India differs so widely from that in England that Indian boys are at a disadvantage in complying with the test such as is required for entrance into the Sandhurst."

In what respect do the Indian boys find themselves at a disadvantage? The Report says:

"... and consequently the Indian boy in present circumstances is handicapped in competition with British boys of equal age, especially in a sphere where physical considerations and general aptitude for dealing with and controlling men are of equal importance with purely intellectual attainments." (Page 14.)

The Report further says that this is due to the defect in the Indian system of education, which does not make provision for military training, military drill rifle practice, organised games and physical training as is made in the British System of Education in England. After thus referring to the defective character-training in the Indian system of education, and having also told in what respects Indian boys are handicapped when they go to England, the Committee goes further and says:

"It follows that material reforms will be required in the matter of educational organisation and methods before Indian Schools and Colleges can hope to produce a regular flow of Indian boys fitted in every way to hold the King's Commission." (Page 14.)

This is exactly what my Resolution intends to make provision for. The Committee as asked for in the Resolution, if appointed, will make inquiries, suggest reforms, and recommend a scheme of action to the Government.

As for our present schools, the Sandhurst Committee does not however speak of them with despair. The Committee says:

"We believe that, if the importance of the matter is brought to the notice of the educational authorities and their co-operation is enlisted, much can be done, even in the existing schools, in the direction of eliminating the weak points mentioned above, and we feel that it will enable a steady flow of first class material for recruitment as Army officers." (Page 27.)

Here is a point which should be properly understood, and taken to heart. The Committee itself has never said that there is any inherent defect in the Indian boys, but the defect is inherent in the system of education through which the boys have to go for passing the examinations. The Sandhurst Committee admits that, if certain defects present in the educational system can be remedied, the existing schools themselves will be able to provide a steady flow of really good material for recruitment as Army officers. But who is to move for remedying these defects? The Committee says that, "The main responsibility must rest on the educational authorities and experts", and expresses the opinion that, "It is imperative that the Government should give a clear lead in emphasising the paramount national importance of reforming the educational system of India in the directions we have indicated". (Page 28). The Committee has rightly said that the importance of the matter should be brought to bear upon the Government and that it is the duty of the Government to give a clear lead in the matter. Now, what do we find? The Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report has been with the Government for some years now, and practically nothing has been done in this respect by the Government. I should like to know definitely what lead the Government have given to the educational authorities

and experts in the matter as suggested by the Indian Sandhurst Committee. They have done nothing of the kind. It is this that has impelled me to bring this Resolution before this House. If the Government desired that really the educational system, which has been found to be defective, should be improved, I should have expected the Government to move of itself in the matter, in the first instance instead of a non-official like myself, but having waited in vain so long for the lead that we expected the Government would give, and having despaired I have moved this Resolution, and I hope that Government will see the need of it, will see the relevancy of it, will see the justice of it, and will see the imperative need of it and will come forward, taking courage in both hands to accept it and to give a lead to the educational authorities and to the country in the matter of reforming the educational system under which our boys have to go and compete with British boys for Sandhurst under a handicap.

I said in the beginning that there have been some misgivings in the minds of my friends about the meaning of this Resolution. The Resolution does not intend to find fault with the character of our Indian boys; the Resolution clearly says—and the Indian Sandhurst Committee also clearly emphasised—that the defect does not lie inherent in the character of the Indian boys, but lies inherent in the educational system. It is no surprise to me, it is no news to the House, that the system is really so defective. The system which had been conceived not in a very commendable spirit could not be expected to bear a fruit other than what we all here condemn. I think it would be right at this stage to remind my Honourable friends how the present educational system was conceived about a hundred years ago. Lord Macaulay, in one of his letters to his father, said:

"The effect of this education on Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves to be atheists and some have embraced Christianity."

I should have thought that, if that were so, the twenty-two crores of Hindus would immediately have embraced Christianity and given an eternal lease of life to this foreign Christian Government. "It is my firm belief", he further says, "that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence." Fortunately it is not so. Having analysed, in the words of Lord Macaulay, the desire, the ideal, the ambition with which the present system of education has been conceived, an impartial Committee like the one presided over by General Sir Andrew Skeen goes into the details of that educational system and finds it defective. Is it surprising that that Committee should come to that conclusion?

"Boye ped babhool ke dm kuhante hoye."

"If you sow the seed of a Babool, a thorny tree, could you expect that a mango should come out of it?"

It is an impossibility. Having sown that seed, and having seen what fruit the seed bears, our friends, well-wishers, the Members of the British bureaucracy come and tell us to our face, with good grace, in a patronising mood, "You should not be in a hurry, you should be a little patient, and consult your better interests first, and you would feel that there is still need of British guidance". An Honourable friend of ours, whose towering personality we are missing, who has left India, but whose

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

place is now occupied by my Honourable friend, Mr. Howell, gave a speech on the 23rd December last and told us the essence of his experience of life service in India. And what did he say? The occasion was a farewell dinner given by the Chelmsford Club at Maiden's Hotel. Our friend of the bureaucracy, Sir Denys Bray, in a patronising mood says:

"There is one practical lesson my long work at the Foreign Office has seared across my brain."

What is that one lesson which he has learnt throughout his long official career in India? Sir Denys Bray says:

"In the idea of complete independence as India's goal, there is in theory no doubt something most attractive even to a man like myself, but until," (please listen) "but until the time has come when a lamb and a lion will lie down together and the lion never opens its jaws except to recite the virtues of the Kellogg Pact to the admiring lamb, complete independence is a mirage, a treacherous luring of India."

He went on to say that, "India is therefore still in need of the generous and adventurous youths of England in her service". To my friends I say that neither the spirit nor the letter of my Resolution, nor of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report was to imply or to declare from the housetops that the character of Indian boys is deficient and should be improved. I had never had that intention; it is not the fact, and even the Indian Sandhurst Committee does not say so. With the experience of the last two examinations held in India, I stand convinced that, in spite of such defects in the educational system, our boys have been coming forward in larger and larger numbers to compete for vacancies fixed for Indians in the military colleges of England; but the
12 Noon.

seats being few and the number of boys applying being larger than the numbers required, they could not all be taken. Therefore, good boys have to be refused; I feel it, I feel the pang of it that good boys have to be refused. But even under the present defective educational system, the inherent military character of the boys prevails. And why? My friend, Sir Denys Bray, said that we have become lambs and there are people in this world who are tigers and lions. I do not know which is more savage as between the tiger and the lion. (*An Honourable Member*: "The tiger".) I shall leave it to the Zoological experts to decide which is the more savage of the two. My friend, Sir Denys Bray, said, "The people who reside in India are lambs and therefore we, the progeny of the British lion, young boys, should be brought out to India to save the Indian lambs from the tigers." He has not said which country it is that the tigers and the lions inhabit; he has merely said that British boys are to be in the service of India to protect the Indian lambs, and that those British boys are adventurous and generous boys because they will leave their homes and come out to India to defend the Indian lambs as against the lions and the tigers who will devour them. If that is so, I ask those British people who are so generous as to send their boys to India, to be a little more generous and in a fit of generosity accept this Resolution of mine and say "Yes; in the system of education which our grandfathers brought into existence in India, they were not perhaps inspired with the same generous impulses by which we today their grandsons are inspired; we today are prepared to make amends for whatever mistakes were made in the past and we want to improve the

present educational system under which Indian boys are to be trained, so that", (in the words of my patronising friend, Sir Denys Bray), "Indian boys may not remain lambs but become tigers and lions; so that two equal people on the face of the earth may remain friends and not merely one be the food of the other." That, Sir, is the object of my Resolution. I want to make tigers of Indian lambs and I hope the generosity of my friend over there would impel him to accept the Resolution and make a beginning in the direction of improving the educational system of India and of helping me in metamorphosing lambs into tigers.

Sir, there is an amendment in which it is suggested that, instead of a committee, a conference should be invited. (Laughter.) I have no objection to a conference being invited if the Honourable Member thinks that it will serve the purpose; but I can assure him that it will not serve the purpose; and why? Because this question has not been looked into from this point of view either by the Educational Ministers or by the Directors of Public Instruction, or by the British Government; none of them has looked at this question of improving the present educational system of India from this point of view, and therefore a conference will be of no use; it would serve no purpose

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is not entitled to refer to amendments which have not been moved.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: I am proving the imperative need of a committee—it is for that purpose that I am referring to it. This much of argument ought to be enough to prove to the gentleman, who has given notice of the amendment and to the Government that there is really need for a committee, which should go and apply a fresh informed mind and analyse and examine the present system of education and come to some conclusions on which their recommendations to the Government would be based to enable the Government to give a proper lead to the educational authorities and to the people at large. It is in this spirit that I move the Resolution. I have done.

Mr. President: I think we will have the amendments first. Mr. Acharya.

Mr. M. K. Acharya (South Arcot *cum* Chingleput: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Thank you, Sir. I move:

"That in place of the original Resolution the following be substituted:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he do appoint a mixed committee of officials and non-officials:

- (a) to examine the present system of public instruction in India in the light of modern educational ideals and in relation to the economic conditions and needs of modern India;
- (b) to report how far the system is really a man-making system, and tends to train young men for active professions in life;
- (c) to report upon the causes leading to the defective character training among Indian youths emphasised by the Indian Sandhurst Committee; and
- (d) to recommend the measures that should be adopted in order to produce educated Indian youths qualified for recruitment and training as officers in the Indian Army."

Before proceeding further with the amendment I wish to convey my homage to Dr. Moonje for the very clear and very forcible manner in which he has placed the Resolution before the House. I agree with

[Mr. M. K. Acharya.]

him in most of what he has said; and when I sent in my amendment, it was not that I had any doubt as to what the Resolution meant, but because I thought it did not go far enough, and if there is any possibility of the present system of education being changed, I thought it might be examined not only from the standpoint of recruitment to the Army but from the even more essential standpoint of the training properly of the men and women of India carrying on the nation's life and the nation's life work. I am glad that Dr. Moonje has referred to one of the great champions of English education in India, Lord Macaulay. I have of course my admiration for Lord Macaulay—for the style in which he wrote—and I have great admiration for his plain speaking, and I wish that present-day politicians were as plain-speaking as Lord Macaulay was. However, that may be, Sir, the system of Lord Macaulay has undergone several changes; and I in my own humble way, having been connected with education for many years in my life, have felt that the system obtaining in India is hardly education; and that is why I said, "the present system of public instruction"—there is very little of education in it. A lot of things are crammed into our heads—good, bad and indifferent—the bad and indifferent predominating over the good; and it is unfortunate that we have been made to learn all these things without any reference to the practical needs of life. I know there have been Commissions after Macaulay's time; I know there have been some changes; I know there have been more Universities established; I know there have been various kinds of attempts made.—the dotting of the "i's" here and crossing of the "t's" there,—my friend Mr. Chatterjee must know them all; but in spite of all the dotting of the "i's" and the crossing of the "t's", the system of education has remained the same. It is a system which I may really call a machine-making system; and, for God's sake, we cry out, let us have a few more men and a few less machines, and I agree with every word that Dr. Moonje has so vehemently and so forcefully put forward. We do not want always to be lambs,—in my humble opinion a lamb is a much better animal

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Lamb is an article of food for lions and tigers.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: It is really a nobler animal, which never dies even when it is eaten up, for in my humble opinion nothing dies in this world. So whether the lamb is a better animal

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): The juxtaposition of the two is not the same.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: I wish we had more Indians with all the virtues and the innocence of the lamb and all the valour of the lion combined, not to eat but to protect, not to destroy but to create. That is India's ideal, and I want this ideal to be re-stated by India, because India is to educate the world. It is coming on, sooner than most of us imagine. Sir, I am aware that very many things have happened during the past few years; we have had many heroes of Sabarmati and heroes of Saroda, I wish some of them were in the Gallery today. But with all these rapid changes tending only to denationalise us we have not had the benefit

of a man-making system of education in this country. It is not merely man-making education that we want in the technical sense of the term, but we want a system of education which will produce men for the higher and larger work of shaping the destinies of India, for educating the civilized world. That is our great mission as a nation. We have to civilize the world, educate the world; we have to draw out the God in man and enthrone him above the beasts of prey within. That is the great work we have to accomplish in life, and the lamb, therefore, is higher, nobler than the fiercer lion; it is the higher aspect of humanity presiding over the lower aspect, that is always crying out for more food, more prey, more destruction.

Therefore, Sir, I would suggest that, if at all there is going to be an inquiry,—I have got my own doubts whether even this mild request will be complied with by the powers that be; for probably between Mr. Mackworth Young and Sir Frank Noyce they will find a hundred and one difficulties in the way of appointing a committee or even holding a conference, and will tell us, "Oh, a great many things are in the air, and so you had better wait till political advance is made and everything else will follow that", and so on and so forth. But I wish, Sir, a larger outlook may be taken of the whole question of the training of Indian boys and girls. Some say they want co-education; but whether it is going to be this education or that education, whether it is going to be lamb education or the lion education, I want the whole system to be sifted scientifically in the light of modern educational ideals. That is the chief object. I am not in any way against the proposal made by Dr. Moonje. What I want to know is whether there is any chance of the present system being reviewed and examined; and I would certainly suggest that the sooner it is done the better. I wish there were some chance of a larger view being brought to bear upon the question of national education. I know that even in the western countries, all the old ways are given up; the old ideals are being re-examined and a great many experiments are being made; but unfortunately in India we are unable to advance, and as my friend has rightly pointed out, an iron system is cast in our teeth. We are asked, where are the qualifications, where is the English public school and where is American co-education? All this from men who do not know the higher laws of life. But there are even today sages in India, Parahmdas, men who know the higher laws of man's nature, the higher laws that control the emotions; and that we should be told that we are only fit to be the unquestioning admirers of the Sarda Act is a national insult, which I for one consider is very unjustifiably hurled against us. I, therefore, implore Members on the Treasury Benches to be a little more sane and liberal. Let them be liberal at least for this reason that very soon they will find in their place Dr. Moonje and other stalwarts, who will examine the whole question from a truly national standpoint. Let us clear the mist from our eyes and prepare ourselves for the dawn that is coming from the truly national standpoint instead of putting forward the shibboleth, "Wait and wait". I resent that policy as much as anybody else, and therefore I urge that, if ever an inquiry is going to be made, it should be as broad and full and scientific as any inquiry in India can possibly be expected to be. It should be as truly human as an inquiry into the question of the education of boys and girls ought to be.

***Colonel J. D. Crawford** (Bengal: European): Sir, I move:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps to examine the present system of education in India with the object of remedying the defective character training of the system as emphasised and brought to the public notice by the Indian Sandhurst Committee with a view to the removal of these defects in the system for the purpose of providing a steady flow of really first class material for recruitment to the public services including the service of defence.'

Sir, I have been a fairly stout supporter of the action which my friend, Dr. Moonje, is taking to improve the youth of this country. If I rise to move a slight amendment to his Resolution, it is for two purposes. The first is to throw the burden of answering this Resolution on the quarter in which the responsibility really lies, that is the Department of Education, and not to confine the debate to the Army Department, whose responsibility for education is really very small. Secondly, by using the words "for recruitment to the public services including the service of defence", I want to show that the qualities which are required for any service of defence are equally required for other public services in India, in fact for the whole of the national life of India. There is no difference of opinion in this House, I think, as to the fact that our existing system of education is in some respects defective

An Honourable Member: In many respects.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Put it that way if you like.

The Revd. J. O. Chatterjee (Nominated: Indian Christians): Does it apply to the educational system in this country only or is it said about the systems in all other countries?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: All right, I shall say that the existing system of education in this country is thoroughly defective if that will please the House. The fact is, that certain qualities which we particularly desire at this stage are not brought forth. They may be inherent, but they are not brought forth by our present system of training, and we desire some alteration in that system. Dr. Moonje suggests that a committee would be possibly the best manner in which to tackle this question. Well, Sir, I see certain difficulties in a committee. If a committee is appointed by the Central Legislature to go round and examine this matter, which is a provincial subject, I think you might find a good deal of obstacles put in the way of any such committee. To my mind it is better to summon a conference of provincial educational authorities, from whom we can ascertain the actual system in vogue in each province, and to examine them and to find out what changes are necessary for the purpose of greater development of character and the qualities of leadership. It seems to me that it is a preferable line and an easier line to follow. There is an immense amount of information already available on the subject of education, collected by various committees, and if you can get the co-operation of the provinces in your general idea of improving the system and altering the curriculum with a view to developing the qualities that we particularly seek, that would be the best and easiest method of dealing with the problem. The difference between me and the Mover of the Resolution is that I suggest a conference of educational authorities called by the Government of India.

*Speech not revised by the Honourable Member.

An Honourable Member: There is another amendment to that effect,

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I have not considered that. I am asking the Government of India themselves to examine this question. How they examine it may be open to criticism. If the Government accept my amendment, and if they call such a conference, that would satisfy me personally.

My second point of difference with the Mover is to throw the responsibility for achieving this result on the Education Department, on which, according to the Sandhurst Committee, the responsibility lies.

Munshi Iswar Saran (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): The amendment which I have the honour to move runs as follows:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, in view of the remarks made by the Indian Sandhurst Committee about the present system of education in India, he be pleased, by way of a beginning, to establish, without any unnecessary delay, an all-India residential military school at a suitable and central place, capable of accommodating at least 500 Indian boys of all castes and creeds at the lowest possible rate of fees for tuition, board and lodging for the purpose of providing a steady supply of suitable material for training and recruitment as Army officers.'

Sir Frank Noyce (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): On a point of order, Sir. I submit for your consideration that the amendment moved by the Honourable Munshi Iswar Saran raises an entirely different issue from that raised in the substantive Resolution.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I submit that the object of the Resolution is to provide a steady supply of really first class material for recruitment as Army officers. That is the object with which the original Resolution has been put forward. In order to achieve that aim, a certain remedy has been suggested. I have taken the liberty of suggesting another remedy for the realisation of the same object. I shall show you from May's "Parliamentary Practice". . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will go on.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Thank you, Sir. If we take the Resolution as it has been moved by my Honourable and esteemed friend, Dr. Moonje, and the amendments which have been proposed by Colonel Crawford and by Mr. Acharya, we will find that what they attempt to do is a staggeringly difficult task. At any rate it is a huge task which this Resolution proposes should be undertaken. What it says is, "Examine the entire educational system in India in order to find out its defects". Sir, I need not weary the House with details. If they really wish to embark on this examination, it will take an enormously long time, and the very object which we have in view will be frustrated. I, therefore, submit that, in order to achieve our end, we should straight away take up the question of providing a steady supply of really first class material for recruitment as Army officers. I have accordingly proposed the establishment of an Army school and the Sandhurst Committee itself is in agreement with this proposal. In their Report they say that the work done by the Dehra Dun School is excellent and they have recommended the establishment of another military school. Now, I submit that, if you have another military school, in which education will be imparted to Indian boys in such a way that the defects which have been pointed out in the Report

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

of the Sandhurst Committee will be removed, that will take us quicker to the goal we have in view, than any examination of the entire educational system.

There is one word I should like to say about the fees, on which I have put emphasis in this amendment. Those Honourable Members who have studied the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee must have found that the Committee have laid stress on the fact that the fees should be such as the ordinary parents in India may be able to afford. The Committee says that India is much poorer than England and therefore it is necessary that the rate of fees should be much lower than what it is in England. One may well ask, "You are proposing another school; what will these boys do"? The first thing I submit is that these boys will be able to become commissioned officers. The second thing is that they may, under certain circumstances, be able to become non-commissioned officers. Moreover, I hope most sincerely this school will be able to provide education for the boys of well-to-do families who do not want any careers, but who will go to this school in order to get the training which will make them men and gentlemen. There are other advantages, but I need not discuss them here. It may be that the Honourable Member in charge of the Army Department will say, "What about the cost"? I do not wish to introduce any bitterness in my speech, but I will only say this to him with great confidence that, if he opposes my proposal on financial grounds, he will expose himself and the Department which he represents to the grave charge of being utterly unmindful of the vital interests of the country. Crores and crores of rupees are spent every year over the Army, and if they grudge this paltry sum, then it becomes perfectly obvious that they are completely out of sympathy with our desire to prepare ourselves for the defence of our country.

Sir, I do not think it is necessary to make a long speech in support of my proposition, but I shall say this from my place here, that the only thing that will satisfy India is the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. Nothing else will. (Hear, hear.) Let it be perfectly understood, and let it be clearly realised, that by making the suggestion which I have taken the liberty of making in this amendment, I do not for a moment mean to give up our claim to the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, which is the only solution of the problem.

Sir, there are some people who are enthusiastic about the Round Table Conference; there are others who are not. Unfortunately I am one of those who feel that, if we properly utilise this opportunity, the result will be something splendid and marvellous. But I shall take the point of view of those who are pessimists. Even they will have to recognise that the whole question is in the melting pot at the present moment. We do not know what shape the future army system in India is going to take. But I do maintain that this school will, in any event, prove very useful even if the present system unfortunately is continued. Out of this school you will be able to get boys who will be able to be trained and recruited as Army officers. If another system is introduced, even then this school will retain its utility and importance. I submit, Sir, that looked at from any point of view, this school, which I am proposing, will be very useful.

I shall now, if I may, address a word or two to the Members of the European Group. I wish to tell them that, if they are in sympathy, as they profess to be in sympathy, and as I hope they are in sympathy, with the idea underlying this Resolution, they should record their votes in favour of this amendment, which is perfectly harmless. It only says that Government should give us another school, as has been recommended by the Indian Sandhurst Committee. If you do not vote for it, then I am afraid it is obvious that you do not wish to give us help when help is really necessary.

In conclusion, I shall beg the House only to remember that an inquiry such as has been asked for in the main Resolution will hardly be practicable, more particularly in view of the fact that education is a transferred subject and it is very difficult for a few representatives to come together and evolve a satisfactory scheme. If you really wish to go into the entire system and overhaul it, then this is not the way of doing it. You will require a different machinery and a bigger machinery, and you will also require much more time than you wish to give to the machinery which you propose to set up.

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: Sir, I rise to move the amendment that stands in my name and runs as follows:

"That for the words 'for appointing a committee of inquiry', the following be substituted:

'to summon a conference of representatives of the Legislatures, the Army and Educational authorities'."

Mr. President: This amendment stands last, does it not?

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: Then it was not necessary for the Honourable Member to rise in his seat every time from the start.

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: I thought, Sir, that you meant to take the amendment first and not the substantive Resolution.

Mr. President: It is quite true, but there was no justification for the Honourable Member to rise from first to last when his amendment was last on the paper.

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: I find, Sir, that the educational system of this country has come in today for a great deal of criticism. Dr. Moonje has criticised it and Mr. Acharya has shown himself to be an arch pessimist by calling it a system which is only meant to make machines. Now, Sir, this is not the first time that the educational system in this country has been blamed or criticised. Some criticism is deserved and some undeserved, but to condemn it so entirely as has been done today in some quarters is, I think, hardly fair. At any rate, I am not prepared to believe that the educational system in India is so thoroughly rotten. The very fact that it has produced so many men of whom any country or educational system would be proud, shows that it is not completely rotten. In this very House there have been men who would be considered ornaments to any educational system. Some of them have never crossed the borders of India and owe all their education to the educational system of this

[The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee.]

country. To mention one name, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition (Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya). He not only is a product of this system, but also directs a great University on the banks of the sacred Ganges. What educational system could look for a more distinguished son than the Honourable gentleman whom I have named?

The particular charge that is today being brought against the educational system of India is that it results in a paucity of suitable young men who could officer the Indian Army. That fact has been brought out, we are told, by the Indian Sandhurst Committee and is emphasised today by the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution. Now, what I want to ask the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution is whether this paucity of suitable men as prospective officers is really due to any inherent defect, as he calls it, in the educational system in India? I will try to develop my argument by a very brief analogy. One of the many criticisms that have been levelled against the system of education in India is that it does not develop the faculty of thinking. I ask, can you teach people to think in the abstract? Can people think so long as there is no problem on which or about which they can think? Without a problem there can be no real thought. There is no such thing as thinking in the abstract. Now, we are told that this system is inherently defective because it has not produced efficient officers for the Indian Army. I want to ask, could the Indian educational system have produced Army officers when there was no demand for them, when no Indian Army officers were wanted from our schools? Was there any possibility put before them? Was there any opening or career which a distinguished student from a University could go and find in the Indian Army? What I want to submit is that this paucity is not due to any inherent defect in the educational system but to the lack of opportunities. Take a concrete case. If the Honourable and the gallant Mover of this Resolution, when he was a student at his college could look forward to the career of an Army officer, would he not today, have been a great Army Commander? He would have been an army leader, well versed in the art of strategy, would have held command of armies on the field of battle. He might have been a Field Marshal. ("Hear, hear" from the non-official Benches.) But the fact that he is not a Field Marshal but a politician today, is because that career was never open to him. He never had the opportunity. It was not that he was defectively trained. He has all the makings of a fine military man and possesses all the inherent qualities of an Army Commander, and it is not because of any defect in the educational system that he does not hold the position that he ought to have held.

Even if we were to assume that the paucity of suitable candidates is due to a defective system, is a committee, I ask, the best way of removing these defects? The Sandhurst Committee has pointed out these defects. Now, I say that it is possible that the Government might not have taken sufficient notice of that Report; they might not have acted upon it as fully as they might have. But is there any reason to think that the educational authorities of the country have not taken advantage of it? We have only to read—to mention only one example—the deliberations of the Inter-University Conference which was held in Delhi only a few weeks ago. You find that a great portion of the time of the representatives of the Universities, who were not only educationists but also public men,

was taken up by discussing this very question of fitting Indian students for a military career. The keenness that was displayed by not one representative, but by a vast majority of representatives clearly shows that people who are in charge of educational policy, or rather those who are working out that policy, are fully alive to that need and now that careers are forthcoming and now that there is a possibility of young men obtaining suitable careers in the Army, educationists and people who are doing educational work are not lagging behind, but are straining every nerve to fit their students to become good officers.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): What conclusions were arrived at?

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: One of the conclusions arrived at was that military training should be provided in all the Universities, that all Universities should be asked to see that young men were trained in military drill, and that very great stress was laid on physical training. These were the main conclusions that were arrived at by a vast majority.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): What about character training?

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: We are thinking of officers, not of pious men. It is after all a question of supply and demand. The man who is in charge of educational institutions, the man who has got the care of young men, who must look for some employment, is naturally anxious to find new openings for his men. There is in fact no one so anxious to discover new careers for his men than people who have got charge of institutions. Now that a possibility has been put before us, year after year, you will find that better men are coming forward, better fitted for officering the Army. My Honourable friends, Dr. Moonje and Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, would themselves bear testimony to the fact that each year there have been more suitable candidates coming before them while they have sat on the Interview Board. It is only a few years ago that military careers were thrown open to Indian Students and a change has already come into the entire outlook of educational institutions and Universities, and it is apparent that the class of men who come forward grows better each year.

Mr. K. C. Roy: What about the proportion of rejections?

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: I am not going to be drawn into that question because that would take me away from the point at issue. What I would point out is, that no committee can cure an educational system of its inherent defects, for after all an educational system is a growth of many years. There may have been initial mistakes, but no committee can rectify them. Take for instance, the public school system in England. No one can deny that the public school system has been the most fruitful recruiting ground for army officers. I hold no brief for the public school system, but I only state a fact, which cannot be challenged, that there have never been more efficient officers trained for the Army, the Navy or the Air Force than on the playing fields or in the class rooms of the public schools in England. I ask, can any committee go round and evolve a system of public schools? Could a public school system be evolved by any committee, however competent that committee might be, however comprehensive the terms of that committee might be? In the same way,

[The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee.]

I say, that no educational system can be evolved by a committee, however large or representative that committee might be. An educational system must grow, and the Indian educational system has grown for some years. No doubt it has certain defects, but I feel that it is only people who are working that system that can correct the defects, but not a committee. I would point out that a committee cannot—in fact it is impossible that a Committee could—go round and dictate a policy which everybody else would follow, and the results which the Honourable the Mover desires would begin to flow from it. I say that, even if a committee were to go round, what would happen? In the first place, how large would that committee be? Say about nine members. How would that committee be composed? Very likely a great many parties in this House would ask for representation. Judging from the experience of the composition of past committees, that would have to be carried into effect. You would not be putting many practical educationists on the committee. That committee would go round the country, it would call a few witnesses, take a lot of formal evidence and would afterwards sit down and write a report. The Government would take two or three years to make up their mind on the report and in the meantime, things would have advanced in the educational world, far beyond the scope of enquiry made by that committee.

Now, what about the cost of that committee? We know the Age of Consent Committee cost us Rs. 2,88,000. The educational inquiry which has just been concluded by the Hartog Committee cost us Rs. 2,02,000. The Sandhurst Committee, which has also given us so much data on the defects of the educational system, must have cost many more lakhs. Now, Sir, is this a reasonable way of finding out something which in some ways is already known and in other ways must be a question of time? I do not know what is the amount of money that is likely to be spent on that committee. Rather than give effect to the proposal made in the Resolution, it would be much better to carry out the proposal of my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran. I am quite certain that the money that will be spent on this committee will go a very long way to endow the school he proposes. In that case, it would amount to something tangible and practical. After all, even if we have the report of a committee, it might be shelved or after a very short time, it might turn out that another inquiry was necessary.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Then, why not support my amendment?

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: I feel that the method that I have suggested would cost much less and would be much more effective and is a far more speedy way of getting what we want. There is something to be said for having an inquiry. Some sort of lead might be given. At all events it is a great comfort to people to ventilate their views and that can be done by appearing before a committee or by means of written memoranda. It can also be done by coming together in a conference and done much more quickly. I also submit that a conference would be much more representative of the people who will be called upon to cure these defects, if defects there are, and who are going to carry out the necessary developments in the educational world. You can have a conference of 200 persons if necessary, but a committee will be confined to nine or ten or at the utmost to 11 Members. After all, as has been said by Colonel Crawford,

the people who count in this are the representatives of the provinces. Educational policy in every major province is now directed and guided by Ministers. The Directors of Public Instruction in each province carry out that policy. Those are the people whose views we ought to get, and their views, formed as the result of practical experience, would be much more valuable than those of public men who are not actually directing or carrying out educational policy. I submit that, if you have a conference of this kind, it will be perfectly easy to summon to that conference all the Ministers of Education from the various provinces. You can also summon the Directors of Public Instruction and educationists who are in practical charge of education as well as the Vice-Chancellors of Universities, and thus bring all of them together for mutual consultation. Along with these educationists, we can have men like my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, who are interested in these subjects and who have got independent and decided views to give. Then you can have a conference if necessary extending over a week or ten days, and the cost of such a conference would be much less than that of a committee that had to go round the country to take evidence and to publish its report. It will also be possible, as a result of that conference, to have one or two small sub-committees of practical working men who will, without remuneration, work out details and put forward practical schemes outlined by the conference itself.

My last point is that a conference is a much more expeditious way of getting at what we desire. It has been said just now that it is very necessary that things should not take very long. If that is so, then a conference can be called within three or four months, if not earlier, and it will take ten or twelve days. Then, even if sub-committees are appointed, the whole thing can be finished and a report written out and conclusions arrived at within six months at a much smaller cost. I believe such a report would be much more representative and much more acceptable to those who are actually carrying out the work of education in this country.

Mr. K. O. Roy: Sir, I am sorry that on this occasion I shall differ from my esteemed friend, Dr. Moonje. The reasons are these, Sir. The House will remember that in 1927 Dr. Moonje brought in his first Resolution on the Sandhurst Committee's Report. He wanted a start to be given almost immediately. He wanted that 50 per cent. of the cadre of the Indian Army should be Indianised within 15 years. He also wanted that a Sandhurst should be established almost without delay. These were his demands. The demands were modified by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, who is no longer a Member of this House, to this extent, that the main recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee's Report should be given effect to. What is Dr. Moonje seeking today? He wants the whole House to go back upon that accepted recommendation of the Legislative Assembly. It comes to that, although Dr. Moonje may shake his head as much as he likes. But today he wants us to go back upon that recommendation. That recommendation, as the House is aware, was not accepted either by the Government of India or by His Majesty's Government. Today Dr. Moonje is trying to provide an excuse for not looking at the recommendation even in the near future. That, Sir, is the reason of my principal objection.

Then, Sir, his amendment as drafted shows that our educational system has been inefficient in character training. This is a proposition which I cannot accept. The Indian educational officers, both Indian and European,

[Mr. K. C. Roy.]

have done great service; they have produced the best lawyers, best civil servants, jurists and excellent doctors. Do I understand now, Sir, that they could not produce two dozen cadets for the Indian Army? I absolutely decline to believe such a proposition, and although my friend Dr. Moonje has denied it very stoutly and said that there is nothing inherently defective in the Indian character, but it is the educational system, I deny even that. He in fact has pronounced an unjustifiable libel on Indian youths.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: I mentioned the educational system of India and nothing about the Indian youths.

Mr. K. C. Roy: I deny all that. You cannot separate the two, and there can be no fine distinction between them. If you are anxious to secure a free flow of recruits for the Indian Army, it is a question of high policy. My friend was a member of the Selection Committee last Summer. I happened to be in Delhi in those days and I know that my friend and his associates could not hold their own for the Indian boys against his British colleagues on that Selection Committee. That is the real truth. Why do you not come to the truth? The question whether there should be a sufficient supply of Indian cadets for the Indian Army is a question of high policy; it is not a question of education at all. With the present system of education we can produce at least 100 Indian youths every year for the Indian Army. Our clear duty is to stick to the recommendation made in 1927 and to do nothing more.

Now, Sir, with regard to the amendments, my friend Mr. Acharya has given a long order. He wants to reform the whole Indian educational system. He has forgotten that only the other day we had an excellent review of the educational system by Sir Philip Hartog and his friends. As regards my friend Colonel Crawford, I welcome his suggestion. When I read his speech at the Indo-British Union in London I thought my friend was coming back as a changed man. He believes in Indo-British co-operation and he has really given an example of that today. I greatly welcome his suggestion although I am not prepared to support it.

My friend Munshi Iswar Saran, whose example I want to follow so far as the making of speeches goes—I want to be as brief as he was,—recommends a school now. Having failed to get his Sandhurst, he now wants a school.

Munshi Iswar Saran: No, I stand by our demand for a Sandhurst.

Mr. K. C. Roy: You should hold by your gun and stick to your Sandhurst and not go in for a school.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Where is the material for it?

Mr. K. C. Roy: There is plenty of material; you come with me any day and I shall show you.

Then, Sir, my friend the Revd. J. C. Chatterjee wants a conference. A conference to do what? To find out established facts. We have plenty of recruits in this country if only the Army authorities will care to take them. Ask any Director of Public Instruction. I have consulted some of them from time to time and they are quite satisfied with our educational system and quite satisfied with the character of the boys that we produce. But here there is an attempt to

utter an unjustifiable calumny on the Indian educational system as well as upon our youths. The Revd. Mr. Chatterjee wants a conference. I shall give him an example of a conference with which Sir Frank Noyce is fully familiar. They had a conference the other day about some trouble with regard to the all Indian medical council or something else and about these we had a discussion in the Legislative Assembly. The conference held views quite contrary to the views of the Government of India. What is the good of a conference with the Provincial Governments on a matter which is primarily the concern of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government? No useful purpose would be served by a conference of this kind. What we do want is a policy that Indianisation must go forward, and that policy is wanted today.

Lastly, Sir, I consider Dr. Moonje's Resolution as very inopportune. My friend Munshi Iswar Saran has alluded to the question of the prospective changes in our constitution. Dominion Status has been held out to us by the Viceroy. We may get it soon or we may get it ten years hence, but it is there and it is bound to come. The whole question of the reorganisation of the Indian Army on the Dominion basis must be discussed at the Round Table Conference. It was discussed in connection with the Irish Free State and in the agreement which the Irish Free State drew up it occupies an important place and perhaps it is the most important place; and when the question of the future Government of India on the Dominion basis comes up for consideration, the question of the reorganisation of the Indian Army on the Dominion basis will certainly follow. And there my friend Colonel Crawford will turn out a true prophet because he advocated it in 1927.

I therefore consider that Dr. Moonje's Resolution is unfair to our Universities, unfair to our educational system, unfair to the Indian youths and inopportune for political purposes. I oppose the Resolution as well as all the amendments.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Agra Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, the main object of the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, is to provide a steady flow of really first class material for recruitment as Army officers. In the course of the debate, Sir, references have been made in more than one quarter to the Report of the Skeen Committee and it is really not possible to consider this question without reference to the Report of that Committee. One of the terms of reference of the Skeen Committee required it to consider how the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commissions might be improved in regard to both number and quality. There is no doubt that this Committee made a review of our educational system in a general way and pointed out that there was need for improvement in it. But it did not confine itself to a general recommendation simply in regard to education. There were other questions also which it considered in this connection, but it recognised freely that the

1 P.M. removal of the comparatively minor defects to which it had drawn attention would not solve the real question which it had been appointed to consider. The Report says :

"In order to attract to a military career the better material we believe to be available it will not suffice merely to remove the subsidiary obstacles which at present exist, it will not suffice to adopt better methods of publicity, to apply more effective propaganda, to introduce a system of open competition for entrance to Sandhurst, and to reduce the cost to the parent of his son's preliminary education and military training.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

It is also doubtful if it would be considered a practical proceeding to put forth so much effort for the sake of filling ten vacancies : and, above all things, it cannot be expected that the educational authorities in the schools and colleges of India will interest themselves in the special preparation of boys for the Army or will introduce the changes which are certainly necessary in the educational system of the country, so long as the prizes to be gained are limited to 10 vacancies at Sandhurst per annum for all India and so long as the prospects of an Indian boy in the Army are not set upon a more assured and progressive basis than exists at present."

Later on, it says :

"But at the same time we contend that, in order to induce the best material to accept the admittedly arduous preparation for a military career and in order to induce the educational authorities in India to lend their active co-operation, it is necessary to widen the field of opportunity. Apart from reforms in matters of detail, which would not in themselves be sufficient, we can find no other satisfactory answer to our first term of reference."

The Committee was impressed, as we are all impressed, by the defects in our educational system. There is no country the educational system of which is perfect. But let us not, in considering this question, forget the governing consideration to which our attention was directed by the Report of the Committee. As my Honourable friend, Mr. Roy, said, this matter is first and foremost a question of policy. The psychological conditions in India must be altered. The youths of India must have before themselves opportunities for pursuing a military career adequate to capture their imagination and to induce the educational authorities and other authorities to put forth the necessary efforts for changes in the present system.

Subject to these governing considerations of policy, the Committee made two recommendations for an improvement in the number and quality of candidates offering themselves for King's Commissions. In the first place, it did not concern itself with anything so radical as a complete overhauling of the entire educational system of India. It proceeded, Sir, on the principle on which the Calcutta University Commission proceeded. That Commission, as we all know, was concerned with one province only. Nevertheless, it shrank from recommending an entire reorganisation of all secondary schools in order to improve the material available to the Universities. It adopted a more modest course and recommended the establishment of intermediate colleges, so that even before the secondary schools are improved the Universities might have a means of obtaining a better material than at present.

The Sandhurst Committee proceeded upon the same lines. Instead of asking us to wait till our educational system was re-modelled, it proposed that institutions should be set up where the limited number of boys that we need for training as Commissioned Officers could be obtained. Its recommendation was that Dehra Dun should be expanded so as to accommodate about 250 or 300 boys. Another of its recommendations was that, when necessary, a similar institution or similar institutions might be started in other parts of India. In addition to that it recommended the establishment of a military college in India on the lines of military colleges established in the United States of America and in Canada. It drew attention to the fact that the education imparted by the civil authorities was regarded as inadequate for the needs of the Army by military authorities not only in India but also in the United States of America. In the United States the military authorities required a very high standard of education. The

standards varied in the different parts of the States. Apart from this, the military authorities of the United States are not satisfied that the education given by the civil institutions develops the character of boys in a way in which they would desire to see it developed. They have, therefore, established a military college where, instead of giving training to cadets for 18 months as in England, they keep them under training for four years. The Skeen Committee recommended that we might follow the same model and asked that the course of instruction in the military college to be established in India should extend over three years.

These, Sir, were the basic recommendations of that Committee and what have the Government done in these respects? They have turned down the policy unanimously recommended by the Skeen Committee, of which we have a distinguished representative in this House, in the person of my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: And endorsed by the House.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: And endorsed by the House.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Without a division.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: In the second place, Government have refused to establish a military college for the training of King's Commissioned Officers in this country.

Mr. G. M. Young (Army Secretary): May I ask my Honourable friend his authority for that statement?

Mr. President: Non-existence of a college.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I will merely refer to the debates of 1928. My Honourable friend held out to us the hope of the establishment of that college at some distant future, but we take it that that was only a euphemistic way of telling us that His Majesty's Government did not see their way

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Has the Honourable Member given any order for the bricks and mortar for the college?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Perhaps, my Honourable friend, is asking us to believe that the Kitchner College which is meant to train non-commissioned officers, might ultimately develop into an institution where King's Commissioned Officers might be trained. But even that announcement has not been made authoritatively on behalf of His Majesty's Government. As regards the establishment of military schools where instruction of the kind given in the Dehra Dun Military College might be imparted, the Government have expanded the accommodation in the Dehra Dun College so that it might be able to admit about 200 boys. But they are still far from having carried out the recommendations of the Skeen Committee even in this respect. Sir, if Government are really desirous of extending the flow, of increasing the supply of Indian cadets available for the King's Commissions, they must first turn to the recommendations of the Skeen Committee.

But there are certain other proposals also that might be made in order to give a military bias, so to say, to the character of Indian young men. We might have an officers' training corps in Universities and schools; "A." and "B." certificates might be established. Again, military training might

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

be more widely given in Universities—and this is a subject which has been impressed more than once upon Government, so far practically without any result. Again, Sir, we might give some military training to boys in our schools on the lines on which cadets are trained or meant to be trained in Australia. A debate took place on this subject last year, on the initiative of my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje. The Resolution which the House finally passed on the 15th February ran as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, with a view to remove the defects in character training of Indian youths as emphasised by the Sken Committee, steps should be taken as early as possible to provide compulsory physical training, games and drill, for Indian boys attending schools and colleges between the ages of 12 and 20 and to provide and encourage the use of miniature rifle ranges."

So we have already considered the question of this character training, and we have laid down the lines on which we should proceed in order to remove such defects as are imputed to us by our critics. In September last a question was put on this subject and we were told that, while Local Governments have been communicated with in regard to that part of this Resolution which asked for compulsory physical training, etc., in schools and colleges, the question of consulting the Local Governments regarding the provision and encouragement of the use of miniature rifle ranges was still under consideration. I do not know, Sir, what has been done during the intervening three or four months.

An Honourable Member: Nothing.

The Honourable Sir James Orerar (Home Member): Local Governments have been addressed on the subject.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I am very glad to learn, Sir, that at long last Government have decided to take notice of that Resolution and to act upon it. Well, if that Resolution has been acted upon, I think, Sir, that will provide one of the most potent means of increasing the desire among Indian young men for a military career. But the suggestion made either in the Resolution or in the amendment of my Honourable friend, Colonel Crawford, will not take us very far. We cannot at this moment ask the Government to reorganise our system of education.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: No necessity for that.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I cordially agree with my Honourable friend and that is the main reason why I oppose both the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, and the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford.

Sir, our main purpose is to put forward our demand for a better training for Indian youths in order that they may be better fitted to adopt a military career. Our object should therefore be to put as much pressure as we can on the Military Department. This Resolution, however, as it stands, concerns only the Education Department. The debate might go on without my Honourable friend, the Army Secretary, taking part in it. I think, Sir, that, even if the Resolution is accepted by my Honourable friend Sir Frank Noyce, it will be of absolutely no use for the purpose we have in view. We want no assurance from Sir Frank Noyce. We want

to put pressure on the Army authorities to move rapidly in order to increase the number of Indian youths available for a military career. It is they to whom we must address ourselves. It is they who have to be put on their defence. Therefore, Sir, although I am unable to support either the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, or the amendment of Colonel Crawford, I am able to give my support to the amendment of Munshi Iswar Saran. I am also able to do so because the direction in which he proceeds is that favoured by the Skeen Committee.

An Honourable Member: Retrograde.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunru: I have already pointed out that the Skeen Committee wanted an expansion of the institution at Dehra Dun and the establishment of similar institutions elsewhere, and secondly the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. It is true that the amendment of my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran does not provide for the acceptance of all the recommendations of the Skeen Committee. In view of the manner in which the debate has been initiated, perhaps that was not possible. But the House will note that the recommendation contained in the amendment of Munshi Iswar Saran is a part of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee. In the circumstances therefore it deserves the support of this House, and I trust that it will be favoured by the non-official section of the House at least.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I oppose the Resolution, and in a few words I shall explain my reason. In a few months you will have the Round Table Conference, and that is the place where our political rights and military rights can be clearly argued and threshed out. To appoint a committee now will mean some money. It is no good spending money on this matter when only a few months hence you will have the whole threshed out. Whatever we do today will be of no use in view of the Round Table Conference. With regard to the amendment of Munshi Iswar Saran, I do not know whether he wants a military school to be established. I want to know this.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Yes, a military school.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: If you want a military school, then I support the amendment.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, it is somewhat difficult to choose between the Resolution and the different amendments, for they have been drafted from a particular angle by each of the members who have moved them. But when it comes to voting, I think I will vote for Mr. Munshi Iswar Saran's amendment as it contains a very concrete proposal that will solve some of the difficulties. But I have got to say this. In regard to Dr. Moonje's proposition, I find that his Resolution contains a kind of tacit admission of the Sandhurst Committee's scandalous observation about want of the required character at present among Indian boys. It may be military character, not moral character; all the same I protest against those scandalous observations.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You have no justification for that remark. Read the Report again before you say scandalous.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: In any case we are face to face with this, that the Report contains certain concrete recommendations and also certain observations. But whereas the concrete recommendations have been torpedoed and have gone to the bottom of the sea, these objectionable observations of the Committee relating to the want of a particular kind of character required for manning the Army services float on the surface of the sea as a dangerous derelict to wreck our aspirations. That is my complaint with those observations in the Sandhurst Committee's Report, and I entirely agree with some of the speakers who preceded me, who said that the present educational system is not defective and that it is not a valid argument which has been mentioned in the Sandhurst Committee's Report. I consider those remarks as blasphemy, partly of the educational system and partly of the Indian youth. My reason is this: I think this Government should abdicate if their educational policy for the last hundred years has so egregiously failed, that not even thirty or forty people can be obtained in a continuous flow year by year to go into the ranks of the military officers. I am therefore personally unwilling to admit that the present educational system is so far faulty that our military requirements cannot be met. To a certain extent I defend Government here in the Educational Department; but I strongly protest against the Government in the Military Department which, in this matter, I declare is the villain of the piece. It is this Military Department's unwillingness to Indianise the Army services which is really at fault. It is this Department which is at fault in not putting itself in contact with the present educational institutions and holding conferences with them in order to find the necessary material required by them.

Now, who wants this material? The Universities provide for a kind of liberal education as it were, even taking into consideration the fact that they train people for certain professional or scientific courses. After all it is liberal education in the general sense. It is not the business of the Universities to go out and find careers for their boys. What they do is only to prepare, as it were, a seed-bed out of which careers may grow. But here is the Military Department, whose duty it is to approach the Universities and go about the country with a wide outlook in order to find for itself whether they can get the necessary material. If they do that, I am absolutely certain that the Universities will come into their vision first of all. It is evident that at present the military authorities are not taking the fullest advantage of the Universities. I say therefore that the Educational Department is not at fault; it is the Military Department that is at fault.

I have also said that it is blasphemy against the Indian youth, for I personally do not believe that, for these thirty or forty posts that are required every year, you cannot get Indian boys—good golden material—for taking up these posts. I really cannot believe that. What is wanted is the will to provide careers for the Indian boy, and I am absolutely certain that, if a sufficient number of careers is provided, you can get any number of boys anywhere. After all it is the want of encouragement in the form of careers that has not drawn the attention of the boys themselves or the parents of the boys to put them under a particular discipline in their early life. Give them a career and the boys will immediately be attracted by the career and prepare themselves for that career. What after all is this military character? It has now been suggested that it does not require moral character or any other kind of character, but a certain technical character called the military character, and we are told that it consists principally in

training, discipline, courage, resourcefulness and capacity for command. These go to make up what is called the military character.

Now, Sir, let us take them each, one by one, and see whether that cannot be provided for even under the present educational conditions. The first is training; that is entirely a matter of education; but who is responsible for not affording facilities for getting this training? Can it be said that our ordinary educational institutions are responsible for it? Certainly not. Start military colleges where they can get the necessary training and that element is secured.

Then there is discipline. I think I can say this for the Indian boys, that if you put them through a course of discipline for three or four years, they can certainly acquire military discipline. If these unlettered sepoys can learn discipline, why cannot the educated Indian, if you encourage him, learn that necessary discipline?

So, training can be provided for and discipline can be provided for. The next is courage. That is of course innate; it cannot be taught in school. Who is there in India who can deny courage in our boys? What does the revolutionary movement of the last forty years show? I am not referring here to the political significance of the movement; there may be other ways of dealing with it and other occasions for dealing with it; but this I do say, that by the revolutionary movement of the last forty years, the Indian boy has proved that he can take courage in both his hands and do what he wants to do. ("Hear, hear" from the Nationalist Benches.) This is not meant to be an apology or justification for the revolutionary movement or some of the things that these boys do; but can you honestly deny that these revolutionary boys are full of courage, physical as well as mental, that is required for their enterprises?

Therefore, the courage is there; training can be provided for and discipline can be given easily. Resourcefulness comes by opportunity; and even in that respect I may refer again to the revolutionary movement in which the boys have proved that they can work against odds and secure their purpose, though there may be impediments in the way; they have shown resourcefulness. The material is there; it is the fault of the Government that you are not taking proper care of the material and using it to the fullest advantage by training this juvenile energy into the proper channel in which we want it to be diverted.

The next is capacity for command. In the sepoy army, do not the non-commissioned officers command their sepoys? In the eight units, do not the Indian officers command the sepoys or soldiers under them? Certainly. When you put a man in a place of command he can learn to command. It is not such a divine thing that you can never learn it by human efforts. All the needed qualities that are in the Indian boys can be evoked and brought out if you will deal with them in the proper manner.

When sometimes I take up the Army List, I smile and say to myself: "Oh! Is there not here a galaxy of five thousand heroes, generous adventurous heroes, heaven-born and England-bred, who are the product of the stock-breeding operations of God Himself and of divine eugenics, who are alleged to be destined to be the eternal defenders of the hearths and homes of India?" That is the idea contained in the Army List, if you look at it from the English point of view. But I say that is an insult to India. When I see it, my blood boils, I assure this House; for, have we not got in India enough material in this land of heroes to defend our hearths and

[Mr. N. C. Kelkar.]

homes? It is simply because the Government keep us out of all these careers that we are not able to put ourselves in positions to defend our hearths and homes. Do we want courage? Look at that red book in the Library which gives a list of V. C.'s won by Indians; it is not an easy thing to win a V. C. When so many Indians have won the V. C., do you mean to say that Indian boys are wanting in courage or resourcefulness or training or discipline? It is a blasphemy against any people to say so. It is only the racial pride of the Britisher and of the British Government and the evil genius of the Military Department which keep us out of our careers and it is simply absurd, simply ridiculous, to say that an easy flow of the necessary equipment of youthful people to enter into the ranks of the Army officers cannot be obtained. I really laugh at the pretension that extraordinary efforts have to be made to secure that small material every year. I find some people saying, without disclosing a lack of humour, that it will take us from 100 to 200 years to Indianise the Indian Army. (*An Honourable Member*: "Very moderate!") Yes, certainly it is very moderate, very considerate, to say that the Indian Army would be, if it is to be, Indianised during the next 100, 200 or 300 years. But if it is to be Indianised in 200 years, I tell this British Government

An Honourable Member: It won't last so long.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: The Government itself may not last so long, but they are giving us an extension of a longer lease than they themselves are getting in this country if they maintain their present rigorous policy

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I do not want to interrupt the Honourable Member, but I ask him whether he will give me a reference to the passage which he characterised as a scandalous observation in the Sandhurst Committee's Report.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: That is my characterisation.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will my Honourable friend give me the reference in the Sandhurst Report? Which is the paragraph to which he refers?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: That is contained in the Resolution itself.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I do not think it is fair

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: What the Resolution says is

Mr. President: Order, Order. The House stands adjourned till twenty minutes to Three.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Sir Frank Noyce: I think I may claim that I have served more all-India committees of inquiry than any other Member of this House, but it seems to be my invariable fate, when I rise to speak, to oppose motions for the appointment of further committees.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Because you are fed up with them.

Sir Frank Noyce: I do so on this occasion, not because I disbelieve in the efficacy of such committees, but because I do think that they are lengthy and cumbrous and, as one Honourable Member has pointed out, very expensive methods of bringing about reforms. I am not in favour of them when there are more expeditious means of obtaining the desired end, as I think possibly there are on the present occasion. Sir, I welcome the turn that this debate has taken or rather the turn that my friend Mr. Acharya and Colonel Crawford have, though not quite so successfully as I could have wished, endeavoured to make it take, for I welcome the recognition, which is implicit in Mr. Acharya's amendment, and which is more fully brought out in Colonel Crawford's, that character training is no less important for a civil than it is for a military career, that the characteristics which the Indian Sandhurst Committee described as so essential in an army officer, that ability to lead, that willingness to submit to discipline—for no man can hope to be a leader himself unless he has previously gone through the mill and learnt to follow a leader—and also that physical fitness on which Dr. Moonje lays so much stress, are as essential in civil as they are in military life. But, Sir, I cannot altogether agree that the paramount national importance of developing those characteristics has been neglected in the educational system of this country. I do not think, as my friend Mr. Chatterjee has very justly pointed out, that one need do more than look round this House to see that that is not the case. I must confess that I personally feel that the Indian Sandhurst Committee took rather too gloomy a view of the situation. It is true that the Committee examined a large number of educational authorities and appointed a sub-committee, which included Sir Andrew Skeen himself, to make a tour of Indian Universities in order to ascertain what materials for officering the Army were available there, but they did not and could not make an examination of the schools, and it is in the schools that the most formative years of the life of the Indian youth are passed. It is therefore, Sir, I think it fortunate that we have had recently an exhaustive analysis of the state of education in India at the present day in the shape of the Report of the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission. I wish that more reference had been made in the course of this debate to the Report of that Committee. I cannot help feeling that the absence of such references show the possible fate which would overtake the recommendations of a committee such as that suggested by Dr. Moonje. The Hartog Committee have not shrunk from criticising the educational system of India. They have drawn special attention to the appalling waste in the primary schools. They have pointed to the fact that a very large number of boys are admitted to secondary schools who are not capable of profiting to the full from the education which they receive in them, with the result that much money is wasted and that the efficiency of those institutions is materially reduced. But on the other hand, Sir, the Committee have given a much more optimistic picture of what they call the education of the directing classes in secondary schools and Universities than is to be drawn from the pages of the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee. I should like to draw the attention of this House to certain passages in that Report which indicate that the general conditions of school life are materially better now than they were ten years ago, especially in regard to intensive physical training, the organisation of games, the Boy Scout movement, better teaching, and so on.

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

Paragraph 48 of Chapter V, which deals with secondary schools, deserves quotation in full:

"In the last decade, there has been much improvement in school life. This has no doubt been due to the inspiration of the better type of training colleges which have been sending out young teachers trained to regard education as something much wider than mere book-learning. Intensive physical training, the organisation of games and scout-craft now form an essential part of the courses in the larger training colleges in India, and the results of this training have been visibly reflected in the increasing activities of the schools. For the improvement of physical training, most provinces have appointed directors or advisers for physical instruction and in Madras and the Punjab, for example, the old gymnastic instructor is being rapidly replaced by well-qualified physical training experts. We have been favourably impressed by the drill and physical exercises which we have seen in some of the schools. There has been a widespread extension of the organisation of games and the ordinary teacher is taking a more active part in the athletic activities of the schools. The formation of provincial athletic associations and the holding of tournaments has served as a further stimulus."

Again in paragraph 53 of the same chapter, the Committee say:

"Of the general excellence of the material in Indian secondary schools for boys those of us who have lived in the country can speak with confidence. Many pupils have been able to overcome the great difficulties which confront them. With adequate adjustment in the secondary school system and with the strengthening of the present efforts to brighten and enrich the school life of the pupils, the schools in India should be able to contribute in increasing measure to the well-being of public life in the country."

Turning to the following chapter on Universities, I would invite the attention of the House to paragraph 34, which, again, I should like to quote in full and which runs as follows:

"Ten years ago, the Calcutta University Commission painted a gloomy picture of student life in this country and much of what was then said is still true today. There are signs, however, that the University and college authorities in India are beginning to realise more fully the value of corporate life and social activities. There is a growing feeling that education is not merely a matter of lectures, books and notes but of the living contact of personalities, of students with students and of students with teachers. Opportunities for corporate life are being extended by college societies, by hostels and halls of residence, by games and healthy recreation, college days and reunions, socials, old students' gatherings, college societies and magazines, these are now the rule rather than the exception. In a number of universities, there are social service leagues which encourage in the student a sympathy with his less fortunate fellow citizens and which impress upon him that it is a duty and a privilege to give them a helping hand."

I do not wish, Sir, to weary the House with further quotations, but I will merely content myself by drawing its attention to two further chapters VII and VIII of the Report, which deal with the growing spirit of comradeship, and mention that the establishment of the University Training Corps in many of the Universities has evolved a spirit of co-operation and comradeship between the communities by the members being united in a special form of training for the common good.

Now, Sir, the point which I wish to make is that the Report of the Hartog Committee shows that all the educational authorities in this country are fully alive to the shortcomings of our educational system in the respect which has been dealt with in the course of this debate. I will not go so far as to say that they are doing all that they might do to bring about a substantial improvement in this respect, but they are certainly doing much, and I submit that we do not want another committee to tell them what they know already. What is wanted is not the thorough reformation of our educational system, not the pulling it up by the roots,

not the introduction of a system which is alien to the genius of this country and is far too expensive for a country such as India, but continued advance on the lines on which we are at present developing.

My Honourable friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru made a special reference to the debate on Dr. Moonje's Resolution of last year and asked what has been done about it. I would mention that Local Governments have been sent copies of the debate on that subject and have been asked to report their views on the present position in regard to compulsory physical games and training. Their replies are only just now coming in, but they show that a great deal has been done in this connection. Dr. Moonje will be interested to hear that the Bombay Government recently appointed a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to consider the question of physical training and allied subjects. The Government of Madras tell us that the reform of physical training has been made compulsory for all pupils, except for those declared medically unfit, and that it is the intention to make games also compulsory as soon as playing fields and playing grounds are provided in the schools. The Government of Assam say that physical exercises are an item of the curriculum in all recognised educational institutions in Assam. The Government of Burma report that the Local Government is engaged on schemes for the improvement of physical training in all schools which are based on the report of a recent committee on the extension of scout craft and physical training. The Government of the Punjab are doing a great deal in this connection, for they state that they are in general agreement with the sentiments expressed by Colonel Crawford in the course of last year's debate, and feel, in particular that their main object is the inculcation of a spirit of manly citizenship and of the building up of our boys into men. The Olympic Games Association has done much to improve the standard of athletics among Indian students. The House is well aware of the excellent work which the boy scout movement has done in encouraging among Indian youth the love of manly exercises and games and a spirit of service, a spirit of transcending the painful limitations of communal rivalry. The record of the Indian boy scouts, as we all know, who attended the Jamboree in England last year, was distinctly good and earned the special approval of both Sir Baden-Powell and the scout authorities.

Now, Sir, I come to what the Government are prepared to do in this matter. The House is as well aware as I am of the constitutional position, especially as that has been explained today by the previous speakers, and it knows full well that education is a transferred subject and that this question of removing defects in that system and of ensuring a better system of character training are matters primarily for the Local Governments concerned. What the Government are prepared to do is to circulate copies of this debate to the Local Governments (Ironical cheers) to call their special attention to the concrete suggestions which have been made in it—and I must say that I greatly regret that they have not been far more numerous than they have been—and to ask their views and suggestions, especially in regard to Dr. Moonje's suggestion for a committee and Mr. Chatterjee's suggestion for a conference. When they receive their replies, they will, of course consider whether a conference should be held. Various Honourable Members have pointed out that we have to carry the Local Governments with us, and it is obviously no use summoning a conference unless they are willing to participate in it. There is also another way

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

of approaching the question, which I venture to throw out for the consideration of the House. The Hartog Committee have suggested the re-suscitation, or rather the revival in a some what different form, of the old Bureau of Education, which was abolished in the retrenchment era of 1923. The function of this Bureau would be to give opinion and advice to Provincial Administrations and keep them in close touch with each other. They have also recommended the revival of the Central Advisory Board which was also abolished about the same time. It is interesting, in the present connection, to know what the constitution of that Board was. It consisted of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who was Chairman, an expert from the United Kingdom when required, two Vice-Chancellors of Universities in India, one of whom was a whole-time officer, two members of privately-managed colleges, four Directors of Public Instruction, and four non-officials interested in the subject of education. I would draw special attention to the last item of this list, namely, four non-officials specially interested in the subject of education, for among them was the honoured name of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. The revival of this Board is under the consideration of the Government of India. This question is also obviously one on which we shall have to consult Local Governments and educational authorities, but what I would urge for the consideration of this House is that that Board, if it were revived, would be a very useful means of enabling the Government of India and Provincial Governments to formulate a definite and continuous policy in regard to what is, after all, a most important part of any system of education, as all sections of this House without exception have agreed, the development of character.

I should like, in conclusion, Sir, in connection with the attitude that I have taken up, to refer to what the Prince of Wales said in his address to the Victoria Cross heroes at the dinner he gave them last year. He said:

"If any man thinks that valour is only called for in fighting our enemies on the field of battle, he must have a very distorted view of the life we lead in this world of ours."

I think Colonel Crawford has very rightly laid stress on the wider aspect of this question which is that we want all the character we can get not only for military but also for civil life.

The net result of my remarks is that the Government would be willing to accept Colonel Crawford's and Mr. Chatterjee's amendments to the original Resolution, subject, of course, to the clear understanding that Local Governments have to be consulted in this matter in which they are vitally concerned.

I am afraid I cannot agree to Dr. Moonje's motion for the appointment of a committee, and only to the limited extent I have indicated
 3 P.M. to Mr. Acharva's amendment. As far as Munshi Iswar Saran's amendment is concerned, I must leave my Honourable friend the Army Secretary to deal with it, as that falls entirely within his province. I have only ventured to submit a few observations on the general aspect of this question from the point of view of the Department with which I am connected.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, I should like to say a few words about my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran's alternative Resolution. My main objection to it is that it blocks the way to any further examination of the problem dealt with in the main Resolution. It has just now been said that the Government are prepared to accept the amendments moved by Colonel Crawford and the Revd. Mr. Chatterjee. If we were to accept the amendment of my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, the whole of that question would go by the board. My main object in wishing for a further inquiry into the recommendation of the Skeen Committee is that that recommendation has given rise to considerable confusion of thought. It is, as Honourable Members probably know, professedly one of their subsidiary recommendations. It is couched, however, in sweeping language, and appears to deal with a very large problem indeed. This is the recommendation as it runs:

"The Government of India should impress upon educational authorities the paramount national importance of reforming the system of education in India with a view to developing in the pupils of the ordinary schools and colleges those characteristics so essential in an Army Officer to which little or no attention is at present paid by them and should appeal to them".—

that is, the Government of India should appeal to them.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What page is that please?

Mr. G. M. Young: Page 54.

"and should appeal to them to reorganise the institutions under their control to this end."

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Have you accepted their policy?

Mr. G. M. Young: I shall deal with that later on. My Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru's observation in connection with this is that the Committee did not advocate any radical overhauling of the educational system in India. Well, if that is not advocacy of a radical overhauling of the educational system throughout India, in all the ordinary schools and colleges, I do not know what it is. That is the great trouble. Many of us do not know what the Skeen Committee were driving at.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Very sorry.

Mr. G. M. Young: However, it was an easy thing to comply with their actual recommendation; and that the Government have done. They have drawn the attention of the Provincial Governments and the educational authorities to this recommendation.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: They must give a lead to the Provincial Governments, that is what is wanted.

Mr. G. M. Young: The detailed recommendations are to be found in paragraphs 11 and 24 of the Report. The defects, so far as they have described them, appear to be, apart from character training, the development of the qualities required in an Army Officer, in which the Indian cadet at Sandhurst is, they state, at a disadvantage compared to the British cadet—English, military training, and physical training. These are the four matters which the Skeen Committee specify—character training, physical training, military training and English. The Government of India have, as I already said, drawn the attention of the Local Governments and also that of educational authorities to these recommendations. They have been asked by educational authorities for some further explanation

[Mr. G. M. Young.]

of what these recommendations mean. I think an inquiry on some such lines as have been advocated, at any rate in the amendments moved to the Resolution today, would help to elucidate this recommendation of the Skeen Committee, and would get a more authoritative pronouncement upon it than could be got simply by the Government of India issuing a Resolution. My Honourable friend, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, went on to say: "This is all very well; but it is a minor recommendation of the Committee, contingent upon Government accepting the major recommendations". That is perfectly true. He went on to say that the Government have refused to establish an Indian military college, and that that was the main recommendation of the Sandhurst Committee. I asked him his authority for that statement. I think it was the Chair that was pleased to observe that the fact that the college is not there was a sufficient authority for that statement. May I remind the House, Sir, that the Skeen Committee recommended the foundation of an Indian military college in the year 1933, and that there are still three years to go?

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: We live in hope.

Mr. G. M. Young: My Honourable friend may certainly live in hope; and a very good hope too.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Do the Government propose to start a college in 1933, as recommended by the Indian Sandhurst Committee?

Mr. G. M. Young: The Government of India have explained in full what their intentions in this matter are. The Indian Sandhurst Committee recommended an automatic increase in the number of vacancies, on the assumption that candidates would be forthcoming to fill those vacancies. They said that in 1933 there would be more candidates available than Sandhurst could accommodate, and at the same time enough candidates to start an Indian military college. Government accepted the position that, when more candidates would be available than Sandhurst could accommodate and in sufficient numbers to establish a military college in India, a college would have to be established. But they did not commit themselves to the prophecy that that would occur in 1933. In any case, my point is that, at the present time, some benefit would result from a further inquiry into this particular recommendation of the Skeen Committee. It is quite true, as my Honourable friend, Sir Frank Noyce, has pointed out, that the Hartog Committee have gone far more deeply into the question than the Skeen Committee were able to do. But, as my Honourable friend Dr. Moonje has said, they did not go into it from this particular point of view, that is, the point of view of producing officers for the Army. I think it would be very desirable that there should be a further inquiry from that point of view. If my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran's amendment, or rather, as I say, his alternative Resolution, is accepted, then the House automatically rejects the proposal for a further inquiry into this recommendation of the Skeen Committee. That is my primary objection.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is it not for the Provincial Governments to consider it?

Mr. G. M. Young: I turn to the actual recommendation of my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran. He does not want a committee; he does

not want a conference, or any other form of inquiry, into this question. He said—and the same arguments have been repeated by other Honourable Members—that there is a sufficient supply of candidates to be found in existing educational institutions in India; that these alleged defects do not really exist; and that good material for officering the Army can be had out of our existing educational institutions. In advancing his argument, my friend was only repeating what he said last year. I shall read to the House his actual words. He said:

"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 glad, Sir, that he has not carried out the last portion of his threat. It is quite clear that if his province can produce no less than 200 candidates a year for the Army, the whole of India can produce a great deal more than that. If so, I ask, what is my Honourable friend's object in demanding the foundation of yet another military college in India? The material is there. There may be some defects in the system. In fact, he has himself stated that there are defects in the system of selecting the material. But surely the remedy is to put that system right? If the material is there, why found a new military college in order to create more material?

The school that my Honourable friend recommends is to be capable of accommodating at least 500 Indian boys of all castes and creeds, at the lowest possible rate of fees, with tuition, board and lodging. Now, Sir, perhaps I might say a few words about the existing military colleges. We have, as we all know, the Prince of Wales's Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. That is an institution intended for the sons of well-to-do parents, who have a natural bent towards the Army. Nominations are made to the College, by the Commander-in-Chief, of boys whose intention, or whose parents' intention at the time they enter the College, is that they should go into the Army. This is admittedly an expensive institution, designed for a particular class, which is likely to furnish officers for the Army. That is our justification for maintaining Dehra Dun at the expense of military estimates. It is a thing which no other country in the world does, maintaining a secondary school in order to educate boys who will ultimately go into the Cadet Colleges and thence into the Army. Our justification for doing it in India, as the Skeen Committee discovered from their evidence, is that the material turned out by the Dehra Dun College is the best material that enters into the officer ranks of the Indian Army. There is no compulsion exerted to make a boy enter the Army after he has left Dehra Dun. But from the very class from which recruitment is made at Dehra Dun, we have a certain assurance that it will supply officers for the Army.

Another class of schools that we have are the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools at Jhelum and Jullundur. They are intended for people of smaller means, the sons of sepoys, non-commissioned officers, and Viceroy's Commissioned officers in the Army. They are nominated, I think, by the Commanding Officers of regiments. The general intention

[Mr. G. M. Young.]

is that they should go on into the ordinary ranks of the Army; but we hope that, with the aid of the education that they have there, and of the further education that many of them will have at the Kitchener College at Nowgong, they will supply material for the King's Commissioned ranks later on, entering them through the Viceroy's Commissioned ranks. Here again there is no compulsion. There is nothing whatever to prevent a boy, having got a good education at Jhelum or Jullundur, from going on into the civil line. But, here again, we have some sort of a guarantee, in the classes from which these boys are drawn. They all come from classes that are recruited in the Army. Their parents are mostly ex-soldiers. Therefore, they have the influence of tradition and their natural inclination to render it likely that they will go on into the Army. Now the kind of school that my Honourable friend has suggested, a school with 500 boys, has neither of these safeguards to ensure that the pupils will proceed from there into either the officer ranks or the lower ranks of the Army. He is merely offering a first class education at very low fees to the public. The Army will never be justified in incurring that expense, with such dubious prospects of benefit to the Army itself. We have accepted the recommendation of the Skeen Committee with regard to the foundation of a second military college on the lines of Dehra Dun. That recommendation is:

"When the expansion of the existing college is complete, a second college on the same lines should, if circumstances demand it, be opened in some other part of India."

The Government of India accepted that; and when the time comes to establish another college of the same character as Dehra Dun, they will no doubt take steps to that end. In the same way we are contemplating, and will very shortly establish, another school on the lines of the Jhelum and Jullundur schools at Ajmer.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: For whom?

Mr. G. M. Young: It will be for Rajputs and Jats.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: For sons of soldiers?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, on exactly the same lines as Jhelum and Jullundur. But I say that in these two types of schools we have some guarantee that their products will go on into the Army. In the type of school suggested by my Honourable friend, we have no such guarantee. It is not the intention of the Army to provide a general education for the civil population. That, Sir, is the main ground on which I oppose the amendment moved by my Honourable friend.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, I congratulate the Honourable Member who spoke on behalf of the Education Department on having given us a magnificent forecast of what is going to be done in the way of improving the general system of our education. He has never told us what he has actually done up to now. But he gave us a forecast. I have no doubt the Honourable Member, if he continues in his place, will perform wonders within a very short time. But I expected him to say something definite as to what he has so far done, and particularly what he has done with regard to the recommendation of the Sandhurst Committee which I shall presently explain to the House, although I regret that the Honourable the Army Secretary has not yet grasped the recommendations. I hope he will

read them again, and I shall endeavour to make them plain to him and to the House, if I can. Now the recommendation which affects the Education Department and which relates to military training is a very subsidiary recommendation, as my Honourable friend, Pandit Kunzru, pointed out and I shall explain it to the House when I come to deal with the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee. What was expected from the Government was this, and I will read it in the words of the Sandhurst Committee. You find it in paragraph 24, page 28.

"The main responsibility must rest upon the educational authorities and experts to lead in emphasising the paramount national importance of reforming the educational system of India in the directions we have indicated."

Now, what have you done? I do not think the House heard a single word from the Government that they have taken one particular definite step in order to give some help or some effect to this recommendation.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, may I draw the Honourable Member's attention to the fact that he has dropped one line in that passage which is the basis of his argument?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Quite right: I will read it again:

"The main responsibility must rest upon the educational authorities and experts to whom however it is imperative that the Government should give a clear lead in emphasising the paramount national importance of reforming the educational system of India in the directions we have indicated."

Now the directions indicated were that you must try, as far as you can, to co-ordinate the various educational institutions in the country, so that apart from the general training and the general education which they receive, certain essential matters, which would enable them to compete for a military career, were also essential and they were three. We emphasised three points. One was the English language. The other was military training and physical training. Now I should certainly have expected from the Government of India, whom the Honourable Member represents here in the Education Department, to do something definite. What lead have you given? What have you done? That is really shortly the question and that is how it stands. This Report was signed in 1927, and you have done nothing. Now my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, brings forward this Resolution. I am sorry I cannot agree with his Resolution, although I entirely agree with the spirit and the object that he has at his heart; I wholeheartedly agree. Now my Honourable friend wants to move this Resolution and wants a committee to be appointed. We have passed that stage of a committee. (Laughter.) We do not want a Committee. We want the Government to carry this out. Action is wanted. Therefore I do not want to reopen this question particularly as my Honourable friend, Mr. Roy, very rightly pointed out that the House, this very House, without a division, endorsed *in toto* the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee. Now what more do you want? It is there; a gross neglect and callousness exists in the Treasury Bench. Now this is the only simple issue and that is the subject of this Resolution.

Now, Sir, we are told by the Army Secretary—his usual tale which he tells this House every now and then (Laughter). When you ask him: "What have you done about the establishment of Sandhurst", he says: "Oh! it is in 1933. You are now in 1930; last year you were in 1929 and the year before you were in 1928". Does he really think that this House

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

is composed of children? A very nebulous argument indeed! Sandhurst is to be established, says he, when the saturation point is reached! Where does he get it from? He says that the Sandhurst Committee Report is a confused document. Now what is the Sandhurst Committee's Report? I shall describe it in a very few minutes. The first and the foremost and the fundamental principle that underlies the whole of this Report is that an Indian Sandhurst is to be established, not on the ground that when we shall reach a saturation point then the Army Secretary will run and collect bricks and mortar and start building a house. Not like that. I will point out to you, Sir, the recommendations on page 89 and the reasoning. The first ground was this:

"Accordingly we find at once one strong reason for the establishment of a Military College in India which will provide the facilities at present given by Sandhurst alone. It seems clear that like the progressive scheme of Indianisation which we have suggested, this step also is necessary as a means to improve both in number and quality the supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission. Further, it is in our opinion very desirable and would be consonant with the general policy of administration as that is now conceived that India should have a Military College of her own and thus be self-sufficient in respect to one of the most important national needs."

That is the ground, and we give our reasons for it. The second ground, which is not the only ground as the Honourable Member, the Army Secretary, has mentioned or assumed, but is an important consideration, and that is as follows:

"There is one other consideration of a specially practical and compelling character in every educational institution. There comes a time when the authorities responsible for its efficiency must decide to set a limit to the further acceptance of foreign students for fear lest the character of the institution may be changed."

That is another reason. We apprehended, and I think, rightly apprehended that the authorities of Sandhurst might refuse admission to Indians when a certain limit was reached and we ascertained even the figures and facts which would show when the saturation point might be reached. We have got all the materials collected which the Government of India, I presume, under the advice of the Secretary, have up to now suppressed from the House and the public, namely the materials collected by the Sub-Committee and the Report of the Sub-Committee. Why don't you disclose them? Then you will understand the confusion of the Sandhurst Committee Report better. Then there was a third reason and the third reason is this:

"It is hardly necessary to add that there is a strong political demand for the establishment of a Military College in India. In a matter of this kind we should not ourselves attach great importance to consideration of a purely political character; but in the case of the Indian Sandhurst the political demand represents, we believe, a real force of growing national sentiment which cannot be ignored."

Now, Sir, what have you done about the Sandhurst? Nothing. Then we are told by the Army Secretary today the same old story again. He says when we get suitable candidates then we shall consider. You will never get suitable candidates if you go on in the manner in which you are going on. You do not want to get suitable candidates. I am convinced more than ever that you do not want to get them.

Now, Sir, having thus laid down the fundamental principle or the reasons which we have stated at great length—I only quoted a few passages—that an Indian Sandhurst must be established, we say, of course, it cannot

be done at once. How can it be as a practical proposition? Hence we said that it should be an accomplished fact in 1933—a complete, accomplished, achieved object. In the meantime you must take the Sandhurst Committee's recommendations which are interdependent, interwoven. You cannot separate one from the other. In the meantime what has been done? The next question that the Sandhurst Committee considered was this: What should be the progress or the acceleration of Indianisation? There was a difference of opinion. Some thought it should be 15 years; some thought 20 years and some 25 years. But ultimately it was agreed that half the cadre should be Indianised at the longest period in 25 years subject to an examination five years after Sandhurst was established, that is, after 10 years, and it was open to us then to accelerate that limit of period. According to that, recommendations were made that you should gradually go on increasing the number every year. Now, I am told, and I will be told over and over again by the Honourable the Army Secretary that he cannot get that number of suitable candidates. What have you done in the way of giving a lead at least to those institutions from which you may get good material? And remember, Sir, we were dealing with this question from this point of view. Over and over again we were told, it was impressed upon us, and it is in the Report, that we will not be able to get efficient officers unless we have a system of public schools in our country. It was one of the most important questions. The controversy was this. You can never get really efficient officers who would be put in charge of large troops, lives and property—and the whole country's interest is at stake—you therefore want the best officers, you must get the best materials, and it is with that object that the Sandhurst Committee sat and examined the systems of other countries. We examined the systems of various countries, and having examined the whole lot of them, we came to the conclusion that it is not possible for India to follow England and have a system of public schools such as exist in England, and we found that there are many other countries where the system did not exist and yet they were able to get the finest material who stood side by side in the battlefields of France with British soldiers and fought as valiantly as any other soldier. And we referred to that. Then we say now that in order to make progress, in order to make headway, without waiting for a system of public schools to be established in this country, we find that we have already got Dehra Dun. We say: "Go ahead with that, it has given good results". We say: "Start other Dehra Duns", which is now the subject-matter of the amendment of my Honourable friend. He says: "Start another one", and we say further that if you co-ordinate the other educational institutions, and if you get facilities for the boys in these three matters particularly with regard to which they are handicapped, that is, English, military training and physical training, we shall then have such a large field that there will be a tremendous competition, and once the number has increased, we shall get not only as good material as we are getting, but first class material, because when you have got competition for 20 vacancies or 30 vacancies, supposing you have got 1,500 candidates coming up for examination, you are able to get the best out of 1,500; if there are only 500, your field is limited. Therefore, if you will co-ordinate your general educational system and your institutions as they are being done and have been done in other countries, for instance, Canada, you will get first class material. And further we say, instead of having an eighteen months' course, as you have at Sandhurst, we will enlarge the period of the course at the Indian Sandhurst to three years, so that the boys who

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

will enter the Indian Sandhurst will have a longer period and better opportunities of getting the most efficient training. That, Sir, is the whole scheme. We cannot separate and take one bit out of it and say, we can do this, we cannot do that, that there is this or that difficulty. It is one interdependent scheme.

Now, Sir, what have you done? That is the question. You have done nothing, and the Army Secretary has up to now simply—what shall I say—fenced, evaded and put forward lame excuses every time this question has cropped up. I, Sir, think that none of these amendments are of any use. Neither is this Resolution of any use, but I am thankful that it has given us one more opportunity of placing our views before the Government humbly, and I hope that the Army Secretary to the Government of India will realise that the time has come,—it has come, you have allowed it to pass for a long time and delayed it, and I say that there is no justification for doing so. I quite agree with the observations that fell from some of the Honourable Members. The Round Table Conference is looming large in front of us. I ask the Government of India, are you going to wait until the question is settled there? Do you think that you should not make your preparations, at any rate give effect to these recommendations without any further delay? Don't you think that, when you are before the bar of that Round Table Conference, you will get much lighter punishment than otherwise you are likely to get? Will you stand there as an accused whose guilt will be proved and who deserves the severest punishment, or will you not prepare for mitigation and palliation? It is for you to decide, but I do ask you, don't go on with these excuses.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I entirely agree with those Honourable Members who have expressed the opinion that no more committees are wanted in this connection. I feel with my Honourable friends who have spoken about the Skeen Committee, that the recommendations of that Committee are quite clear, and that it is a matter of great regret that the Government of India have not seen their way to give effect to them. I do not agree with the view that the system of education which obtains in this country should be condemned in such an absolute fashion. I think the Sandhurst Committee did not condemn it to the extent that the remarks of some Members would indicate, but if they did, the Honourable the Secretary to the Department of Education has rightly drawn attention to a later report, the Report of the Hartog Committee, which has pointed out how much progress has been made in the direction of promoting character building in our schools and colleges and Universities during the last ten years. Not only during the last ten years, but during a much longer period, for while I am myself a severe critic of the system of education in many respects, I feel that it does not lie with any Honourable Member to say that the system of education which has prevailed in this country has not helped to build up character. I ask any man to look around the country and to say who are the people who are carrying on the administration of this country. The vast bulk of the men who are carrying on the administration in the executive departments, in the judicial departments, and in the revenue and other departments, are Indians. These Indians are men of character. It has been demonstrated and thoroughly established that they are men of character.

The judicial service is a very pure service; cases of corruption are rare exceptions, and not the rule. The executive service is also, as a whole, a pure service; exceptions are very few. I claim that we Indians have demonstrated to the world that we possess character. And let me add that that character is not mainly the result of the present system of English education. I think any one who has studied history knows that Hindus and Mussalmans have inherited great civilizations, and that these civilizations have been responsible for producing men of character among us. In that light I do not think that there is any occasion to say that suitable Indians for the Army will not be found in sufficient numbers unless you start schools like those at Dehra Dun and Jhelum. Character-training has been going on in all our educational institutions and it has developed steadily during the last few decades. Nor is it necessary, as some people think, to have public schools in this country of the type they have in England before you can train Indians as officers for the Army. It is not correct to say that the English public school system, though it is a very valuable one and I appreciate it highly, is a *sine qua non* for training character among our young men. In their Report the Skeen Committee say:

"While we recognise that the Indian boy has not the same advantage as the British boy who is educated and trained up under the public school system and is therefore deficient in certain matters to which reference has already been made, yet at the same time it cannot be forgotten that in countries like France, the United States and Canada there are with a few exceptions no public schools of the English model, but nevertheless they have been able to produce officers of great character who possessed great powers of leadership."

I therefore fear that too much stress is being laid upon the value of the school which has been started at Dehra Dun. I claim that the schools which exist all over the country are training young men in character as much as in the intellectual sphere; and I claim that the character which our young men display is of a sufficiently high degree to fit them for admission for training as officers for the Army.

Now, Sir, let us apply a proper test; and I venture to put forward a proposal. Let a hundred young men be picked from the public schools of England and let me and my friends here pick up a hundred young men, from Indian schools and Universities, even such as they are at present; and let them be put to a fair competitive test—intellectual, physical and any other kind of test—a test of leadership, a test of power to command, and of power to organise; and let us have the verdict of a fair body of Judges, chosen by consent of both parties, as to whether the Indian youths, even with the handicaps under which he is placed, falls far below in comparison with his English confrère. I think that is a fair test; let us select a hundred young men each from the two countries, let us put them to competitive test and let us see what the result is. I make this offer here and now. Several of our Universities have already got training corps. Though the admissions to these corps are very limited, and though I regret to say that the Government have been very niggardly providing the necessary permission and facilities for expanding these training corps, still such as they are, you find the young men who have joined the corps have been able to render a very good account of themselves. I could not better express my conviction about the value of the training which our young men receive in these corps than

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

by making the offer which I have made; and I venture to say that you will find Indian students trained at our Universities well able to give a good account of themselves. If they fail, in a competitive test, we shall then know that they fail. At present you are indulging in assumptions and theories.

Some of my friends on the other side are very rightly proud of the public schools of England. I agree they have reason to be proud of them, but I venture to say that they attach too much weight to the value of their system and too little value to the modern system of education through which the Indian youth has been passing. The result of that education is visible in every other department of life into which the Indian has found admission. On a fair trial, it will be equally visible in the matter of selection for the Army also. But the real question is this: it is not that you want a school of the type of the one at Dehra Dun, nor will two or three such schools suffice for the needs of the country. Mr. Jinnah referred to three deficiencies in the system of education available to our young men, to which the Skeen Committee have drawn attention. First, the Indian boy is placed at a disadvantage in the matter of a knowledge of English. He has to learn all that he has to in a foreign tongue and the English boy has a great advantage over him there. The second is in the matter of physical culture, and the third, in the matter of military training. In all these three points undoubtedly the Indian boy is at a disadvantage. But we must note that we have been progressing. As regards the first, that is a permanent disadvantage. But as regards the second, the scout movement, to which the Honourable the Education Secretary has referred is a very important movement: its value in training character cannot be over-estimated. It promotes manliness and resourcefulness in our students. It has been making rapid progress. I myself have the honour of being the Chief Scout of the Seva Samiti scouts—who number about 25,000 young men all over the country and their number is growing every day. Besides, there is the other much larger body of scouts, the Baden Powell scouts, scattered all over the country. Recently in the Magh Mela at Allahabad, where about forty lakhs of people came, 2,800 young men of the Seva Samiti scouts contributed their share in the management of the Mela to an extent which is very generously acknowledged by the officers at Allahabad. It was a mela of forty lakhs of people and it was these young men who managed it to a large extent. Therefore the scout movement has come in to give Indian students a practical training in character as it gives to the youth of other countries. Physical culture is receiving increasing attention in our schools and colleges. The only thing that is wanted is military training. What has to be done is this: introduce military drill and exercises in the colleges and schools all over the country; supply military teachers to the Universities and give them funds to start military training; give them all the facilities that they need to develop training corps and encourage them by lending your officers to give instruction in military subjects. The Skeen Committee recommended that, in order to be able to supply officers for the Army, the Universities should introduce short courses on military subjects. The Universities are ready to do so. At Benares we have built a hall for the purpose, 120 feet by 80 feet, and we are preparing to

erect a shooting range. If the Government will accept the recommendations of the Skeen Committee, and make up their minds honestly to carry out these recommendations, we shall see the beginning of a new chapter. But every time this question is raised in any form, I regret to say that the Army Secretary takes up an attitude which adds irritation to the sense of injustice which we feel. In the discussion today he tried to make us believe that the recommendations of the Skeen Committee were vague or confused. I think it is very wrong of the Army Secretary to say that of the recommendations of a Committee on which some of the best Members of the Assembly, some of our most esteemed Members sat, and which was presided over by so distinguished a General as Sir Andrew Skeen

Mr. G. M. Young: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I never referred to the recommendations as a whole; I referred to this particular recommendation only.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I accept the statement of the Army Secretary; but his remarks gave the idea that he spoke of the general recommendations of the Committee and Mr. Jinnah's remarks on that point confirmed me in that view.

Now, Sir, I ask that the Government of India should make up their minds to give effect to the recommendations of the Skeen Committee. Let them take up the recommendations point by point, and let them tell this Assembly from time to time in what respect they have given effect to these recommendations, and tell us of the progress that is made.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, has reminded the Government Benches of the Round Table Conference. To those who want a complete change in the system of government that obtains in this country, nothing can be of greater satisfaction than the attitude of the Government of India in this matter. The whole matter has to come up before the Bar of public opinion that will be represented at the Conference. It will not be confined to that Conference. Through that Conference the whole matter will be placed before the bar of the public opinion of the civilised world. What a sorry figure will the Government of India cut there! Let them imagine; let them realise what answer they will have to make when their sins of omission in this matter are pointed out; when it is stated that for decades together, for over half a century, Indians have been asking that they should be admitted to the King's Commission and that the Government of India have been putting off that request, on one pretext or another; that eventually when they were forced by a Resolution of this House to agree to a committee being appointed—a committee over which one of their own most distinguished Generals presided, and on which some very distinguished Members of this Assembly sat, the Government gave the go-by to that Report; and that every time the matter has been brought up here since, some petty excuse has been brought forward for not giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee. No one can help feeling that the Government have been trifling with us in this matter. As far as I am concerned, I have lost all hope of Government taking the right step in this matter. I feel that unless some of us, who are sitting on this side of the House, occupy seats on the other side, I mean the Treasury Benches, unless such a vital change is brought about, this question of justice to Indians in the

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

matter of the Indianisation of the Army, will not be solved. I feel that we are all wasting our time and breath in discussing this question. A question of policy is not going to be solved by suggestions for a further Committee. When the government of this country comes into the hands of those who are really responsible to the people, then alone will there be a chance of the Indianisation of the Army being carried out. Let us work for that.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I had no idea of taking any part in this debate, but as it has developed into a very interesting one, I feel impelled to say a few words. I quite agree with what Mr. Jinnah has said that the Resolution or the amendments as they stand form a mere jumble or confused mass of words which convey no concrete idea, but the recommendations made by the Sandhurst Committee are such as to need the support of this House. Sir, the spirit underlying the recommendations of the committee is very definite, and it is this, that the Indian young man should get an opportunity to develop character, a character which will carry him through the battle of life and make him the equal of the greatest characters in the world.

Sir, Dr. Moonje demonstrated in his speech that the Indian possesses every qualification; he possesses courage, composure, coolness and resource, but what he wants is the formation of character. I think, Sir, that the Indian possesses a good deal of character. Sir, it has been shown that the Indian soldier is able to face in the battles of the Empire a storm of bullets without fear of death, and in the face of this, I ask, can anybody say that he possesses no character? This is the best test of character. The greatest ordeal is to stand before the gun without flinching and without any fear of death, and I think in this matter the Indian has shown his character and courage in abundance on the different battlefields of the Empire. The Indian has fought in all the theatres of war. He has saved India for the British; he has fought in Egypt, in China, in France; in fact he fought in all the theatres of war in the last great war. Sir, I should like to know whether there is anybody to challenge the fact that the Indian has shown courage, resource and character? What we want now is scientific training, training which has made even the smallest nation in the world able to defend its rights, and then once having got that training, the Indian, I daresay, will become invincible. (Hear, hear.) He will not only defend his own hearth and home, but he will defend right and justice in the world.

Sir, the Indian youth is now ready to fight for his own rights. He wants an opportunity for it; he wants to conquer his own inertia. So far, he has been indifferent to his own fate, but the time has come when he will forge his own destiny, and I have seen youths all over India who are not only ready but anxious to engage in the battle of life and to show to the world at large that they possess the necessary character in them.

Sir, I agree with what Mr. Jinnah has said, that the Government have not so far shown any real desire to meet the demand in India. The initiative came from the Sandhurst Committee, and the recommendations of that Committee have not yet been carried out, and so I think the House has a right to demand that the Government should carry out those recommendations in a spirit of justice and in a spirit of helpfulness, sympathy.

and courage. With these few words I support what Mr. Jinnah has said that the House demands that the Government should carry out the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Sir, I am sorry that the whole debate has gone off at a tangent. If you will dispassionately read the language of the Resolution, as I have moved it, and the language of the Report of the Sandhurst Committee as it is drafted, you will find that there is nothing in either from which you could draw the slightest inference indicating that the Indian boys have no character. I will only quote one little sentence in this connection from this Report:

"Yet it is hard to believe, and we do not believe, that among the three hundred million inhabitants of India there does not exist a supply of potential valuable material sufficient to provide competent Indian King's Commissioned Officers in much larger numbers than are at present forthcoming." (Page 12.)

The whole idea appears to be that we have been carried away by the word "character", appearing in the Report and my Resolution and I may again repeat that neither this Resolution nor the Indian Sandhurst Committee ever intended to convey the least idea that Indian boys have no character. What the Report says is merely this:

"It is true that, even with their present organisation and system of training, they have turned out boys who have succeeded in obtaining Commissions through Sandhurst, but those who did so started on their course of training with an unfair handicap as compared with their British Comrades."

And therefore they say that:

"The handicap must be removed as far as possible in order to obtain really first class material for India's defence." (Page 27.)

This is exactly what my Resolution provides for.

Besides, the Indian Sandhurst Committee have made certain recommendations, and as for them it was not my desire by this Resolution to raise that question for debate on the present occasion. I had reserved that point for the general budget debate. This Resolution is preparatory to giving effect to the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee, or rather I should say that the Resolution provides for a broad based foundation on which the edifice as envisaged by the recommendations of the Report has to be built. The idea underlying the Sandhurst Committee's Report has been something like this, and it has been very nicely put by Sir Prabhashankar Pattani when he says:

"My point of view is not from the point of view of Indianisation as against Europeanisation. I am only treating it as an Imperial question. It is in the interest of the Empire itself that every component part, every limb of the Empire, should be equally strong so that no weak link or organ, no weak part of the body should be so weak as to hamper the whole of the body in the event of a greater danger."

The Resolution has been conceived from this point of view so that, a broad basis may be provided or feeder agencies may be developed to supply ample first class material for an Indian Sandhurst when it will be established in 1933 as the Report says it should be. When the time comes a few days hence, the whole question of the Indian Sandhurst will be raised, —and I want to raise the question during the general debate on the Budget,—and we shall then raise the whole question of the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee and press on the Government that

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

they should be given effect to immediately. This Resolution merely provides a preparatory procedure to enable the Government
 4 P.M. to give the lead to the educational authorities. The Sandhurst Committee has pointed out that the defect in our educational system is that there is no provision made for military education, military drill, physical training, rifle shooting and such other things. There is no detailed scheme before the Government as to how to give the lead in these respects and it is for this purpose that I have brought forward this Resolution. As regards the objections of my Honourable friend Sir Frank Noyce...

Mr. President: He has accepted your Resolution in principle.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: I should like to have an assurance from the Honourable Member that he has accepted my Resolution.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask whether Sir Frank Noyce has accepted any of the amendments or whether he would merely forward them to the Local Governments and wait until he gets their replies from them?

Mr. President: He has accepted Colonel Crawford's amendment and the Revd. Mr. Chatterjee's amendment.

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I think my Honourable friend's intention was to convey that Government would support Colonel Crawford's amendment, and if that failed they would be prepared, in the alternative, to accept the Revd. Mr. Chatterjee's amendment.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: So my Resolution does not meet with the support of my Honourable friend Sir Frank Noyce. He has told us that the matter has been dealt with by the Hartog Committee. I shall refer him to what the Committee itself says as regards their terms of reference:

"The Commission understands its terms of reference regarding education as requiring from it not a general survey of the whole field of education in all its branches and aspects throughout British India."

Therefore my point is that the aspect which this Resolution brings before this House has not been considered by the Hartog Committee.

Mr. President: The difference between you and the Government is that you want a committee and they are agreeable to a conference.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: I have said in my first speech, in moving the Resolution, that I do not think that the needs of the situation will be met by convening a conference. This aspect of the question has not been brought to the notice of the educational authorities up to now, because the Government have so far failed to give the lead in the matter as desired by the Sandhurst Committee, and my Resolution says that a Committee should be appointed consisting of men who have paid attention to this subject and who shall bring to the notice of the Government certain points of a general scheme

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: May I point out that the conference will not consist merely of educational authorities, but will include representatives of the legislatures, of educational authorities and of the Army Department?

Dr. B. S. Moonje: I am sorry even that will not meet all the needs of the situation. A conference sitting at one place will not be able to give a proper lead to the provinces because local conditions in different Provinces will have to be looked into on the spot from this particular point of view. An objection has been raised about the constitutional difficulty if this committee were appointed because education is now a transferred subject. I do not know whether at the time the Hartog Committee was appointed this obstacle came in the way. If there was no obstacle at that time, there could be no obstacle now, if the Government were so minded.

As regards the object of preparing the country for undertaking the responsibility of its defence, I should like to bring to the notice of the House what other countries do in the matter, and especially what England does in this matter. Under the heading "Military efficiency in preparatory schools in England" the following questions were sent round to the Preparatory Schools for their answers:

- (1) What percentage of boys learn to shoot?
- (2) What air rifles do they use?
- (3) What miniature rifles do they use?
- (4) If you have an outdoor range, what is its length?
- (5) If you have an indoor range, what is its length?
- (6) Is shooting independently of competition popular with boys?
- (7) Do your boys compete for the preparatory school's shields?
- (8) Do they otherwise shoot against other schools?
- (9) What percentage of your boys learn physical drill?
- (10) What percentage of your boys learn military drill?"

By the by, let it be remembered that the preparatory schools in England are those schools where boys between the ages of 8 and 15 years generally receive education. 188 such schools have sent their report in response to the questionnaire on the above lines. Of these, 38 schools show 100 per cent. shooting; 16 schools show 75 per cent. shooting; 22 schools show 60 per cent. shooting and 32 schools show 50 per cent. shooting. In the average of all schools, shooting is 60 per cent. Out of these 188 schools, 98 schools in all have military drill. Out of these 98 schools, 79 schools have cent. per cent. military drill. In the average 92.6 per cent. of schools have military drill. The average number of boys in each school is about 500. Thus it will be seen that thousands of boys in England receive preliminary military training. This is what is being done in England to prepare the whole country for undertaking the responsibility of its defence. This Resolution of mine is intended to bring about a similar situation in India. There is one more point and that is about the amendment of my friend Munshi Iswar Saran. Unfortunately the whole of my Resolution did not appear at that time in the ballot. The first portion did appear and the second portion did not. The second portion along with the first, which has been balloted in the name of my friend Mr. Sarabhai Haji runs as follows:

"That in the meantime a residential military school be established on the model of Jhelum and Jullunder as early as possible where provision should be made for accommodation of not less than 500 Indian students from all provinces and fees be fixed at not more than from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 per month per boy for boarding, lodging and tuition."

I have therefore to say that I am in favour of the addition to my Resolution of the proposal of my friend Munshi Iswar Saran, and I should like to

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

know if it can be added on to my Resolution at this stage. (Ironical Cheers).

'Sir, under the circumstances, I press for my Resolution and I am prepared to take the verdict of the House.

Mr. President: I propose to put Munshi Iswar Saran's amendment first. Then, if that fails, I propose to put either Colonel Crawford's or the Revd. Mr. Chatterjee's amendment. I think it will be convenient from the Government point of view if I put Colonel Crawford's amendment. So I will take up Colonel Crawford's amendment second. If that fails, I will take up the Revd. Mr. Chatterjee's amendment and, last of all, I will take up Mr. Acharya's amendment.

The question is:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the remarks made by the Indian Sandhurst Committee about the present system of education in India, he be pleased, by way of a beginning, to establish without any unnecessary delay an all-India residential military school at a suitable and central place capable of accommodating at least 500 Indian boys of all castes and creeds at the lowest possible rate of fees for tuition, board and lodging for the purpose of providing a steady supply of suitable material for training and recruitment as Army Officers'."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: I will now put Colonel Crawford's amendment.

The question is:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps to examine the present system of education in India with the object of remedying the defective character training of the system as emphasised and brought to the public notice by the Indian Sandhurst Committee with a view to the removal of those defects in the system for the purpose of providing a steady flow of really first-class material for recruitment to the public services including the service of defence'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—38.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada
Alexander, Mr. W.
Banarji, Mr. Rajnarayan.
Baum, Mr. E. F.
Chambers, Mr. G. W.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Sir Hugh.
Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.
Crawford, Colonel J. D.
Crerar, The Honourable Sir James.
Crosthwaite, Mr. H. S.
Dakhan, Khan Bahadur W. M. P.
Ghulam Kadir Khan.
Ferrers, Mr. V. M.
French, Mr. J. C.
Gwynne, Mr. C. W.
Hamilton, Mr. K. L. B.
Hira Singh Brar, Sardar Bahadur,
Honorary Captain.
Howell, Mr. E. B.

Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Mitter, The Honourable Sir Brojendra.
Monteath, Mr. J.
Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur S. C.
Noyce, Sir Frank.
Pai, Mr. A. Upendra.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
Row, Mr. K. Sanjiva.
Sahi, Mr. Ram Prashad Narayan.
Sams, Mr. H. A.
Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.
Slater, Mr. S. H.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Tin Tut, Mr.
Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
Young, Mr. G. M.

NOES—34.

Abdul Haye, Mr.
 Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Badi-uz-Zaman, Maulvi.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Farookhi, Mr. Abdul Latif Sahab.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Hajji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Ismail Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Iwar Saran, Munshi.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.

Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mokhtar Singh, Mr.
 Murtuza Sahab Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rafique, Mr. Muhammad.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
 Makhdum Syed.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Shafee Daoodi, Maulvi Mohammad.
 Siddiqi, Mr. Abdul Qadir.
 Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE MEDICAL RESEARCH.

Mr. President: I understand the next Resolution is not a controversial one.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): That depends on the attitude taken up by the Government. I expect it will not be controversial so far as I understand.

Sir Frank Noyce (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): I think I shall be in a position to meet the Honourable Member more than half way.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name and which reads as follows:-

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council (a) to appoint a committee with a non-official majority and an adequate representation of the independent medical profession to inquire into and report on the following points, and (b) to hold over the proposed transfer of the Medical Research Institute, Kasauli, to the Chandbagh building at Dehra Dun till this Committee's Report is considered by the Assembly:

- (1) The most suitable University centre for the establishment of the Central Medical Research Institute;
- (2) The constitution of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association; and
- (3) Recruitment for the Medical Research Department."

I shall not take long to explain the purpose of this Resolution. It is intended to voice forth the discontent which has been felt, not only by the independent medical profession in India but also by the several Universities and by the non-official section of the people in general at the decision of the Government of India to locate the Medical Research Institute at a hill station like Dehra Dun. Attempts have been made to draw the attention of the Government of India time after time to the discontent that the decision has caused, and to the desire of the people in this country that this Medical Institute, which is intended for the carrying

[Mr. M. R. Jayakar.]

on of medical research, should be located at a place like Calcutta, Bombay or any other important University centre, where there is an independent medical public opinion which could focus its light of criticism on the working of this institution and also bring it into intimate contact with the activities of the independent medical profession. I am therefore asking the Government of India to hold their hand. It is a very small request indeed that they should hold their hands until the whole question is examined *de novo* by a committee. I do not care whether this examination is made by a committee or by any other equally representative body; that is a matter of detail. But what I want is that the independent medical profession and also the non-official opinion in the country should have an opportunity to examine this question. By non-officials, let me at once say, I do not necessarily mean politicians, but there is a considerable number of scientific men in this country, and some of them are very distinguished, who may look into this matter. The names of two or three such men at once occur to me, I mean Sir C. V. Raman, and Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose. I am anxious that scientific men who have been carrying on research in this country for 20 or 30 years should have a chance of examining this question with absolute impartiality and of deciding whether Dehra Dun or any other hill station is the proper place where this Medical Research Institute should be established, or whether a University place like Bombay or Calcutta will not be more suitable for the purpose. I am therefore asking the Government of India to give this chance to us in order that such men may consider the question once more and determine what is the proper place to locate this institution at.

Secondly, what is to be the constitution of the Governing Body of the Indian Medical Research Fund and lastly how is recruitment to the Medical Research Department to be made. These questions too will be considered by the Committee. I do hope that the Government of India will see the reasonableness of my view that this question should be considered by qualified and disinterested persons in the light of the opposition raised in the country. The question has so far been decided by the experts of the Government of India and by official or semi-official persons. I am anxious that, having regard to the far-reaching consequences of the location of this Medical Research Institute, the whole question should be examined once more by an independent Committee on which non-official Indian medical opinion will be adequately represented, and also the scientific expert opinion in the country. I do hope the Government of India will accept my Resolution.

Sir Frank Noyce: Sir, in view of the fact that, as I have already stated, I am in a position to meet the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution at least somewhere about half way, it is unnecessary for me to take up the time of the House to the extent that I should otherwise have had to do if that had not been the case. I am in entire agreement with him in the view that the location of the Central Medical Research Institute is a matter of the utmost importance. It is not a matter in regard to which we can afford to make any mistakes. Those who, like myself, have had the misfortune to travel to Pusa from time to time to visit the headquarters of agricultural research in India, know what an unwise location means. The view of the Honourable Member was also that of

the Committee on the Organisation of Medical Research in India, which pointed out that a wrong choice could not fail to have far-reaching consequences on the future of medical research in this country. So, Sir, we are all in agreement that the location of this institution is a matter of the greatest importance.

Sir, I will not take longer than I can help, but it is, I venture to think, necessary to explain the circumstances in which Dehra Dun was chosen, for the benefit of those Members of this House who are not fully acquainted with the position. The Committee on the Organisation of Medical Research under the Government of India, now commonly known as the Fletcher Committee, consisted of four members. The Chairman of the Committee was Sir Walter Fletcher, a very eminent scientist in England, who is Secretary of the Medical Research Council of Great Britain and a Fellow of the Royal Society. The members of the Committee were Colonel James, a retired Indian Medical Service Officer, who is now Medical Officer and Adviser on Tropical Diseases in the Ministry of Health, London, Dr. Row, Professor of Pathology in the Grant Medical College, Bombay and Colonel Christophers, I.M.S., also a Fellow of the Royal Society, who is Director of the Central Research Institute at Kasauli. I venture to point out, Sir, that this Committee consisted of officials and non-officials and was therefore a Committee of the type advocated by Mr. Jayakar. I would go even further and say that it contained a majority of non-officials. Sir Walter Fletcher was as obviously a non-official as Colonel Christophers was an official. The other two members come in a rather doubtful category, but I personally consider that they should both be classed as non-officials. Dr. Row, though he is employed by Government, is, I understand, an independent medical practitioner. It is some ten years since Colonel James left India and the official atmosphere, so far as he is concerned, must have weakened considerably since then. I do not think it can be held that this Committee started with any bias in favour of a particular place. Colonel Christophers might have been prejudiced in favour of Kasauli and Dr. Row in favour of Bombay, but these two factors would naturally cancel out. Colonel James, if he had any predilection, would have been in favour of Madras where I believe he started his Indian career.

Now, Sir, the Committee laid down certain principles on which, in their view, the decision as to the location of this institution should be based. As regards the functions of the institution in relation to medical research in India as a whole, their view was that provided the Institute was reasonably accessible from the different parts of India and was reasonably near the winter and summer headquarters of the Government of India, it did not much matter where it was. But after a careful examination of the lines of medical research which would be pursued in it, they came to somewhat different conclusions. They held that, on the whole, it would be preferable to locate the Institute away from the large centres of population with their pressing every-day problems and away too from places where the climate during the greater part of the year made intensive thought and sustained effort difficult or impossible. It was only after the most careful consideration of all the various possibilities, that they came to a decision in favour of Dehra Dun. As will be seen from a reference to their Report, they discussed Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Dehra Dun, Kasauli, Madras, Nasik, Poona and Simla. In view of the claims which have been advanced from time to time in

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

favour of the selection of Bombay or Calcutta, to which the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution has referred, it seems desirable to give in their own words the arguments against the location of the Institute in either of these cities. They pointed out that:

"The claims advanced for selecting Bombay are chiefly that it contains a wealth of clinical material, two medical colleges and the Haffkine Institute, some of the buildings of which could perhaps be utilised. It is strongly urged that medical research and medical education should go hand in hand. These and other reasons advanced relate almost exclusively to clinical research. We have recommended that this item of medical research should be arranged for by a 'Section' of the research organisation based on the central headquarters but with the members of the Section working in, and attached to, suitable hospitals, colleges or other institutions in the large cities. Apart altogether from the claims of basic research stated above in our remarks on general principles, we think it would be a mistake to locate a second institution in a city where an excellent provincial institute (the Haffkine Institute) has already been established."

They added that the objections to Bombay applied equally to Calcutta and Madras. For the reasons which led the Committee to decide in favour of Dehra Dun, I would again refer the House to their Report. I may briefly say that they were, the proximity of Dehra Dun to the headquarters of the Government of India, the fact that they considered it a centre of scientific, technical and educational activities under the Government of India and likely to become more so in the near future, the availability of ample accommodation and of buildings which could be taken over from the Forest College—a consideration of very obvious financial importance—and also suitable climatic conditions. I submit to the House, Sir, that, in view of the recommendations of this Committee, the competence of which to deal with the subject can hardly be doubted, and also the approval of the Standing Finance Committee, which was given to the proposals placed before it in August, 1928, the Government of India were justified in going on with the scheme. As the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain stated in the Council of State in September last, various representations against the location of the Institute at Dehra Dun were made from time to time and were given the most careful consideration. He also stated at that time that the Government's decision remained in favour of Dehra Dun. Since then, however, I must explain to the House, fresh aspects of the case have come to the notice of the Government, and I am sure the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution will be glad to hear that Government are no longer prepared to regard the location of the Institute at Dehra Dun as a closed chapter. (Cheers.) The continued opposition to the selection of Dehra Dun, which has culminated in this Resolution today, is only one of those aspects.

I wish to be perfectly frank with the House and explain what the present position is. Another factor in bringing about the decision of the Government not to regard the location at Dehra Dun as a closed Chapter is the fact that the scheme, which will eventually come before them for consideration, will probably not be the scheme that met with the approval of the Standing Finance Committee. The Fletcher Committee recommended that the manufacture of sera and vaccines, which is carried out at Kasauli, should be transferred to the new Medical Research Institute at Dehra Dun. In the proposals which were submitted to the Standing Finance Committee, it was stated that it was intended to retain these activities at Kasauli for three reasons. The first was that Kasauli was climatically better adapted to the purpose than Dehra Dun. The second

was that research and manufacture are best kept apart, and the third was that it was hoped that, by adding a section for the standardisation of drugs to Kasauli, it could be made a self-contained and a commercially successful undertaking. Unfortunately, when those views were put forward, General Graham, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and Colonel Christophers, the Director of the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, who is obviously very keenly interested in the matter, were absent on leave. They have expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of retaining the manufacture of sera and vaccines in a different place from the main activities of the Central Research Institute, and it is obviously desirable that their views should be given the most careful consideration.

Then there is the question of residential accommodation at Dehra Dun. When these proposals were placed before the Standing Finance Committee, it was anticipated that there would be no difficulty in finding residential accommodation for the staff of the Institute in Dehra Dun itself. There again, anticipations do not appear likely to be realised, as Dehra Dun is rapidly becoming congested, and it seems fairly clear that, if the Central Medical Research Institute is located there, it will be necessary to build accommodation for its staff. So, Sir, these are the reasons why the Government have not made up their minds definitely about the location of the Institute at Dehra Dun. I am sorry again for the second time this afternoon that I have to oppose the appointment of a committee. It does not seem that such a committee would be in a position to elicit any evidence which is not already before the Government. The arguments in favour of Dehra Dun are contained in the Fletcher Committee's Report. Those against it have been very powerfully stated in the representations which have been made from time to time to Government from various quarters. I should like to say in passing that no unanimity has been shown in the opposition, and that we seem to be as far as ever from being able to decide where the Institute should be located if it is not located at Dehra Dun. But that is by the way.

Now, Sir, I come again to what the Government are prepared to do, and I trust it will meet with the approval of the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution. They consider it desirable that our expert advisers, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and the Director of the Central Medical Research Institute, Kasauli, should submit, as soon as possible, their considered views and revised proposals regarding the cost and activities of the Institute if it is located at Dehra Dun. A good deal of work has already been done in that connection and it does seem desirable that the Government should know exactly where they stand and what the cost would be if the proposals for the location of this Institute at Dehra Dun are eventually accepted. I hasten to reassure my Honourable friend opposite by telling him that practically nothing has been spent on Dehra Dun so far. To the best of my knowledge, the only amount that the proposed transfer has actually cost Government, so far, is the small allowance which has been made to Colonel Christophers for some months past for the work he has done, in addition to his very heavy duties at Kasauli, in preparing plans and estimates and in going into the question of equipment for a Central Medical Research Institute. Now, Sir, on receipt of the proposals of their expert advisers, the Government of India propose to convene a conference consisting of a representative of each of the Medical Faculties at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta,

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

Lucknow and Lahore, the Director General of Indian Medical Services, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, the Director of the Central Medical Research Institute, Kasauli, two Members of the Legislative Assembly, one Member of the Council of State, one non-official non-medical scientist of eminence, and one representative of the All-India Medical Association which, Government understand, is the most influential representative Association of non-official medical practitioners in India. Over this conference it will be my lot, if I am still Secretary in the Department at the time, to preside. The conference would submit its recommendations and suggestions to Government, and I need hardly say that the Government would give them their fullest and most careful consideration.

The House will see that the consideration of the question will be entrusted to a body on which officials would be in a minority. To that conference Government are also willing to refer for consideration the two other questions which have been raised in the Resolution, namely, the constitution of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association and the question of recruitment to the Medical Research Department. The Government have already taken steps to meet the demand for making the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association a far less official body than it was. It consisted until recently of the Honourable Member in charge of the Department who was President, the Secretary in the Department, the Director General of the Indian Medical Service, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, the Director of the Central Medical Research Institute, Kasauli, the Director, Malarial Survey of India, the Assistant Director General, Indian Medical Service, and the Raja of Parlakimedi, who was a member by reason of the very generous donation he gave to the funds of the Indian Research Fund Association. Now the Government of India, realising that it is desirable that this body should be enlarged—and I have no doubt Honourable Members on the other side would say, liberalised—by an infusion of non-official medical and other enlightened opinion, have decided that it should consist of—I am sorry to have to repeat a list of names—the Secretary in the Department, the Director General, Indian Medical Service, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, the Director of the Public Health Institute, Calcutta, the Director-in-Chief of the Medical Research Institute at Dehra Dun or for the time being of course, Kasauli, the Director of the Malarial Survey of India, the Raja of Parlakimedi, an eminent non-medical representative nominated by the Governor General, two representatives elected by the Legislative Assembly, one representative elected by the Council of State, and two representatives of medical faculties of Universities incorporated by law in India elected by such medical faculties: total fourteen, of whom seven are officials and seven are non-officials. That decision was announced by the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the Council of State last Autumn, and the Council of State proceeded to elect its representative. Unfortunately time did not permit of this House being asked to do the same, but I hope to move a motion to that effect in the course of the next few weeks. I will refer to that point again later. The Inter-University Board has also been asked to elect its representative. As I have said, this reorganisation will make the governing body consist of seven officials and seven non-officials, which I venture to think is a suitable composition for a body

which is charged with the administration of large funds from Central revenues. I am aware, however, that even as it has been re-constituted, its constitution does not entirely meet with the views of some Honourable Members opposite, and as I have said, Government are quite willing to allow this question to be considered by the conference which they propose to call. I trust, however, that the House will have no objection to proceeding, in respect of the constitution of the Governing Body, on the lines we have already proposed, and that it will elect two representatives in due course. Obviously, if the conference, when constituted, recommends a different constitution and, if that view is accepted, steps will be taken to alter it, but in the meantime, it would I think be a matter of great regret from the point of view of Government, if this House did not decide at once to take part in the activities of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association.

Then I come to the third point, Sir, on which, as it is getting late, I will not detain the House much longer. That is, the question of the constitution and equipment of the Recruitment Board. There again I hardly think I need read to the House the personnel of the Board as it is at present constituted because that question will also be referred to the conference when it meets. The Recruitment Board, as I think the House is already aware, is to be set up for the selection of candidates for the Medical Research Department, and it is proposed to give it a non-official element, the particulars of which I regret I seem to have been misled for the moment.

Some Honourable Members: That will do.

Sir Frank Noyce: Then, Sir, that is the position, and I can only hope that the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution will agree that I have fulfilled my promise to meet him more than half way.

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Frank Noyce, has particularly stressed the point that the Standing Finance Committee gave their approval to this scheme of location at Dehra Dun. I have in my hand the paper that was placed before the Standing Finance Committee, and it was no particular demand for funds for the purpose, but a paper for mere information. I think the charge will largely be met out of the funds in the hands of the Indian Research Fund Association.

Sir Frank Noyce: May I ask the Honourable Member which meeting of the Standing Finance Committee he is referring to?

Sir Darcy Lindsay: The meeting of 29th August, 1928. The block expenditure item, I think, was put down as Rs. 9 lakhs of which Rs. 6 lakhs was for alterations in the buildings that were to be taken over from the Forest Department; and on the same paper, Sir, the Committee had to deal with a grant from the Rockefeller Fund for the erection of a Hygiene College in Calcutta. I think it was that item that was paid most attention to, because, unless it was settled then and there, the money might not be awarded for this purpose. I am very glad indeed to hear from my Honourable friend that this question of location at Dehra Dun is still an open question.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I am very sorry, Sir, to detain the House at a late hour, but this is a very important question. The Honourable Member, Sir Frank Noyce, started by saying that he was willing to meet half way the Mover of the Resolution (*An Honourable Member*: "More than half way.") I stand corrected. But I do not see where he has met him.

Mr. President: I think it would be much more convenient to have a general debate on this question. The House stands adjourned till Tuesday morning at 11 o'clock.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 11th February, 1930.