

28th March, 1921

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)**

**FIRST SESSION
OF THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1921**



**SIMLA
SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1921**

Rs. 9-8 or 15s. 9d.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 28th March, 1921.

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

STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: I lay on the table the information promised in reply to a question by Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur on the 5th March 1921, regarding the recruitment of Muhammadans in the Government of India Secretariat and offices attached thereto.

Statement showing the number of Assistants and Clerks permanently employed in the Ministerial Staffs of the various Departments of the Government of India Secretariat (and attached offices) classified according to communities or nationalities.

Departments (including attached offices).	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Hindus (including Sikhs and Parsis).	Muhammads.	Total.
Home (i)	49	1	66	38	154
Foreign and Political	41	2	37	8	88
Finance (ii)	5	4	41	7	57
Education	9	2	56	22	89
Commerce	19	5	323	20	367
Revenue and Agriculture	21		169	40	230
Legislative (iii)	13	1	22	10	46
Public Works	11		24	7	42
Railway (Railway Board)	18	2	51	6	77
Army	255		246 (iv)	44	545
Industries (v)	6		146	56	208
Financial Adviser, Military Finance.	2		54	3	59
Total	449	17	1,234	261	1,961

(i) Including 10 provisionally permanent men in the Home Department and also the Government Examiner of Questioned Documents in the Office of the Director, Intelligence Bureau.

(ii) Excluding the offices of the Comptroller and Auditor General and of the Controller of Currency which are not at present recruited for through the Staff Selection Board.

(iii) In addition to the assistants and clerks shown above there are three Muhammadan translators out of four in the Translation Branch.

(iv) All Indians other than Muhammadans.

(v) Excluding staff which is at present temporary but is likely to be made permanent, as permanent arrangements have not yet been made. Also excludes Mines Department, Office of the Controller of Printing, Stationery and Stamps and the Government Central Press, Calcutta, complete information regarding which has not been furnished.

Mr. H. Sharp: I lay on the table the information promised in reply to a question by Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan on the 8th March 1921, regarding the student population of British India in Government and Government aided colleges and schools, the number of students of these institutions who have withdrawn and the number of students who have returned to their colleges and schools.

Statement giving the information promised in reply to a question by Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan on the 8th March 1921, regarding the student population of British India in Government and Government aided colleges and schools, the number of students of these institutions who have withdrawn and the number of students who have returned to their colleges and schools.

Presidency or Province.	Institutions.	Student population of institutions mentioned in column 2.	NUMBER OF SCHOLARS.	
			With-drawn.	Returned.
1	2	3	4	5
Madras	Government and Government aided colleges and secondary schools.	171,111	820 (Till 4-3-21.)	No accurate figures available, but it is anticipated that large numbers will return shortly.
Bombay	Information not yet received.			
Bengal	Ditto.			
United Provinces . .	Government and State aided colleges and schools.	40,171	2,626	789
Punjab	Government and Government aided colleges and schools.	1,11,078	1,309	481
Burma	Ditto	36,875*	18,031†	747‡
Bihar and Orissa . .	Government and Government aided colleges and high schools.	23,190	1,826§	Information not available. Many withdrawals are only temporary, and general tendency is to return.
Central Provinces . .	Government and aided colleges, secondary schools and special schools.	71,759	1,824	454
Assam	Government and Government aided colleges and high schools.	12,186 (In January 1921.)	1,139||	356||
North-West Frontier Province.	Arts colleges, training institutions and public schools.	41,842¶	Nil	
Coorg	Government and aided schools.	7,564	Nil	...
Delhi	Government aided colleges and schools.	10,398	345	47
Administered Areas . .	Government and Government aided colleges and schools.**	27,546	236	28

* Exclusive of figures for European and vernacular schools as they are not affected by the strike.

† Of this number 497 were genuine strikers and the remainder waverers or intimidated.

‡ Of this number 115 were waverers.

§ Number of students who have withdrawn and have not returned. Information regarding temporary withdrawals not available. Nor regarding Government and Government aided middle schools.

|| Approximately. Government and Government aided primary and middle schools are with one or two exceptions entirely unaffected.

¶ Save for temporary suspension of work in two instances there have been no strikes.

** European schools are unaffected.

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: I lay on the table the information promised in reply to a question by Mr. K. G. Bagde on the 21st March 1921, regarding the additional expenditure involved consequent on the revision of the pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ.

The approximate additional expenditure involved by the recent revision of the pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ is as follows:

	Rs.
(a) Annual additional expenditure	9,98,047
(b) Additional expenditure for period 1st January 1920 to the 31st March 1921	9,20,456

The figures are for the whole of India, and (b) is less than (a), probably because of the depletion of the officers of the service in civil employ.

The Honourable the President: Before calling the first on the list of questions, I wish to put to the Assembly a point which I think it is necessary to settle before we embark on the business of this sitting. If we go through questions individually to-day, we shall spend the full hour allotted to them under the rules. That hour, I imagine, the Assembly would probably think more usefully spent if we could begin immediately on what is to be the main business of the sitting, namely, the Resolutions arising out of the Committee on the Esher Report. Unless there is any strong feeling in the Assembly against it, therefore, I propose to ask Members of Government answering questions to lay the answers on the table formally to be printed in the report of the proceedings. I am prepared to hear any argument to the contrary which any Member cares to advance.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Do I understand that we are going to discuss the Esher Committee's Report now?

The Honourable the President: The question of the Report has not yet come up. I have simply suggested to the Assembly that for the purpose of expediting business it is desirable to take Questions and Answers as read, the Government Members depositing the answers on the table,—unless there are questions of great urgency which a Member of the Government might think it desirable to answer publicly here, seeing this is the last session of the Assembly.

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Saprú: Sir, on behalf of the Government I shall ask you to let me read the answer to one question which is of great political importance. May I read that, Sir? Question No. 680. I take it that the question has been put, Sir, and I am answering it.

680. **Mr. Syed Nabi Hadi:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a statement published from the *Aman Afghan* in the *Zemindar* of Lahore, dated 25th February 1921, page 2, column 2, under the heading of *Sarazmin Braq men ek Alam bardar Horriat ka Intiqal*?

(b) How far is the news of the bombardment of Najaf-i-Ashraf true?

(c) What was the cause of the death of Syed Hujjat-ul-Islam Hazrat Shariat Ispahani?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to give a full and accurate statement about these facts mentioned in the said newspapers?

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru (on behalf of the Honourable Mr. Denys Bray) : (a) Yes.

(b) There has been no bombardment of Najaf-i-Ashraf.

(c) Hazrat Shariat Ispahani died of extreme old age after a long illness.

(d) The lying rumours that Najaf has been bombarded have presumably arisen out of the fact that a fine of three thousand rifles was imposed on the inhabitants of Najaf in connection with the disturbances in Mesopotamia last year. A time-limit was fixed for the surrender of these rifles, and expired on the 20th November. As a demonstration, designed to secure the early surrender of the rifles, a composite force of British and Sikh infantry and Muhammadan cavalry marched round the outskirts of the town, whereupon all troops were withdrawn, except two companies of British infantry who were posted in a Khan near the main gate for two days, while Sikh guards were posted at the four gates of the outer walls for ten days. The town itself was placed absolutely out of bounds to all troops and not even British officers were allowed to enter it. There was no bombardment whatever; not a single shot was fired, and the only damage done was the demolition, on the 20th November, of the houses of three prominent insurgent leaders who had fled. These measures had the desired effect. At the instance of the Government of India the High Commissioner of Mesopotamia has extended a welcome to a deputation of Shias from India and will afford them all facilities to ascertain the facts for themselves on the spot, and so help in dispelling the lying rumours that have been spread abroad with such wanton wickedness.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS*.

INCONVENIENCE IN SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY.

604. **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur** : (a) Is the Government aware :

(i) that the South Indian Railway is a very irregular railway and that their trains are almost always late causing so great inconvenience to the travelling public that 'South Indian Railway' is generally interpreted as 'slow irregular railway'?

(ii) that in the South Indian Railway very often separate compartments for females are not reserved and hence female passengers are put to great inconvenience?

(b) If so, do the Government propose to take steps to set right the defects enumerated in (i) and (ii).

Colonel W. D. Waghorn : I cannot admit the accuracy of the Honourable Member's suggestion in the first part of his question, and I would remind him that the South Indian and other railways have not yet recovered from the effects of the war period.

With regard to the second part of his question, the South Indian Railway provides separate accommodation for ladies in the first and second classes on all trains advertised to carry first and second class passengers, provided that 24 hours' notice is given to the Station Master of the station from which the train starts. I hope that all the railways will be able to give better accommodation when we receive new additional rolling stock for our railways.

* Questions were taken as put, and answers as read and laid on the Table.

MANGALORE MAIL TRAIN.

605. **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** (a) Is the Government aware that the Mangalore Mail running to and from Madras has discontinued stopping at Kanhangod, an important station containing Deputy Tahsildar's office, Sub-jail and many other public offices, and consequently much inconvenience is caused to the public and repeated representations from the people and officers concerned had no effect?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, do the Government propose to issue instructions to the authorities concerned to stop the train at Kanhangod again?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn: The Up and Down Mangalore Mails ceased stopping at Kanhangod in June 1920, owing to the small traffic offering and stops were made instead at Manjeshwar at the request of local authorities. In December 1920, the Kanhangod stop was restored in the case of the Up Mail for the convenience of long distance passengers, but the Down Mail has continued to run through. This matter will, however, be brought to the notice of the Agent.

DINING CARS IN THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY.

606. **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** Do the Government propose to direct that dining-car and intermediate class accommodation be provided in the South Indian Railway?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn: The Honourable Member is referred to the replies given to Mr. M. Krishnaswamy Reddiyar on the 2nd March 1921, regarding restaurant cars and to Rai Bahadur Pandit Jawahar Lal Bhargava on the 14th March 1921, regarding intermediate class accommodation on railways.

INCOME-TAX ASSESSEES.

607. **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) the number of income-tax assesses assessed last year on the minimum assessable income of Rs. 2,000?

(b) the number of the assesses who were assessed on an income of Rs. 1,000 and above up to Rs. 2,000 and on Rs. 2,000, respectively, for the last year of the period when the assessable minimum income was Rs. 1,000? and

(c) the number of those who were assessed on an income of Rs. 500 and upwards up to Rs. 1,000 and on Rs. 1,000, respectively, for the last year of the period when the assessable minimum income was only Rs. 500 in the districts of South Kanara, Malabar and the Nilgiris, respectively?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: The Madras Government is being asked if the information is available and if it is, it will be sent to the Honourable Member.

LICENCES UNDER NEW ARMS RULES.

608. **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement in the following form showing the

number of licences issued in 1920 to Indians and Europeans under the new Arms Rules and subsequent exemptions granted and consequent refunds of fees under the new rules :

Number of Licence.	Revolvers.		Other breech-loading guns.		Revolvers.		Other breech-loading guns.	
	Number	Licence fee paid.	Number	Licence fee paid.	Exemption after licence.	Licence fee re-funded.	Exemption after licence.	Licence fee re-funded.
								For Indians. For Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : The Government of India are not in possession of the information asked for by the Honourable Member, and they doubt whether Local Governments would be able to supply it at present, as the annual reports of the administration of the Arms Act have probably not yet been received. The information is, however, being collected from Local Governments and Administrations and will be given to the Honourable Member when available.

POLICY OF REPRESSION BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

609. **Mr. B. H. Jatkari :** (a) Is the Government of India aware that a policy of repression has recently been undertaken by the various Local Governments, resulting in a series of prosecutions under the preventive and substantive provisions of the Criminal Law ?

(b) Is the said policy of repression followed by the Local Governments on their own initiative or under instructions from the Government of India ?

(c) In the latter case, will the correspondence in this connection be laid on the table ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : I would refer the Honourable Member to the debate which took place on the 23rd in this Assembly.

REPRESSION AGAINST TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

610. **Mr. B. H. Jatkari :** (a) Is the Government of India aware that there is repression in the Central Provinces and Berar and that this repression is due to Abkari sales and is directed against the Temperance movement ?

(b) Is the Government of India aware that in spite of its avowed intention to reduce the drink evil, it is taking firm root, and is tolerated and even encouraged by the Local Governments for the purposes of their revenues ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : The answer to both parts of the question is in the negative.

DRINK EVIL IN INDIA.

611. **Mr. B. H. Jatkari**: (a) Will the Government of India once for all, lay down its definite policy regarding the total abolition of the drink evil in India?

(b) Are the Government prepared to undertake all India legislation in the near future to stop this evil?

Mr. C. A. Innes: Excise is now a provincial and a transferred subject in most of the Provinces in India, and the Local Governments and the local legislatures are competent to deal with all questions arising out of the administration of this subject and also to undertake legislation in connection therewith. The powers of superintendence, direction and control by Governor General in Council over transferred subjects are strictly limited by Rule 49 of the 'Devolution Rules, and the Government of India cannot initiate any legislation on these subjects nor do they propose to interfere with the discretion vested in the Local Governments by law.

BULLETINS OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

612. **Mr. A. B. Latthe**: (a) Do the Government of India propose to publish their Bulletins of Indian Industries and Labour in the principal vernaculars of India so as to enable the commercial and labouring classes in the country, who are deficient in their knowledge of the English language, to avail themselves of the Government's efforts in their interest?

(b) If the Government of India consider this impracticable or inexpedient, are they prepared to advise the Local Governments to consider the question in respect of each province?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: The Government of India have already brought to the notice of Local Governments a suggestion that important articles in the Journal of Indian Industries and Labour should be translated and published by Local Governments for the benefit of that section of the public which is literate only in one or more Indian languages. As regards the Bulletins of Indian Industries and Labour, the Government of India are not in a position to publish them in the principal vernaculars, but it is open to any Local Government to issue translations of any or all the Bulletins. A copy of the Honourable Member's question and this reply will be forwarded to Local Governments for their information.

INDIAN TRADE AGENTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

613. **Mr. A. B. Latthe**: Has the Government decided to appoint Indian trade agents in the countries with which India has trade relations? If so, is it proposed to appoint Indians in preference to non-Indians, to those posts?

Mr. C. A. Innes: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me in this Assembly on the 17th February to a similar question asked by Mr. Manmohandas Ramji.

CUTLERY FROM INDIAN STEEL.

614. **Mr. A. B. Latthe**: (a) Is it a fact that the Honourable Sir Thomas Holland, as President of the last Conference of Directors of Industries,

suggested that 'we might get a European firm to settle in India and manufacture in this country' cutlery from Indian steel?

(b) Do the Government propose to see that before any European firm is invited to undertake any industrial manufacture in India, every care will be taken to find out if Indian Industrialists are available for the purpose?

(c) Are the Government prepared, in this connection, to obtain the advice of the Legislative Assembly, or the Indian Ministers in the Provinces before any concession or facility to start any industry in India is given or offered to any foreign non-Indian firm?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland : (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The Honourable Member is doubtless aware that the development of industries is a provincial transferred subject. It therefore rests entirely with Ministers to decide what steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of any industry in India. I may, however, point out to the Honourable Member that the words of mine which he has quoted when extracted from their context give an erroneous impression of their meaning. The subject of the discussion in question was the various steps that should be taken to improve the indigenous cutlery industry. I made the suggestion to the Conference that in order to develop the Indian industry, three courses were possible :

(1) We might get a European firm to settle in India and manufacture in this country ; or

(2) We might get information with regard to the cost of up-to-date plant, and, if so advised, start a pioneer factory in India ; or

(3) We might import a master cutler and employ him in helping persons carrying on the industry in its present form.

I did not express an opinion as to which of those three courses was preferable in the case of this industry and the suggestion made in the question is thus misleading. Obviously one of the ways, and sometimes the only way in which to establish a new industry in India is to get an experienced firm from a country where the industry has already reached a high state of perfection to settle here, and if special facilities are required, the policy of the Government of India has been to insist on local registration, rupee capital and the representation of Indian interests on the Board. Ministers are of course at liberty to impose any conditions they like when special concessions are demanded.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT AND PROGRAMME REVENUE ACCOUNT.

615. **Mr. A. B. Latthe :** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what amounts were spent in each year since 1913-14 (including that year) on (1) Renewals of Permanent-way, and (2) Renewals of locomotives and rolling stock from Capital Account and Programme Revenue Account, respectively?

(b) Will the Government also state the principles on which the Renewals charged to Revenue and the Renewals charged to Capital are distinguished from one another?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn : (a) It is not possible from the recorded accounts to separate the figures for renewals of permanent way and rolling stock in the way asked.

(b) The principle followed in such matters is that renewals containing no element of improvement are charged to revenue. In the case of renewals involving improvements, capital is charged to the extent of the betterment involved and the balance is charged to revenue.

HOSTILE FOREIGNERS INTERNED IN INDIA.

616. **Mr. K. G. Bagde:** (a) What was the total number of hostile foreigners with their respective nationalities interned in India since the commencement of the war to the end of the year 1920?

(b) At what places were such hostile foreigners kept and what was their number at each place?

(c) How many hostile foreigners (if any) are interned at present, and at what places?

(d) What is the total amount of expenditure incurred for all hostile foreigners interned in India since the beginning of the war, to the end of the year 1920?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be supplied to him when obtained.

PANCHAYAT SYSTEM IN INDIA.

617. **Babu A. P. Sinha:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether it has given effect to the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralization in India about the introduction of the Panchayat System contained in Volume I, paragraphs 699, 701, 705, 706, 708, 710, 711, 712, 716, 717, 718 and 720; and with what results?

Mr. H. Sharp: The Honourable Member is referred to paragraphs 37—39 and 20—24, respectively, of the Resolutions of the Government of India on Local Self-Government, dated the 28th April 1915 and 16th May 1918. Separate Acts have been passed by the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces and Central Provinces for the introduction of the Panchayat system. The Government of Assam have inserted provisions in the Assam Local Self-Government Act, 1915, for the constitution of village panchayats. The Government of India are not in a position to gauge the results of the legislation which has been passed and it is suggested that the Acts alluded to have not been in operation for a sufficient time to permit of a judgment being formed. As the Honourable Member is aware, Local Self-Government is now a provincial transferred subject.

BILL FOR PROTECTING CATTLE IN INDIA.

618. **Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai:** Will Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the Bill for protecting cattle in India of which notice for introduction was given by him in February last, together with the correspondence which he had with the Government on the subject?

Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala: The Cattle Protection Bill with Objects and Reasons as well as copies of the following correspondence on the subject is laid on the table:

1. My letter to the Secretary, Legislative Assembly, dated 16th February 1921.

2. Reply by the Secretary, Legislative Assembly, dated 18th February 1921.
3. Letter from the Secretary, Legislative Assembly, dated 24th February 1921.
4. My letter to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 27th February 1921.
5. My letter to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 28th February 1921.
6. My letter dated 1st March 1921.
7. Letter from the Secretary, Legislative Assembly, dated 7th March 1921.
8. My letter dated 12th March 1921.
9. My letter dated 23rd March 1921, supported by a large number of Honourable Members of the Legislative Assembly.

I also lay on the table copy of a memorial dated 25th February 1921 to His Excellency the Viceroy by the All-India Cow Conference Association, Calcutta, as it has a strong bearing on the subject referred to in the question :

A Bill to provide for the protection of milch and agricultural cattle.

WHEREAS it is expedient to prevent the indiscriminate destruction of milch and agricultural cattle in India. It is hereby enacted as follows :

1. This Act may be called 'The Cattle Protection Act, 1921' and it shall come into force at once.

Interpretation clause.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the context—

Milch cattle means and includes cows and buffaloes which are capable of calving and bulls which are fit for breeding purposes. It also includes their young ones.

Agricultural cattle means and includes such cattle as are generally used in India for purposes of agriculture and includes their young ones.

3. It shall be unlawful to :

- (a) slaughter, kill or otherwise destroy any milch or agricultural cattle for purposes of food, bones or hide,
- (b) directly or indirectly destroy or abandon the young one of any such animal with the intention and knowledge and under the circumstances that the said young one would not live if so abandoned or wilfully neglect any such young one,
- (c) export any such animal out of India except for cross-breeding purposes under special licence,
- (d) engraft or substitute any portion of one animal over another or otherwise maim or disfigure any such animal except for medicinal purpose,
- (e) milch any cattle by any artificial means which is likely to injure the health, strength or future milching possibility of such animals,

(f) or do any other act which has the effect directly or indirectly of materially damaging the animal in health, usefulness, normal life and normal breeding and milching.

The certificate of a qualified medical man as to any of the matters contained in this Act shall be conclusive proof of the matters certified.

Export licences may be granted under this Act on condition that the exporter will import into India within a given time a certain number of cattle which shall not be less than and not less useful than the cattle exported.

Any person found guilty of any offence under this Act or abetment thereof shall, on first conviction, be fined rupees one hundred for each head of cattle in respect of which the offence is committed and on subsequent convictions to imprisonment of either description which may extend to 3 months in addition to the said fine.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The principles underlying the Bill are given below. India is a country which greatly depends on agriculture. It is necessary to have ample supply of bullocks for purposes of irrigation and ploughing at reasonable rates. The price of bullocks has gone up very much during the past few years and large tracts of land remain uncultivated for want of agriculture cattle. Engine ploughs do not suit Indian conditions.

The Indian population depends to a great deal upon milk and ghee both of which have become dear. Infant mortality in India is daily increasing and I think it is due to low vitality for want of sufficient supply of pure milk.

It is therefore necessary to check indiscriminate slaughter of useful cattle in the country.

In some places, I am told, young ones of milch cattle are destroyed just at the time of birth, to economise milk which may otherwise be required to bring them up. This is a loss to the country and must be prevented.

Further, I am told, that in some parts of the country, especially in Calcutta, there is a system of milching called *Phuka* which brings out milk under very painful circumstances and injures the animal to a great extent particularly as to their future possibilities of breeding and milching.

Certain people transplant some limb of one animal over another for purposes of exhibition and rob the world in the name of Hindu religion. They pretend that the said animal was born like that and deserves special consideration and respect from a Hindu point of view. As a matter of fact, such artificial operations on animals are a sin and Hindus who have come to know of this feel very strongly about it and want the practice to be stopped.

I am encouraged in introducing this Bill on economic grounds alone and I do so with great pleasure and when the Bill is passed into law, I will consider it a proudest day of my life. I am sure that I am truly voicing forth the feelings of Indians in introducing this Bill.

DELHI;

The 16th February 1921.

GIRDHARILAL AGARWALA.

Letter from Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., to the Honourable Mr. H. Moncrieff Smith, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary of the Legislative Assembly, dated Delhi, the 16th February 1921.

If my name comes out in the ballot, I shall beg leave to introduce the Bill regarding protection of cattle at the earliest possible opportunity.

From the Honourable Mr. H. Moncrieff Smith, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary of the Legislative Assembly, to Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., No. 1109-A. C., dated the 18th February 1921.

With reference to your letter dated the 16th instant, intimating your intention to move for leave to introduce your Bill regarding the protection of cattle at the earliest possible opportunity, I am directed to invite your attention to Rule 19 (4) of the Indian Legislative Rules (See paragraph 64 of the Manual of Business and Procedure) under which one month's notice of a motion for leave to introduce a Bill is required, and to point out that under the rule no motion for leave to introduce your Bill can be made until after the expiry of one month, i.e., not before the 15th March. In these circumstances it will be necessary for you to take a number in the next ballot.

From the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly, to Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., No. 1215-A.C., dated Delhi, the 24th February 1921.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th instant and enclosures, notifying your intention to move for leave to introduce in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to provide for protection of milch and agricultural cattle.

2. I am to invite your attention to section 67(2)(b) of the Government of India Act and to point out that your Bill requires the previous sanction of the Governor General. I am accordingly to request you to apply for and obtain the previous sanction of the Governor General to the introduction of the Bill as Rule 19 (2) of the Indian Legislative Rules requires that a copy of such sanction shall be annexed to the notice sent by you.

From Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, dated Delhi, the 27th February 1921.

I desire to have an interview with His Excellency at an early date when it can be suitably arranged.

I have, on 16th February, given notice to the Secretary, Legislative Assembly, of my intention for leave to introduce the Cattle Protection Bill. The Secretary, Legislative Assembly, informs me that under section 67(2)(b) of the Government of India Act, the leave of the Governor General is required before the Bill can be introduced. I therefore request you to get my proposed Bill with Objects and Reasons beforehand from the Legislative Department and lay the same before His Excellency for the necessary sanction if the same be at all deemed necessary, as I maintain, that such sanction is not required inasmuch as the proposed Bill does not affect the religion of

the Muhammadans. It aims at indiscriminate destruction of useful cattle for food, bones and hide. My proposed Bill is in accordance with the policy of the Government declared in answer to Honourable Mr. Khaparde's question No. 18 (Gazette of India, Oct. 2, pages 1201-2). I hope, the passing of this Bill will greatly popularise the Government of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford at the eve of his departure. The matter is very important and urgent and I hope His Excellency will kindly see his way to accord the necessary sanction and allow the matter to be put up just when the period of notice expires. I wish the Bill to be passed into law and sanctioned by Lord Chelmsford himself.

This is the only matter which I want to discuss with His Excellency. But if His Excellency has already seen the papers and can grant my request without interview, I can pay my respects to His Excellency later on.

I shall feel obliged if you will lay this matter before His Excellency as soon as possible.

From Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor General, dated Delhi, the 28th February 1921.

I pray that His Excellency the Governor General may be pleased, under Rule 18, section 63, printed at page 22 of the Manual of Business and Procedure in the Legislative Assembly, to order the publication of my Bill to provide for Protection of Cattle together with the Statement of its Objects and Reasons, copy of which I have sent to the Secretary with the usual notice on 16th February 1921, in the Gazette, to save time, so that it may be possible to pass the Bill in both Chambers during the régime of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford.

I also pray for sanction of His Excellency the Governor General in accordance with section 67 (2) (b) of the Government of India Act, to comply with the provisions of Rule 19 (2) of the Indian Legislative Rules as the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly has asked me to obtain the same so that a copy of such sanction may be annexed to my notice. Personally I think, that no such sanction is needed as the proposed Bill does not affect any religion. In any case, there is no harm in obtaining the sanction and approval of His Excellency but all good will come out of it.

Most humbly and respectfully, I beseech His Excellency the Governor General to be pleased to treat this measure with special consideration and be further pleased to pass favourable order to enable the Bill to be passed soon.

I am anxious to pay my respects to His Excellency whenever His Excellency may be able to spare time.

Hoping to be excused.

From Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., to the Secretary, of the Legislative Assembly, dated Delhi, the 1st March 1921.

In order to remove your objection, I am willing to add a provision to my Cattle Protection Bill as follows:

‘Nothing is an offence under this Act, which is done for a religious purpose.’

From the Honourable Mr. H. Moncrieff Smith, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary of the Legislative Assembly, to Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., No. 1454-A.C., dated the 7th March 1921.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 28th February, addressed to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject of your Cattle Protection Bill and your subsequent letter dated the 1st March in which you state that you are willing to add a provision in the Bill in the following terms :

' Nothing is an offence under this Act which is done for a religious purpose.'

2. In reply, I am to state that as the proposed new clause involves a change of substance in the Bill it will be necessary for you to withdraw your original Bill and give notice of the new Bill. In the circumstances, I am to request that I may be informed whether you wish the Government of India to consider your original Bill and the requests made in the letter dated the 28th February or whether it is your intention to give notice of a new Bill with the insertion of the clause proposed by you.

Letter from Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., to the Honourable Mr. H. Moncrieff Smith, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary of the Legislative Assembly, dated the 12th March 1921.

In reply to your letter No. 1454-A.C., dated 7th March 1921, re my Cattle Protection Bill, I request the Government of India to consider my original Bill, notice of which will expire on 16th instant. I request, in deference to the ruling of the Honourable the Law Member, that permission may be granted to me to introduce the same. If such permission is refused, it will be open to me to give notice of an amended Bill.

I request you to kindly treat this as urgent.

Letter from Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M.L.A., dated the 3rd March 1921.

I pray that His Excellency the Governor General be pleased to grant me leave to move for introduction of my Cattle Protection Bill under section 67 (b) of the Government of India Act, and I might be permitted to move for its introduction on any day in this session of the Legislative Assembly, or in the alternative, publication of the Bill in the Gazette be ordered under section 63 of the Legislative Assembly Manual.

Support introduction of the Bill-- [(Sd.) B. Venkatapatiraju, P. V. Srinivasa Rao, M. K. Reddiyar, Bala Ujagar Singh Bedi, K. G. Bagde, A. B. Latthe, K. C. Neogy, P. Lal, P. L. Misra, B. H. Jatkar, Mahadeo Prasad, Man Singh, Radha Kishan Das, Nand Lal, B. P. Singh, J. L. Bhargava, N. C. Sircar, Jannadas Dwarkadas, T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar, G. C. Nag, T. P. Mukherjee, J. N. Majumdar, J. N. Mukherjee, B. S. Das, Gajjan Singh, Gulab Singh, S. C. Sen, Syed Nabi Hadi.]

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FREDERICK JOHN NAPIER THESIGER BARON CHELMSFORD, P.C., G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.B.E., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

The humble memorial of the President, Vice-Presidents and Members of the All-India Cow Conference Association, Calcutta,

MOST RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH :

1. That India is pre-eminently an agricultural country in which about three-fourths of the population depend for their living upon agriculture (Appendix A), but the cattle of the country which form the life and soul of agriculture, are deficient both in number and in quality.

2. That the number of cattle in the country is inadequate, as is evident from a comparison of the proportion of cattle to population in India with that in other agricultural countries of the world : thus while the number of cattle per 100 of population in India is only 59, it is 74 in Denmark, 79 in the United States of America, 80 in Canada, 120 in Cape Colony, 150 in New Zealand, 259 in Australia, 323 in the Argentine Republic and 500 in Uruguay (*vide* Appendix B). And in this connection Your Excellency's memorialists beg to point out that the recent communiqué issued by the Director of Informations, Bengal, is misleading, as it deals only with the number of cattle of India and other countries and does not take into account the proportion of cattle either to the population or to the acreage under cultivation.

3. That the number of bulls and bullocks is not sufficient to bring properly under cultivation the arable land of the country. The maximum area which a pair of Indian plough-cattle can till during a season is 5 acres ; the cultivated area in British India is about 228 million acres, and the total number of plough-cattle is about 49 millions (Appendix C) ; deducting 25 per cent. for draught and other like purposes, and 25 per cent. as old, infirm, sick and immature, there remain only about 24 millions of cattle available for cultivating about 228 million acres, that is to say, a pair of cattle has to till about 19 acres, whereas this would require in the ordinary course 4 pairs of cattle. This in a large measure accounts for the poor outturn of crops in India as compared with that of other countries (*vide* Appendix D).

4. That the number of milch-cattle is also scarcely enough to supply one-eighth of the present population of India with a fair quantity of milk ; taking the average yield of milk of the Indian cow to be 2 pints per head per day for 7 months, the milk that is produced by 50 millions of milch-cattle per day for the 254 million people comes to about 60 million pints per day, that is to say, each individual gets less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pint whereas the need per individual is reckoned at 2 pints a day (*vide* Appendix C).

5. That the quality of all kinds of cattle has very much deteriorated and is still deteriorating ; Indian milch-cattle in Akbar's time (as described in the *Din-i-Akhari*) 'used to give 20 quarts of milk a day and draught-cattle could walk faster than horses.' Only 25 years ago, as older inhabitants of India

can testify, country cows used to give about 5 seers of milk per head per day on an average, while they now give only 1 seer; bullocks also could do about double the work that they do now.

6. That this unsatisfactory state of things both as regards the number and quality of cattle has led to an abnormal rise in the price of cattle, crops, milk and milk-products on the one hand, and on the other to the poor physique of many of the population, prevalence of disease and an abnormal death-rate among the people, especially amongst women and children.

7. That the rise in the price of milk and milk-products has been out of all proportions to the current tendency to an all-round rise in the price of commodities; for while in the course of the last 60 years the price of food-grains has risen 5 to 7 times, that of milk has risen more than 40 times (Appendix E), further while the price of most other commodities in England and in the United States of America is double and sometimes even 4 times that of the same in India, milk sells there at the same price as here and sometimes at a cheaper rate. In addition, there has been an abnormal rise in the price of cattle as well. In Akbar's time 'cows giving 20 quarts of milk a day used to sell at Rs. 10', fifteen to twenty years ago such cows could be had for about Rs. 150 whereas they are hardly available now for Rs. 400; and similar has been the rise in the price of bulls and bullocks as well.

8. That the mortality amongst infants in India is appalling, being nearly double that of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Japan, about 3 times that of Norway, and Sweden, about 5 times that of Holland and the United States of America, and nearly 9 times that of New Zealand (Appendix F). Of the 26 per cent. of deaths of infants under one year which take place in India, most are from preventible causes, especially from malnutrition, and it is evident that by 'cheapening the price of milk so as to bring it within the reach of the poorer classes more would be effected', as Colonel Mactaggart, Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces, points out 'towards reducing infantile mortality than the presence of any number of trained *dhais* would accomplish'. There can be little doubt that the want of a pure and abundant supply of milk is the primary cause of the heavy infant mortality prevalent in India.

9. That the death-rate amongst Indians is on the whole very much higher than that of any other civilised country, but that of females between the ages of 15 and 30, that is to say, during their child-bearing period, is still higher (Appendix G)—appreciably higher than the death-rate of men in the corresponding ages, and this is doubtless due mainly to the want of nourishing foods, such as milk and ghee, which they most require at this period of their life.

10. That the Indians are practically vegetarians, the quantity of fish and flesh consumed by them being considerably small, and milk and milk-products, therefore, form their chief sources of nutrition. The growing shortage in the supply of milk and the consequent abnormal rise in its price and other concomitant evils have helped to undermine the health of the people. Not only has the death-rate increased to a great extent, but there has been also a growing prevalence of such wasting diseases as tuberculosis and the like among the people; for instance, the statistics published by the Government of India shows that the number of reported tubercular cases among human beings in 1902 was only 38,435, while by the year 1919 the number had risen to 1,00,192, thus indicating an increase of about 200 per cent. (*vide* Appendix H).

11. That the above outline of facts and figures necessitate an early inquiry into the whole question of the cattle and milk-supply in India with a view to place them on an improved and satisfactory basis.

12. That during the last year and the year before last the All-India Cow Conference Association have been seeking information from District Boards, Municipalities and Agricultural Associations throughout India as to the number and state of cattle, pasturage and milk-supply. As a result of these inquiries and from a perusal of the published reports on the subject in official and non-official publications the following facts have been gathered, viz :

(a) A lack of pasture and of fodder: the pasture-lands are already inadequate, and they are being yearly encroached upon; and the growing of fodder-crops is also inadequate.

(b) A lack of good bulls for breeding purposes in the country; the diversion of Brahmini bulls to other purposes encouraged by judicial decisions of some of the Indian High Courts; and the general indifference of the well-to-do classes towards cattle-keeping and breeding.

(c) The indiscriminate slaughter of milch-cows and other cattle for the purposes of food, the meat-trade and the trade in hides, and the uncontrolled export of the best breeds of cattle out of India as also from one Province to another.

(d) The want of proper treatment of cattle in disease or in health and the heavy mortality from outbreaks of infectious diseases, chiefly rinderpest, and the gross neglect of cattle-owners and such cruel practices as *phooka*, etc. resulting especially in the high death-rate among calves and the sterility of prime cows.

13. That in a country like India where many people have difficulty in getting a sufficiency of food, the practice of leaving a certain proportion of open lands for pasturage was very beneficial; and this practice has been in vogue from the time of Manu and Yajnavalkya who advocated the laying aside of a tenth part of each village for the purpose. Unfortunately with the lapse of time the Zamindar as well as the ryot have slowly encroached upon these useful areas until at the present day one finds that in India the proportion of grazing grounds to the total area is the smallest of all countries (Appendix I). In the United States of America, the proportion is 1 to 16, in Germany and Japan it is 1 to 6, in England, in the United Kingdom and in New Zealand, it is 1 to 3, while in India, it is 1 to 27. Again, if we consider the average quantity of grazing land that is available for each head of cattle, we find that in the United States, the average is about 13 acres per head of cattle as against 1.3 acres in Bombay and 1.7 acre in Bengal. It is hardly necessary to point out then, that the pasturage in India is extremely inadequate and this has led in no small degree to the deterioration of Indian cattle. The official and non-official accounts both go to show that wherever there is good pasturage the breeds of cattle have much improved, whereas a deficiency in pasture is invariably followed by a marked inferiority in the number and quality of cattle. About 70 per cent. of the replies to the queries sent out by the All-India Cow Conference Association and almost all the district Gazetteers and Provincial Cattle Census reports complain of the inadequacy of pasturage and of the growing

tendency to encroach upon it. Although there is some divergence of opinion as to the necessity of reclaiming pasture-lands already converted into agricultural holdings, there appears to be complete unanimity on the question of retaining the existing grazing-lands as such and preventing further encroachment on the same by legislation, if necessary.

14. That if it be advanced that economic causes have led to the conversion of pasture grounds into cultivated areas and that this process should not be interfered with, because it is one that serves a more useful purpose of raising crops for human consumption, the argument is refuted by a perusal of Appendix J which goes to show that an increase in the area under cultivation generally leads to a diminution in the rate of outturn of crops, and this is due to the fact as stated in paragraph 3, that the plough-cattle ordinarily available are insufficient for the area already under cultivation, become more so if the area be extended, with the result that the increase in cultivated lands instead of yielding an increased outturn, shows an appreciable diminution. To obtain then an increase in the outturn would depend not on increasing the area under cultivation such as by the encroachment on pasturelands but by the adoption of intensive methods of cultivation such as are employed in most civilised countries. In fact the tendency in high congested countries like Great Britain, where the price of land is very high, 'is gradually to throw more and more cultivated land into pasture,' whereas in India where land is cheap, the very opposite tendency is manifested. It may bring some immediate gain, but it proves a severe loss in the end, for as the available figures show (Appendix J), not only with the increase in the cultivated area, the rate of outturn of crops falls off, but it appreciably undermines the health of the cattle and permanently impairs their breed. In view of all the above, it would appear that Government interference is needed to check further encroachment upon grazing grounds and to provide for the gradual reclamation of pasture lands by authorising Municipalities, District Boards and other such bodies to spend a portion of their funds for this and other cognate purposes, and further by the acquisition and proper maintenance of grazing lands by Provincial Governments where necessary.

15. That the position as regards fodder crops in India appears to be even worse than that as regards pasturage. The total area of British India is 617 million acres, the total cropped area is 261 million acres and the area under fodder crops is 6.4 million acres. In other words, fodder crops occupy very little over one per cent. of the country and support 22 head of cattle to the acre. In the United States of America, fodder crops are grown on 3.5 per cent. of the total area and give an average of 1.16 acres per head of cattle (Appendix K). The cultivation of fodder crops is thus very scanty and as such it should be encouraged by arranging the supply of seeds of fodder crops at a nominal charge through the Government Agricultural Departments, Municipalities and District Boards, by an abatement of revenue with respect to lands where fodder crops are cultivated, and by arranging for successful experiments in fodder growing in the Model Agricultural Farms with a view to induce cattle-owners and cultivators to grow more fodder crops.

16. That the breed of Indian cows, as has been already submitted, is on the whole deteriorating, with the result that the average daily yield of milk per cow in India is at present only one quart or 2 lbs., while the daily yield of milk per cow is 20 lbs. in England and Denmark, and 10.2 lbs. in

the United States of America (*vide* Appendix L). The want of good breeding bulls and the apathy and negligence of public bodies as well as of private individuals toward cattle-breeding are directly responsible for the present inferiority of Indian breeds of cattle. Breeders, who according to the last census form only 2 out of every 1,000 of the population, consist mainly of certain aboriginal tribes and of ignorant and poverty-stricken cultivators, and as such little improvement can be expected of them. The statistical returns published by the Government of India show, that out of the 147 millions of cattle that we have in India,—and milch-cattle form about half of this number—we have only 75 Government bulls and 973 District Board bulls and 6 Cattle Farms with which to carry on breeding operations on improved lines. The proportion is ridiculously small and their number should be very largely multiplied to produce any appreciable effect on the country. Every District Board should have a Model Breeding Stud, and every Municipality and Village Union should be made to keep an adequate number of high class breeding bulls which could be utilised by the people free or on payment of a nominal charge.

17. That formerly Brahmini bulls or bulls dedicated by the Hindus during the funeral ceremonies of their relatives were permitted to roam at large and served the purpose of good breeding bulls, but their number is steadily on the decline, mainly as the result of certain High Court judgments (*vide* Indian Law Reports—Calcutta Series, Volume 17, page 852; Allahabad, Volume 8, page 51, Volume 9, page 348; Madras XI, 145), which declare Brahmini bulls as *res nullius*, so that anybody may take and kill them or put them to any form of work. The time appears to have come when the evil effects of these rulings should be counteracted by some direct legislation for protection of Brahmini bulls, which would at the same time vest these bulls in certain public or semi-public bodies who should be responsible for their proper upkeep and use.

18. That the unrestricted slaughter and export of cattle have perhaps done more harm to the development of the cattle resources of the country than all the other causes put together. It has already been pointed out in paragraph 3, that there is not a sufficient number of agricultural cattle to cultivate a fourth part of the arable land of the country, and in paragraph 4 that the present strength of milch cattle is hardly sufficient to provide an eighth part of our population with an adequate quantity of milk. The continual slaughter and export of the higher breeds of cattle have deprived the country of its best breeds and there being no adequate process of good breeding to produce cattle which can take the place of those killed and exported, the drain is felt all the more keenly and has been telling heavily on the vitality of the people, especially on that of the children. Cattle are killed mainly for the following purposes, *viz.*:—(a) for food, (b) for the export of dried meat and (c) for trade in hides. The figures that are available go to show that the number under all the three heads has been steadily on the increase. The income of Municipalities in British India from octroi on animals taken for slaughter as also from slaughter-houses has increased about 70 per cent. in the course of the last 10 years (Appendix M) while the increase in the export of hides has been 20 times more in the course of the last 50 years. The figures of slaughter that have been collected by the all-India Cow Conference Association indicate that the number of cattle annually slaughtered for food within British India would amount to a figure between 2 to

6 millions. With regard to the slaughter of cattle killed for the purpose of the dried meat trade (locally known as '*biltong*') it is difficult to obtain correct figures. The Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha of Muzaffarnagar, United Provinces, has collected figures from a number of districts in the United Provinces (Appendix N) and these alone amount to 1½ lacs a year. The Association has collected figures of dried meat exported *via* Howrah from the Agent, East Indian Railway, and this shows that about two lacs of maunds of dried meat are annually exported *via* Howrah (*vide* Appendix O). The trade is largely carried on in other Provinces as well, such as the Central Provinces, Bihar, Berar and Bombay, and there is every reason to think that the total figures amount to over 5 lacs. It is noteworthy to find, that the provinces where the dry meat trade is carried on and from which cattle are exported, the number of cattle is on the decline. Thus Bombay, Cutch and the United Provinces show a decline of 2 to 10 per cent. in the course of the 20 years—1890 to 1910 (*vide* Appendix P).

19. That it is not only the number of animals slaughtered and exported but their excellence in quality that injuriously affects the resources of the country. The manner in which this process of unrestricted slaughter has been going on is aptly described by the Honourable Mr. C. F. Payne, I.C.S., formerly Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation: The *goala* usually buys his cows at the beginning of their second lactation period. He then sells away the calf and begins to practise the abominable *phooka* on the cows and obtain milk from 6 to 8 months at the most. By the end of that time, the cow ceases to give milk and becomes unfit for breeding purposes for at least 2 or 3 years. The butcher is in waiting and however fine the animal may be, she is sold away for slaughter without scruple for a small sum. 'This is a process which is constantly going on with the best cows in the country. The cruelty of it will probably appeal strongly to my hearers, but what appeals to me even more strongly is the *abominable wastefulness* of the system'. The result is, that good cows are harder to procure every year, and the price of cattle as well as of milk is steadily going up.

20. That at the suggestion of the All-India Cow Conference Association, the Calcutta Corporation and several other municipalities and cantonments in British India have resolved to stop the slaughter of calves and some even of cows also; and Your Excellency's memorialists would beg leave to suggest that the slaughter of such useful cattle as *prime cows, calves and breeding bulls* may be prevented by legislation; in this connection, Your Excellency's memorialists would point out, that *cattle slaughter is already prohibited in the following among other States, viz., Afghanistan, Baroda, Jammu, Kashmir, Gondal, Barwani, Dharampur, Banada, Cooch Behar, Sirmur, Cambay, Khilchipur, Jama Khandi, Akalkot, Sarila, Vadia, Sayla, Khandia-Dhana, Chud Amrethiraj.*

21. That the question of export of cattle is one of considerable importance. The cattle of India were formerly one of the best breeds of cattle in the world and they were requisitioned by almost all other countries. Their export though it had been going on, on a very small scale for over a century never assumed such proportions as now. There appears to be a scarcity of cattle in many parts of the world, due mainly to the war and economic causes, and it is also keenly felt in India. The result of the

increase of export from India has been in the words of the Board of Agriculture in India, that the 'best breeds of cattle have been considerably depleted. In the case of the Ongole breed the export has taken place mainly to Java, and it is understood that the Java Government contemplate a continuance and increase of this export. The animals exported are young bulls and female stock and the breed is exported to Java for breeding for meat' (*vide* Proceedings of the Board of Agriculture in India, 1916). Although the figures of export are not complete, still those available (Appendix Q) show that it was on the increase until the outbreak of the war, when there was an appreciable falling off. Present inquiries by some of Your Excellency's memorialists go to show, that the export is again on the rise. Ten dealers from Brazil are reported to be exporting Kankreji and other good breeds of cattle from the Bombay Presidency, each exporting about 1,500, several veterinary officers of the Dutch Colonial Service export Ongole breeds from the Madras Presidency about 800 in each consignment, while in the course of the last few months two dealers from Java have sent two batches of excellent Punjab cattle about 500 in each batch *via* Calcutta to Java. Such export would have given a stimulus to good breeding if there were proper breeding farms and the number of cattle were more than was needed for the country, but in view of the existing deficiency of cattle in the country, and in the absence of proper and adequate breeding facilities for producing good breeds of cattle in sufficient numbers and also 'as the Indian cattle-owners have not become sufficiently aware of the true value of well-bred cattle and usually part with them at a price which represents hardly half their value,' and further, in view of the fact, that cattle owners are often obliged to part with their best milch cattle or agricultural cattle on the temptation of getting ready money, which they are always in need of, even if it be to their future detriment, the indiscriminate export from the country of the best breeding bulls and milch-cattle without any prospect of replenishment is against the highest economic interests of the country. Your Excellency's memorialists would therefore venture to submit, that Your Excellency's Government, should in the words of Mr. Coventry, President of the Board of Agriculture in India, 'carefully look into the matter and exercise control and discrimination in the working of the trade'. Many Indian States, the States of Bansda, Barwani, Chumba, Sarila, Sayla (*vide Indian Humanitarian*, November 1919, page 8) have already taken the lead in this direction and there is every reason to expect that the British Government will take similar action as well.

22. That the export of cattle from one Province to another also produces baneful results; for such cattle take a long time to acclimatise, the yield of milk and the capacity for labour visibly diminish, their calves seldom survive and in the course of a year or two their existence is brought to a close while yet in their prime in the slaughter-house. People are thus deprived of their useful services which would have been otherwise available for a term of 10 or 12 years and the cattle resources of the country are being wastefully exhausted. Good cattle are thus becoming more scarce every year, and their prices are rising abnormally in consequence. Having regard to the manner in which the transport of cattle from province to province is prejudicially affecting the economic situation of the country, there is a need for early inquiry into the matter and for the passing of some measures of control.

23. That as India has been the home of cattle diseases, it has also been the home of veterinary science. From the time of the Atharva Veda down to that of Chakrapani Dutt of Asokan times, the indigenous system of cattle treatment appears to have reached a high stage of perfection, and that knowledge has been preserved to some extent by the *go-baids* (cattle surgeons) of the country. The present Government veterinary colleges are limited in number and the graduates turned out by them are too few to deal with any outbreak of disease. The statistics collected for the Parliamentary Report (Appendix R) though not complete indicates to some extent the high death-rate among cattle and the proportion of deaths from rinderpest to those from other diseases. It appears that proper and timely segregation is not resorted to and that there is no opportunity of treating a major portion of the cattle affected. The indigenous system of treatment which was inexpensive and which was suited to the constitution and conditions of the Indian cattle, was of considerable help in checking and curing cattle-diseases. The system has practically died out owing to neglect and want of patronage. In view of the comparative inadequacy of doctors versed in the modern system of veterinary science, it would seem to be necessary to revive in some way the indigenous system by some form of State patronage.

24. That in consideration of the above facts and circumstances Your Excellency's memorialists respectfully submit, that Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to appoint a Commission to make a thorough inquiry into :

(1) the proper means of improving the number and quality of cattle in British India ;

(2) the adequacy of pasture lands ;

(3) the adequacy of fodder-crops ;

(4) the adequacy of milk-supply and milk-products ;

(5) the desirability of stopping or restricting the export of cattle abroad ; and also of the export of oil-cakes and cotton-seeds which form the chief food of the cattle of India ;

(6) the desirability of controlling the transport of cattle from province to province ;

(7) the desirability of stopping the slaughter of calves, milch and agricultural cattle, breeding bulls, cattle for the purposes of the Burma meat trade and other kindred trades and, if possible, of cattle generally ;

(8) the provision of bulls for breeding purposes including the protection and maintenance of Brahmini bulls ;

(9) the desirability of encouraging indigenous systems of cattle-treatment ;

(10) the desirability of providing facilities for the transport of dry cattle to and their return from grazing areas ;

with a view to introducing suitable measures for the amelioration and improvement of the condition of Indian cattle.

And Your Excellency's memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

10, OLD POST OFFICE STREET,
CALCUTTA ;
The 25th February 1921.

} J. G. WOODROFFE, Kt., M.A., B.C.L.,
BAR.-AT-LAW,
President

APPENDIX A.

Agricultural population in India.

(From the Census Report of India, 1911, Volume I, Part I, pages 406, 412, 433.)

British India.		Indian States.	
Assam	85 per cent.	Baroda	63·8 per cent.
Baluchistan	67·5 "	Central India	60·7 "
Bengal	75·4 "	Cochin	50·4 "
Bihar and Orissa	78·3 "	Hyderabad	57 "
Bombay	64·3 "	Kashmir	78·5 "
Burma	70 "	Mysore	72·4 "
Central Provinces	76 "	Rajputana	62·5 "
Coorg	81·6 "	Sikkim	94·4 "
Madras	68·7 "	Travancore	58 "
Punjab	58 "		
United Provinces	72 "		
Total India	72 "		

APPENDIX B.

Proportion of cattle to population in various countries.

(From Livestock Statistics, India, 1919-20; Dictionary of Statistics by Mulhall; New Dictionary of Statistics by Webb; New Hazel Annual and Almanac, 1920; Whittaker's Almanac, 1920.)

Name of country.	No. of cattle.	Population.	No. of cattle per 100 population.
India	145,922,000	244,267,542	59
Denmark	1,840,500	2,500,000	74
United States	72,534,000	92,000,000	79
Canada	5,576,500	7,250,000	80
Cape Colony	1,270,000	1,100,000	120
New Zealand	1,816,300	1,200,000	150
Australia	11,956,024	5,500,000	259
Argentina	25,844,800	8,000,000	323
Uruguay	6,830,000	1,400,000	500

APPENDIX C.

Ratio of plough-cattle to cultivated area and milch-cattle to population.

[From Agricultural Statistics of India, Volumes I and II (1914-15).]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Place and year.	Culti- vated area in 1,000 acres.	Plough cattle in 1,000.	Quantity (in acres) of culti- vated area per plough cattle.	Popula- tion in 1,000.	No. of milch- cattle in 1,000.	Average yield of milk per day in 1,000 pints (at 2 pints per cattle for 7 months).	Quantity of milk in pints available per man per day.
British India, 1914-15.	227,611	48,645	5	244,267	50,946	59,437	$\frac{1}{2}$
Indian States 1914-15 (so far as obtainable).	31,935	4,002	8	70,865	5,838	6,811	$\frac{1}{10}$
Total or average	259,546	52,647	5	315,132	56,784	66,248	$\frac{1}{2}$

APPENDIX D.

World's Crops in 1917.

[From 'The New Hazel Annual and Almanac, 1920' and Agricultural Statistics of India, Volume I, page ii (1916-17).]

Name of country.	Area in acres under wheat cultivation.	Wheat produce in bushels.	Rate of outturn in bushels per acre.
British India	38,067,000	381,268,250	11.5
Denmark	181,000	4,286,466	33
Spain	10,886,000	142,376,740	14
France	10,318,000	184,293,756	18.5
Great Britain	2,108,000	59,623,650	29.8
Italy	10,433,000	187,324,000	18.7
Norway	19,000	420,484	23
Netherland	122,000	3,699,718	30
Sweden	329,000	6,949,668	23
Switzerland	139,000	4,545,966	32.5
Canada	14,795,000	233,256,994	17
United States	45,922,000	635,314,011	14
Japan	1,457,000	32,658,622	32
Egypt	1,116,000	29,772,285	29

APPENDIX E.

Price of Food-stuffs 1857—1918.

[From the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha's address at the Second Sessions of the All-India Cow Conference, Delhi, 1918.]

Name of food.	1857.	1890.	1918.
	Seers per rupee.	Seers per rupee.	Seers per rupee.
Wheat	39	25	5½
Gram	51½	28	7
Rice	18½	12	
Milk	4 mds. =160 seers.	64	4

APPENDIX F.

Average Annual Death-rate per 1,000 population.

Country and year.	Under 1 year.	1-5 years.	All persons.	Source of information.
India (1908-09) . . .	260.7	67.3	38.2	Statistics of British India (Public Health), Vol. III.
Japan (1906) . . .	...	31.99	20.9	Japan Year Book, 1914 to 1916.
England and Wales (average for 1896—1905)	172	22	17	New Dictionary of Statistics by Webb, 1911.
Scotland do. . .	145	22	17	
Ireland do. . .	128	17	18	
Denmark do. . .	136	11	15.5	
Norway do. . .	102	12	15	
Sweden do. . .	102	12	16	
Holland do. . .	50	50	17	
United States (1898) . .	58.8	58.8	...	Dictionary of Statistics by Mulhall, 1899.
New Zealand (1919) . .	32	...	9.5	Whittaker's Almanac, 1920.

APPENDIX G.

Deaths according to Age Ratio per 1,000 Population.

[From Statistics of British India, Public Health, Vol. III.]

Year.		1906.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
15—20 years	Male	15.84	12.72	14.46	14.74	11.98	11.01	11.31	12.45	10.98	12.79
	Female	17.75	14.66	16.53	17.08	14.05	12.86	13.67	14.97	12.99	14.65
20—30 years	Male	18.52	15.91	17.30	15.70	13.34	12.51	12.60	13.72	12.53	14.20
	Female	19.66	16.96	18.44	18.56	16.00	14.98	15.34	16.41	14.81	16.76

Average Number of Deaths of Females per 1,000 Male Deaths 1905—1909.

(Census Report, Page 234.)

Age.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bombay.	Burma.	C. P. and Berar.	Madras.	Punjab.	U. P.
15—20	1,215	889	1,025	859	1,053	1,234	966	1,056
20—30	1,171	1,213	1,061	865	1,147	1,231	1,055	1,106

APPENDIX H.

Number of Tubercular Diseases of Human Beings treated in British India in 1902—06.

[From Statistics of British India, Public Health, Vol. III.]

Year.	No. treated in State-public, local fund, and private-aided hospitals and Dispensaries.	No. treated in State special and Railway hospitals and dispensaries.	No. treated in private and non- aided hospitals and dispensaries.	Total number.
1902	20,318	2,405	6,622	29,345
1907	47,315	2,280	9,707	59,302
1912	72,174	3,565	17,465	93,204
1917	78,669	3,030	18,493	100,192

APPENDIX I.

Pasture lands all over the world.

[From the 'Indian Review' (Madras), May 1919, page 315; 'Cattle, Sheep and Deer' by Macdonald; Standard Cyclopædia of Modern Agriculture; Census and Survey of Cattle of Bengal, Appendix VIII, by J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S.; Statistical Abstract of United States of America, 1915.]

Name of country.	Total area in 1,000,000 acres.	Area of grazing ground in 1,000,000 acres.	Ratio of total area to grazing ground.
Great Britain and Ireland	77.5	23	3 : 1
England	32.5	10	3 : 1
Germany	133	21.4	6 : 1
New Zealand	6.7	2.7	3 : 1
United States	1,903	117	16 : 1
Japan	106.6	17.6	6 : 1
India	960	35	27 : 1
Bengal	50.5	3	17 : 1

Proportion of Grazing Area to Cattle.

Name of country.	Area of grazing ground in 1,000 acres.	No. of cattle in thousands.	Area (in acres) of grazing ground per head of cattle.
United States of America	1,903,000	146,808	13
Bengal	2,929	17,079	17
Bombay (Kaira and Ahmedabad).	406	316	1.3

APPENDIX J.

Table showing Decrease in Outturn of Crops with Increase of Cultivated Area.

[From Season and Crop Reports of the Bombay Presidency, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province.]

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.			BENGAL.			N.-W. F. PROVINCE.		
Year.	1910-11.	1913-14.	Year.	1902-03.	1904-05.	Year.	1903-04.	1907-08.
Cropped area in acres.	30,742,000	30,845,000	Cropped area in acres.	59,314,000	61,034,000	Cropped area in acres.	2,466,220	2,657,906
Outturn of crops in lbs. per acre.	540	501	Total out-turn of crops in tons.	26,377,197	14,676.4	Out-turn of crops in lbs. per acre.	658	566

APPENDIX K.

Fodder Crops Statistics.

[From Agricultural Statistics of India, Vol. I, and Statistical Abstract of the United States of America, 1915.]

Name of country.	Total area in 1,000 acres.	Area under Fodder crops in 1,000 acres.	No. of cattle in 1,000.	Ratio of column 3 : 2.	Ratio of column 3 : 4.
1	2	3	4	5	6
United States of America	1,908,000	54,400	59,600	3.5 p. c.	9 cattle per acre.
British India	616,950	6,363	147,396	1 p. c.	23 cattle per acre.

APPENDIX L.

Milk-yield of Cattle of Different Countries.

Name of country.	Average daily yield of milk per cattle per day in lbs.	Source of Information.
India	2 lbs.	Cattle Census Reports of Bengal and other Provinces.
England	20 „	Farm and live-stock of Great Britain by Robert Wallace.
Denmark	20 „	Agricultural Co-operation in Denmark by Rai Sabab Chandrika Prasad.
United States of America	10.2 „	Statistical Abstract of the United States of America published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

APPENDIX M.

Income of Municipalities in British India from Octroi on Animals for Slaughter, etc.

[From Statistical Abstract for British India (Department of Statistics), Vol. IV, 1913-14 ; Statistics of British India, Part VIII, 1906-07, 1908-09.]

Source of Income.	1902-03.	1905-06.	1907-08.	1909-10.	1911-12.	1913-14.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Income from Octroi for slaughter of animals in British Indian Municipalities	4,85,202	5,91,901	6,11,547	6,23,083	6,66,357	6,44,776
Fees, etc. from slaughter-houses	28,15,894	35,64,152	35,18,038	36,48,632	40,66,871	45,85,024

APPENDIX N.

Cattle-Slaughter for Burma Meat Trade in United Provinces, for 1912-13.

[From the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha's Address at the Second All-India Cow Conference, Delhi, 1918.]

Division.	District.	Place.	No. of cattle slaughtered.
Meerut	Bulandshahr	Mauza Galilpur, Tehsil Anupshahr.	2,000
	Aligarh	Aligarh	39,510
		Sikandra Rao	7,089
	Muttra	Sadabad	1,080
		Muttra	1,750
Agra	Agra	Jharna Nala	26,840
		Ferozabad	600
		Itmadpur	140
		Khanduli	48
		Pahti Dharti	4,015
	Etah	Shajawlpur, Tehsil Aligunj	500
		Bareilly	13,172
	Bareilly	Faridpur	500
		Shabarnagar Mauza	5,800
		Jahangunj Rasulpur near Lodhipur.	2,500
Rohtilkhand	Shajahanpur	Satti Chauri	2,800
		Sambhal	758
		Bhojpur	2,000
	Moradabad	Amroha	1,680
		Fatehpur	800
Allahabad	Fatehpur	Kasba Kamalpur	250
		Jahanabad Town	60
		Aiyaran	500
	Jhansi	Kochha Bhanwar	10,192
		Lalitpur	7,663
Jhansi	Jalaun	Kunch	4,353
	Hamirpur	Panwari	800
		Rath	899
		Mundaha	2,082
		Mahoba	4,077
Gorakhpur	Banda	Husenpur	493
	Azamgarh	Azamgarh	60
Total			1,43,358

APPENDIX O.

Statement showing the Quantity of Dry Meal received at Nowrah during the period from 1st January 1917 to 30th June 1920.

[As supplied by the Agent, East India Railway.]

Stations from which exported.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920 January to June.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Jubbulpore	1,161	701	1,711	686
Fatehpur	348	67	234	266
Khaga	56	14	...	...
Cawnpore . . . .	...	117	...	161
Shinjakh	147	...	...	...
Agra City	1,008	...	...	...
Jumna Bridge . . .	45,948	30,346	34,866	16,760
Phaphund	940	183	809	779
Bura	132	50	...	...
Aligarh	22,396	21,085	21,478	3,978
Delhi . . . . .	...	60	...	...
Achalda . . . . .	...	202	...	...
Tundla . . . . .	...	1,028	...	...
Kubarpur . . . .	...	204	...	...
Etawah . . . . .	...	248	143	...
Shikohabad . . . .	...	...	8	61
Hapur	232	164	323	98
Angaon	101	...	...	...
Bhatapora . . . .	...	...	...	901
Khalilabad . . . .	...	...	4	2
Bholagunge	3,708	1,865	1,470	...
Bareilly	11,167	6,766	9,192	2,192
Bahadurgunge . . .	257	677	275	...

APPENDIX O—*contd.*

Stations from which exported.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920 January to June.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Shahjahanpur	3,930	3,736	10,250	4,789
Chandauli	540	85	...	...
Sambel Hatim Sarai . . .	932	...	...	...
Anjhi	1,507	321	...	...
Pitamberpur	557	530	152	...
Hardwagunge . . . .	...	355	...	...
Moradabad	733	695	...	...
Amroha	623	636	452	...
Kasgunge	182	...	...	...
Pipsalana	723	256	455	...
Shahbaznagore . . . .	...	608	375	277
Carewganj . . . .	...	146	130	...
Shahmatgunge . . . .	...	...	430	3,411
Puraupur . . . .	...	...	...	235
Patna . . . .	...	...	...	474
Kunch	846	4,557	6,625	637
Gadarwara	220	202	413	301
Hamipur . . . .	...	...	...	81
Gotigaon	84	111	...	...
Madanmohal . . . .	...	...	123	260
Narsingpur . . . .	...	238	...	...
Kharaya	16,335	8,547	24,898	6,671
Lalitpur	391	1,514	1,461	2,590
Saugor	20,714	29,157	30,284	20,391
Ghatara . . . .	...	...	2,820	11,134
Garhman . . . .	...	...	...	215
Domah	5,069	9,427	...	9
Jhansi	1,245	2,491	5,243	3,466
Mehaba	4,640	4,939	5,219	6,621

APPENDIX O—concl'd.

Stations from which exported.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920. January to June.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Oral . . . . .	...	...		234
Agra Fort	501	...	...	...
Gunjanwara	1,193	499	452	598
Gurhaingunge	506	...	...	...
Kasgurge	225	...	325	376
Sikardara Rao	2,373	2,722	2,519	281
Bichpure . . . . .	...	290	...	...
Jullundar Cantonment	3,068	11,082	5,950	2,900
Batala	1,220	970	2,490	368
Tahana . . . . .	...	673	2,542	953
Total	1,66,849	1,58,204	1,74,160	95,247

APPENDIX P.

Decline in the Number of Cattle.

Province.	Year and No. of Cattle.	Year and No. of Cattle	Source of Information.
Bombay Presidency	(1891) 8,819,000	(1910) 7,530,000	Note on Cattle in the Bombay Presidency by G. F. Keatinge, C.I.E., I.C.S.
United Provinces	(1904) 31,352,000	(1909) 29,367,000	Cattle Census Report of U. P. 1915. H. R. C. Hailey, I.C.S.
Cutch	(1896-94) 181,000	(1910-11) 91,600	Cutch Gazetteer by G. Hardy, I.C.S.

APPENDIX Q.

Number of Living Animals Exported outside India.

[From the 'Indian Humanitarian,' Feb. 1920.]

Year.	1901.	1906.	1911.	1912.	1916.
Number	3,20,835	3,14,996	5,37,706	5,44,593	3,34,310
Value in £	1,42,634	1,50,878	1,82,787	2,22,200	1,53,287

Table showing Export of Cattle in 1912.

Place to which exported.	No.	Value in	Province from which exported.	No.	Value in
		£			£
Ceylon	23,145	66,666	Bengal	316	1,833
Straits Settlements	5,795	29,097	Bombay	51	160
Federated Malay States	1,183	7,521	Sindh	1,031	3,017
Other British Possessions	59	173	Madras	27,661	97,311
Sumatra (1917)	491	2,923	Burma	1,028	4,366
Java (1917)	431	2,648			
Brazil (1917)	90	1,260			
Other Foreign Countries	6	67			

APPENDIX R.

Number of Deaths of Cattle.

[From 'East India—Progress and Condition'—Parliamentary Report.]

Year.	From Rinder-Pest.	Other Diseases.	Total.
1904-05	92,123	1,18,996	2,11,119
1909-10	1,58,425	1,44,333	3,02,758
1914-15	1,11,629	1,24,731	2,36,360

LOVETT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

619. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai : Do the Government propose to invite the opinion of the Members of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly on the Lovett Committee's Report before giving effect to the recommendations contained therein?

Sir Godfrey Fell : I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given to the question asked by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha on the 15th March 1921 (Question No. 472).

Government do not propose to invite the opinion of the Members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly on the Lovett Committee's Report. It has been open to any Member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to move a Resolution on the subject during the present session, and thus to elicit an expression of opinion.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

620. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai : Will the Government be pleased to state why the Benares Hindu University Court has not been given the privilege of returning a Member to the Legislative Assembly?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : The question of allotting representation to the Benares Hindu University on the Assembly was duly considered by the Government of India. In deciding not to include provision on this behalf in their draft of the electoral rules the Government of India were actuated by the consideration that though the University is in form an all-India institution, the majority of its students are residents of the United Provinces and that the grant of a seat to the University would therefore in effect have increased the measure of representation accorded to that Province, with the result of disturbing the inter-provincial adjustment of seats. I may add that the conclusion reached was concurred in by a majority of the members of the Reforms Advisory Committee and that the claim for the representation of the University was expressly noticed and discussed by the Government of India in the despatch with which the draft rules were forwarded for the sanction of the Secretary of State and the approval of Parliament.

COURT OF THE JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER AT LUCKNOW.

621. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai : (a) Is the Government aware of a very strong feeling in Oudh that the Court of the Judicial Commissioner at Lucknow should be converted into a Chief Court?

(b) If the reply is in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state what action it contemplates to take in the matter?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given by me on the 21st March to a question on the subject asked by Munshi Iswar Saran.

COMMON HIGH COURT FOR AGRA AND OUDH.

622. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai : Is there any truth in the rumour that a common High Court is proposed to be established for the Provinces of Agra and Oudh with Divisional Benches at Allahabad and Lucknow?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer given to the question asked by Mr. Iswar Saran.

NEW ARMS RULES.

623. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai: (a) Is the Government aware that the new Arms Rules have caused deep resentment among titleholders, honorary magistrates, honorary munsifs and honorary assistant collectors?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it contemplates to so revise the rules as to exempt them from restrictions contained in the Arms Act?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: (a) Government are aware that some of the new provisions in the Indian Arms Rules have caused dissatisfaction among the classes mentioned.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to the Home Department Resolution No. 2125-C., dated the 21st March 1919, from which he will see that the policy of the Government is to confine exemptions within the narrowest limits practicable. They are not therefore prepared to extend the list of exemptions in the manner proposed.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE POWAGAN STEAM RAILWAY.

624. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai: (a) Is the Government aware that the residents of Shahjahanpur and Kheri districts are put to very great inconvenience owing to the discontinuance of the Powagan Steam Railway?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if there is any likelihood of the running of the Powagan Steam Railway at an early date? If so, when?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn: (1) Government are not aware that the dismantlement of this line has caused any serious inconvenience. They have received no formal complaints to this effect.

(2) There is at present no idea of relaying this line and it is improbable that anything can be done in the matter in the immediate future.

PROVINCIAL FOREST SERVICE.

625. Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what percentage of increase was recommended by the Royal Commission on Public Services for the Provincial Forest Service?

(b) Is it a fact that the salary of the Provincial Forest Service before the introduction of the revised scheme of pay in March 1920 went up to Rs. 850, and that under the new scheme they can rise up to Rs. 750 only? If so, will the Government be pleased to state why this curtailment in their grade has been found necessary?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state if there is any other service, Imperial or Provincial, in which there has been a similar reduction in the maximum grade?

(d) Is the Government aware that serious dissatisfaction prevails amongst the Provincial Forest Service officers on account of the revised scheme?

Mr. J. Hullah: (a) It is presumed that pay is referred to. If so, the percentage of increase recommended by the Public Services Commission was 2.1 per cent.

(b) The class of Extra Deputy Conservators, the highest pay of which was Rs. 550, has now been abolished; no further promotions will be made to it, but existing Extra Deputy Conservators not found fit for promotion to the Imperial Service will remain as such until their retirement. The highest pay of Extra Assistant Conservators on the old scale was Rs. 550, it is Rs. 750 on the new. In future, Extra Assistant Conservators will not be able to look forward to promotion to the grade of Extra Deputy Conservators, which was always of the nature of a selection grade and not a mere continuation of the ordinary time-scale; but, on the other hand, listed post in the Imperial Service will be open to them and they are thus afforded an opportunity to attaining a far higher pay than they could previously. Those promoted to the Imperial Service will also be eligible for advancement to the administrative grades. The maximum pay of the class to which the Provincial Forest Service is now confined has been increased and not curtailed.

(c) As explained in (b), there has been no curtailment in the maximum pay to which an officer of the Provincial Forest Service can rise, either in the ordinary course or by selection.

(d) Yes.

INCREASE IN PAY FOR THE PROVINCIAL FOREST SERVICE.

626. **Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai:** Has the Government received memorials from Provincial Forest Service officers all over India praying for an increase in their pay? If so, what action has been taken on them?

Mr. J. Hullah: Yes, memorials on the subject of pay have been received from Provincial Forest Service officers in all provinces. They are under the consideration of the Government of India.

SCALES OF PAY OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT OLD PROVINCIAL SERVICE AND THE PROVINCIAL FOREST SERVICE.

677. **Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai:** (a) Is it a fact that the scales of pay of the Public Works Department old Provincial Service and the Provincial Forest Service, before the introduction of the revised scheme, were almost the same?

(b) Is it a fact that the qualifications for admission into the Public Works Department (Roorki trained) and the Provincial Forest Service (Dehra trained) are the same and, further, that the period of training in the Colleges is almost the same?

(c) Has the old Public Works Department Provincial Service been absorbed into the India Service of Engineers with their whole service in the Provincial Service counted as if it were in the Imperial Service?

(d) If so, why has similar action not been taken with regard to the Provincial Forest Service by absorbing it into the Indian Forest Service?

Mr. J. Hullah: (a) It is difficult to compare the scale of pay of the Public Works Department old Provincial Service and the Provincial Forest Service owing to the different method of organization of the two departments.

Though apparently more or less similar, there were, in practice, many points of difference.

(b) It is not a fact that the qualifications for admission into the Public Works Department (Roorki trained) and the Provincial Forest Service are the same. The period of training too is not about the same, it is *three years* in the case of the former and two in the case of the latter.

(c) Yes.

(d) The two cases are not entirely comparable. The old Public Works Department Provincial Service was listed with the Imperial, its officers were designed for the same work as Imperial officers and were paid according to the principle in force for differentiating between Indian and European trained officers. The class of Extra Deputy Conservators in the old Provincial Forest Service, the work of which class was comparable with that of the Imperial Forest Service, has been absorbed into the Imperial Service; Extra Assistant Conservators, to whom the Provincial Forest Service will be confined in future, are not intended for duties similar to those of Imperial officers and there is, therefore, no reason to absorb this class into the higher service.

FOREST OFFICERS OF THE PROVINCIAL SERVICE.

628. **Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai:** Do the Government propose to consider the question of placing Forest Officers of the Provincial Service as regards their salaries at least, on the same level with the Members of the Provincial Executive and Judicial Officers?

Mr. J. Hullah: The question of the pay of the Provincial Forest Service is at present under the consideration of the Government of India.

ADDITIONAL INDIAN JUDGE AT ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT.

629. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** Do the Government of India propose to consider the question of securing the appointment of an Additional Indian Judge to the Honourable High Court at Allahabad and transfer the judicial work hitherto disposed of by the Board of Revenue to that Honourable Court?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: Since the reply given to the question asked by the Honourable Member on the 17th February, there has been a discussion in the local Legislative Council on the subject of the Board of Revenue. The Local Government undertook that with regard to the Judicial functions of the Board various representative bodies and individuals would be consulted and that the Government of India would be approached with a recommendation that the executive functions of the Board should be transferred to the Government. The recommendation referred to has now been received and is under the consideration of the Government of India.

CAPITAL CITY FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES.

630. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence which they have had with the Government of the United Provinces on the choice of a Capital city for the United Provinces?

Mr. S P. O'Donnell: It is presumed that the Honourable Member is referring to correspondence on the subject within recent years. There has been no such correspondence between the Government of the United Provinces and this Government. So far as can be ascertained, the most recent correspondence took place very many years ago when it was decided that though the capital of the province should remain at Allahabad, the Local Government should reside in Lucknow for some portion of each year.

INDIANS IN FIELD SERVICE.

631. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: Will the Government of India be pleased to state what is the total number of Indians employed in field service during the last European War and how many of them were killed, and how many disabled, how many of them are still in service and how many have been discharged?

Sir Godfrey Fell: The total number of Indians employed on Field Service Overseas during the late European war (i.e., August 1914 to 31st October 1918) was:

Combatants	552,341
Non-Combatants	391,038
	<hr/>
Total	943,374

Of this number, the following deaths from all causes occurred in all theatres:

Combatants	25,877
Non-Combatants	10,819
	<hr/>
Total	36,696

The numbers wounded were:

Combatants	58,508
Non-Combatants	781
	<hr/>
Total	59,289

It is regretted that it is impossible to give any figures, with regard to the number still serving and the number that have been discharged, as during demobilisation no distinction was made, on discharge, between the men who were serving before the war, and those entertained during and since the war.

INDIANS IN THE AIR FORCES AND IN THE NAVY.

632. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: Will the Government of India be pleased to state how many Indians were employed in the Air Forces and how many in the Navy, during the war, how many of them have been killed, how many disabled, how many discharged and how many are still in service?

Sir Godfrey Fell: With regard to the Air Force, it is not possible to give the information asked for by the Honourable Member, as the administration of the Royal Air Force during the war was entirely in the hands of His Majesty's Government. (Two Indians were employed as pilots and observers and one at least was killed.) A considerable number of Indians were employed as mechanics during the war, but the actual number is not known. At present there are 1,039 Indians so employed.

As regards the Royal Navy, the Government of India have no information as to the number of Indians directly recruited into the Navy. As the Honourable Member is no doubt aware, certain vessels of the Royal Indian Marine were taken over by the Royal Navy during the war, but for various reasons given in the statement with which I will furnish the Honourable Member, it has not been possible to obtain the exact information asked for. Some indication of the numbers may, however, be obtained from the fact that the number of Indians who, up to date, have applied for war medals for service in ships of the Royal Indian Marine, whether handed over to the Admiralty or not, is 1,366. Of these, no less than 660 have earned the 1914-1915 Star, thus qualifying for the British War and Victory medals also. Further applications are expected.

Indian seamen served in a very large number of vessels belonging to both the Royal Navy and the Royal Indian Marine at sea and in Mesopotamia. Many of these vessels, especially the small river-craft, have long been paid off and some have been sold out of the service. Of the total number of Indians employed on these vessels, only a comparatively small number were engaged at the Royal Indian Marine Office, Bombay, the majority being engaged directly on boardship, often without reference to the Royal Indian Marine Office, Bombay; consequently this office possesses no records of these men, as they were kept only in the books of the ships concerned.

Most of the Indian ratings serving on these vessels only joined on a two-years' agreement; many of them for various reasons did not complete the full period. Again, many men thus discharged joined up once more in other ships. Even if all the ships were asked to go through their books carefully and submit returns, the lists cannot be considered as being complete, for many of the men had similar names and thus duplication would be most difficult to avoid. For example, Sheik Hussein may have served two years in the 'Dalhousie' and two in the 'Northbrook' and it is impossible to be certain that this may not be counted as two men serving in the Navy, as there may be many Sheik Husseins.

Further, ships of the Royal Indian Marine were not handed over to the Navy for the entire period of the war, but did periods of Naval and periods of Marine service, and it would be a difficult and lengthy business to separate accurately the men who did Naval and those who did Marine service during the war, in view of the fact that many men performed both.

INDIANS AS AIRMEN, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

633. Lala Girdharilal Agarwal: Do the Government of India intend to establish regular schools in India for training up Indians as airmen, soldiers and sailors to enable them to give greater assistance to the Government in time of need?

Sir Godfrey Fell: With regard to airmen, the Royal Air Force is controlled and administered by the Air Ministry in the United Kingdom, which is responsible for providing the personnel for the detachment employed in India. The answer to this part of the question is, therefore, in the negative.

With regard to the training of Indians as soldiers, schools for training Indians in the art of soldiering are either already in existence or about to be established.

As regards sailors, the Honourable Member is understood to refer to the training of personnel for the Royal Indian Marine. I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to a question on the subject put by the Honourable Mr. Patel in the Indian Legislative Council on the 8th March 1920. The Government of India have asked the Secretary of State for a ship suitable for use as a Royal Indian Marine training ship for Indian ratings, including engineer artificers, on which facilities can also be provided for the training of cadets and special ratings such as wireless operators and signallers. Up to the present time, the Government of India have not received information whether such a vessel will be available.

FACTORIES FOR RAILWAY ENGINES, SHIPS, AEROPLANES AND OTHER MACHINERIES.

634. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: (a) Do the Government of India intend to establish factories in India for the purpose of manufacturing and supplying railway engines, ships, aeroplanes and other machineries for India and other countries and thus encourage skilled labour under the guidance and supervision of the best experts?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if any such factories are already in existence in India, and, if so, how many and where, and how many Indians in each are employed as mechanics?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: (a) The answer to part (a) of the Honourable Member's question is in the negative.

In the first place, the establishment of factories of the kind mentioned is a matter for private enterprise, and, secondly, the development of industries is a transferred Provincial subject. It is therefore for the Ministers in the Provinces to decide what assistance, if any, should be given to an industry, including the training of skilled labour.

The Honourable Member no doubt realises that special steels are the chief materials used in manufactures of the kind that he mentions and the steel industry must be considerably developed in the country before such factories are likely to be successful.

(b) It is understood that the Honourable Member's question refers to Government factories.

There are at present two institutions of the kinds referred to under the control of the Central Government. These are the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard at Bombay, where small ships are built, and the Aircraft Factory near Lahore, which is engaged on the reconstruction of aeroplanes. The latter factory was instituted purely as a war measure and will be closed in April next.

The number of mechanics employed in the dockyard fluctuates according to the work in hand. The total number of Indian mechanics employed on the 7th February 1921 was 3,082.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY INDIANS TOWARDS WAR CHARITIES.

635. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** Will the Government of India be pleased to state how much money has been subscribed by Indians, including Indian States, and how much paid towards the war, including 'Red Cross,' 'Special Indian Relief Fund,' and other war charities?

Sir Godfrey Fell: The Government of India are unable to furnish the information asked for by the Honourable Member, since no separate record has been kept of the amount contributed by Indians and Europeans, respectively, towards the war.

The Government of India have on more than one occasion in the Legislative Council undertaken to publish, in a convenient form, an authoritative record of India's contribution to the war in men, material and money. It is regretted that this compilation is not yet ready but it is hoped to publish it before very long.

MATERIALS SUPPLIED BY INDIANS TOWARDS THE WAR.

636. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** What is the approximate value of materials supplied free by Indians towards the war?

Sir Godfrey Fell: The Government of India are unable to furnish the information asked for by the Honourable Member, for the reasons given in my reply to the preceding question.

UNREST IN INDIA.

637. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** (a) Will the Government of India be pleased to state whether they are aware that there is unrest in India; and, if so, what steps do they propose to take to remove the causes of such unrest?

(b) Do the Government propose to consider the advisability of appointing a mixed committee of selected Members of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature and popular leaders of the country to investigate the causes of such unrest and recommend means of removing them?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: I would refer the Honourable Member to the debate which took place in this House on the 5th March; to the answer given on the 7th to a similar question asked by Mr. Darcy Lindsay, and to the debate of the 28th March.

FIVE-JUDGE RULING OF THE ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT.

638. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** (a) Will the Government of India be pleased to state if their attention has been invited to the five-Judge ruling of the Honourable High Court at Allahabad in Civil Revision No. 147 of 1919, Budhu Lal and others *versus* Mewa Ram, decided on 26th January 1921, in which two Honourable Judges have interpreted the provisions of section 115 of the Code of Civil Procedure in one way and three have taken a contrary view?

(d) Is the Government aware that there are conflicting rulings on the subject of revisional jurisdiction of High Courts from interlocutory orders in civil suits and proceedings?

(c) Do the Government propose to make the matter clear by undertaking legislation on the subject?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The judgment referred to has been passed too recently to enable the Government of India to consider the question whether it is desirable in consequence thereof to amend the law with a view to its clarification. Such a question can only be decided after the most careful examination. The Government of India will, however, examine the matter and a copy of the judgment in the case has been obtained.

MATERIALS FOR GOVERNMENT PURPOSES.

639. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: (a) Will the Government kindly state what is the system of supply of material (other than food and forage) for all Government purposes, civil and military? Who are the principal suppliers, and what margin of profits is kept for them in one year?

(b) What is the arrangement about the supply of war materials to or on behalf of His Majesty's Government other than those furnished by Departments under the Army Department? Who are the principal suppliers, and what margin of profits is kept for them in one year?

(c) On what principles are applications for priority certificates disposed of?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: (a) The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the system of supply of articles for the public service. This is governed by certain rules of which a copy will be furnished to the Honourable Member. Owing to the very large number of purchasing officers and the diversity of materials purchased, and owing to the fact that large purchases of stores are made through the Director General of Stores in England, it is not possible to compile a list of suppliers. Purchases of stores are made on ordinary commercial principles and no margin of profits is prescribed; nor, indeed, would such prescription be practicable.

(b) No war materials are supplied to or on behalf of His Majesty's Government with the exception of certain class of stores included under the head of textiles required for supply to the army in Mesopotamia the cost of which is debited to His Majesty's Government. Purchase of such stores is made by purchasing officers working under the Chief Controller (Surplus Stores). As regards the principal suppliers of such stores, I shall be glad to furnish the Honourable Member with a list of them if he so desires. As regards their profits, the Honourable Member is referred to my reply to the first part of his question.

(c) The Honourable Member appears to be referring to a system which was devised during the war when, owing to the reduction in the supply of stores in England, priority certificates were introduced by the late Indian Munitions Board in order to reduce demands to a minimum. This system was abolished shortly after the conclusion of the Armistice in 1918.

FACTORIES FOR WAR SUPPLIES.

640. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** (a) How many factories have been established and how many more are going to be established for war supplies, and where, and how many Indian officers are employed at the head of those factories?

(b) What are the rules about the control of transactions by the public in respect of such articles of actual or potential military value as may be mutually agreed upon by the Indian Munitions Board and the Department of Commerce and Industry?

Sir Godfrey Fell: (a) The following Government factories are maintained for supplying the requirements of the Army:

(i) Metal and Steel Factory	.	.	.	Ishapore, Bengal.
(ii) Rifle Factory	.	.	.	Ditto
(iii) Ammunition Factory	.	.	.	Dum Dum, Bengal.
(iv) Gun and Shell Factory	.	.	.	Cossipore, Bengal.
(v) Ammunition Factory	.	.	.	Kirkee, Bombay.
(vi) Gun Carriage Factory	.	.	.	Jubbulpore, Central Provinces.
(vii) Harness and Saddlery Factory	.	.	.	Cawnpore, United Provinces.
(viii) Cordite Factory at Aruvankadu	.	.	.	Madras.
(ix) The Acetone Factory at Nasik	.	.	.	Nasik.

In addition, there are three Clothing Depôts which make up clothing for the Army, at Alipore, Madras and Shahjahanpur.

No Indian officers are employed at the head of any of these factories.

The Government of India have no present intention of establishing any additional factories. They cannot foresee what the needs of the distant future may be.

(b) It is regretted, that as the question is not understood, no reply can be given.

COLLEGES FOR MINING AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

641. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** (a) How many colleges are there in India for imparting mining and industrial education?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of Indian students trained in each and the amount of money spent and how much of it was subscribed by the Government?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: There are at present no such colleges under the direct control of the Central Government. I would remind the Honourable Member that his question relates to a Provincial transferred subject.

PASSENGER SUPERINTENDENTS ON RAILWAYS.

642. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the names, castes, race, qualifications, experience and pay of Passenger Superintendents on Railways with their duties?

(b) How many men have been employed recently or are going to be soon employed?

(c) Is it proposed to publish the names of Passenger Superintendents in Railway time tables?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn : (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to Rao Bahadur Trivenkata Rangachariar on the 15th February and to my remarks on the 17th February when dealing with the Resolution moved by the Rao Bahadur regarding the appointment of Passenger Superintendents. I have already mentioned the railways which employ Passenger Superintendents and stated that most of the Superintendents are retired Indian Officers. Every care is taken by the Railway Administrations in their selection of these officials and to obtain the further information now asked for would involve considerable correspondence and labour and it is trusted that under the circumstances the Honourable Member will not press for this information.

(c) It is not considered that any useful purpose would be served by publishing the names of Passenger Superintendents in Railway time tables.

HINDU WATERMEN AT RAILWAY STATIONS.

643. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : (a) Are the Hindu watermen employed at the railway stations required or allowed to do any other work during the time when trains are due to arrive, such as loading, unloading, shunting or private service for station masters or their assistants?

(b) What is the usual pay of watermen on the railway stations, and has the question of its sufficiency been considered?

(c) Do the Government intend to issue a circular to all station masters and guards that they should particularly watch the proper duty of Hindu watermen?

(d) Do the Government intend to order that Hindu and Muhammadan watermen at railway stations should bear badges in which the words 'Hindu Watermen' or 'Muhammadan Waterman' should be engraved, as the case may be, in local vernaculars and the same words should be printed or engraved on their buckets and jugs.

(e) Do the Government propose to order that on all junction stations special arrangements should be made for wash and bath particularly for 3rd class passengers?

(f) Do the Government propose to direct that all passenger trains (*except Mails*) should stop in the morning for one hour at a convenient station affording special facility for wash and bath especially for 3rd class passengers?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn : (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) The pay of watermen on railway stations is fixed according to the prevailing local rates and varies on the different Railways.

(c) Railway administrations are fully aware of the need for supplying water to passengers; the matter has frequently been brought to their notice and Government do not, under the circumstances, consider it necessary to issue fresh instructions.

(d) It is believed that the watermen in some lines wear a distinctive badge but in any case they invariably shout their class and calling. The Honourable Member's suggestion, however, will be brought to the notice of the Agents.

(e) and (f). These proposals are impracticable.

LATRINES IN THIRD CLASS CARRIAGES.

644. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala** : How many times daily are the latrines in 3rd class carriages cleaned and water filled in the tanks ?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn : Latrines of 3rd class carriages can only be cleaned at terminal or junction stations after the carriages have been vacated by passengers and this is the ordinary practice. In the circumstances it is not possible to state any definite number of times daily. Water is filled into the tanks at terminal and junction stations when necessary.

QUARTERS FOR THE CLERKS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

645. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala** : (a) How many kinds of quarters have been built at Delhi and at Simla for the clerks of the Government of India Secretariat ?

(b) What accommodation and furniture is provided in each class of quarter and what is the approximate total cost of each class of quarter ?

(c) On what principle is the rent of the said quarters fixed ?

(d) On what principle are the quarters allotted ?

(e) What is the number of quarters of each kind and are they more or less than the number required ?

(f) Who is responsible for the comforts of the clerks and are the clerks consulted about matters connected with their quarters ?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank : (a) (1) At Delhi there are five types of quarters for Indians and four types of quarters for Europeans.

(2) At Simla there are five types of quarters for Indians and five types of quarters for Europeans.

(b) and (e). The information is being collected and a statement embodying it will be sent to the Honourable Member as soon as it has been compiled.

(c) The rent of the quarters is supposed to cover—

(1) all repair charges,

(2) owner's taxes,

(3) interest at 3½ per cent. on the capital cost of the building.

(d) Both in Simla and in Delhi, the various Departments report to the Public Works Department their requirements, mentioning as far as possible, the order of preference in which quarters should be allotted. In Delhi, blocks of quarters are then allotted to the various Departments *pro rata* by the Estate Officer, and the Departments are left to make individual allotments. In Simla, the Superintending Engineer makes the individual allotments direct, allotting quarters as far as possible to each office in proportion to the demands.

(f) The Estate Officer in Delhi and Executive Engineer, Simla, are in charge of the respective buildings. Tenants should bring to the notice of these officers officially any points which they wish to have attended to. When necessary, the orders of higher authority will be taken by these officers as regards matters which they themselves are not competent to deal with.

PARTICULARS OF CLERKS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

646. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala** : Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing as far as possible (a) full name of each

clerk employed in the Government of India Secretariat, (b) qualifications, (c) provincial residence, (d) caste, creed, religion, race or nationality, (e) date of first appointment, (f) initial pay, (g) initial duties, (h) present pay, (i) allowances, (j) present duties, (k) hours of work, (l) headquarters, Delhi, Simla or both, (m) class of quarter, if any, allotted, (n) actual house-rent, (o) rent, if any, received from Government, (p) single or with family, (q) whether living in orthodox Indian style or European style ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The collection of the very detailed information required would involve such an amount of labour and take so much time that the Government are unwilling to undertake to collect it, but they will be glad to communicate to the Honourable Member any information that may be readily available.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

647. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: On what principles are appointments made and promotions given in the Government of India Secretariat ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: Recruitment to the Government of India Secretariat is now effected through the recently constituted Staff Selection Board. The Board hold qualifying examinations and make recommendations when vacancies occur in the various Departments from their list of qualified candidates. A copy of the rules framed by the Board will be supplied to the Honourable Member if he so desires. As regards promotions, a time-scale system of remuneration is in force and, subject to the operation of efficiency bars at various points in the scale, all officers normally receive annual increments in pay. The Secretary in each Department has, however, power to stop or defer increments in cases of inefficiency or misconduct.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS.

648. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: What publications of the Government of India, if any, are supplied free to the press or public libraries and reading rooms ? If so, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a list of such publications and of those to whom such publications are supplied ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: Publications of the Government of India which are thought to be of public interest are supplied free to approved newspapers and public institutions. I shall be glad, if the Honourable Member so wishes, to collect information from the various Departments of the Government of India as to the periodical publications which are so supplied, but besides these there are individual publications of general interest which are distributed under specific orders in each case. The list of approved newspapers and public institutions is altered from time to time on the recommendation of Local Governments, but I shall be glad to supply the Honourable Member with a copy of the list corrected up-to-date.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS IN INDIA.

649. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: (a) Has the Government got any list of public libraries and reading rooms in India ? If so, will the Government be pleased to lay the same on the table ?

(b) If not, will the Government be pleased to prepare such a list and lay the same on the table ?

Mr. H. Sharp: (a) and (b). A list of the more important libraries in India was compiled in 1905 and revised in 1907. An up-to-date list of libraries, subject to certain conditions regarding the number of volumes and the nature of the library, is now under compilation. When it is complete, a copy will be laid on the table.

The Government of India have no information regarding reading rooms; but it is probable that there are such rooms in many libraries. It is not considered necessary to obtain any further information on this point.

EXPORT DUTY ON WHEAT, RICE AND OTHER FOODSTUFFS.

650. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala:** Do the Government intend to levy an export duty of one rupee per maund on wheat and rice and eight annas per maund upon other foodstuffs exported out of India ?

Mr. C. A. Innes: The answer to the Honourable Member's question is in the negative.

INCOME-TAX.

651. **Mr. M. K. Reddiyar:** (a) Is not income-tax an item of revenue of the Government of India ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to call for the information contained in my Question No. 460, dated Monday, the 14th March 1921 ?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) I see no reason to modify the reply which I gave to the Honourable Member on the 14th instant.

SUBORDINATE PROVINCIAL SERVICES.

652. **Rai T. P. Mukherjee Bahadur:** (a) Have the Government received any memorial from the officers of the Subordinate Provincial Services in connection with the proposal of the Provincial Government about their status ?

(b) If so, do the Government intend to make any addition or alteration in their cadre as suggested by the Memorialists ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The reply is in the negative.

I may add, however, that orders on the subject of proposals for the re-organization of the Subordinate Civil Service in Bengal submitted by the Government of Bengal to which, it is understood, the Honourable Member is referring, have been issued. The Honourable Member should apply for further information to the Local Government.

SONTHAL PARGANNAH.

653. **Rai T. P. Mukherjee Bahadur:** (a) Do the Government intend to make the Sonthal Pargannah a *regulation District* ?

(b) If not, are the Government aware of the difficulties and inconveniences of the litigants in connection with sub-judge cases and is it in the contemplation of the Government to appoint at least itinerant sub-judges to try sub-judge cases in Sonthal Pargannah instead of appointing Sub-Divisional officers to be a Subordinate Judge under section 8 of Regulation V of 1893?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The Local Government have not proposed and the Government of India have not therefore under consideration any proposal to alter the legal position of the Sonthal Pargannas. The Government are not aware of the alleged difficulties and inconveniences experienced by litigants, but in any case the matter is one which primarily concerns the Local Government to whom it is open to propose an amendment of Regulation V of 1893.

DELHI MUNICIPAL BOARD.

654. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) when the period of the present Delhi Municipal Board was to have expired;

(b) has the period been extended by Government, if so,

(i) to what date, and

(ii) for what reasons;

(c) Is it a fact that the Municipal Councillors of Delhi had sent in a representation (by Resolution of the Board) asking:

(i) for a non-official President for Delhi, and

(ii) for the reasons of delay in the preparations for new elections.

(d) If so, what reply has been given?

Mr. H. Sharp: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to an identical question asked in the Council of State by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri on the 26th instant.

STAFF SELECTION BOARD'S EXAMINATION.

655. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: With reference to the examination held of the candidates for qualifying them for permanent posts in the Imperial Secretariat and attached officers, will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement containing the following information:

(a) Names of the candidates,

(b) Nationalities,

(c) Whether employed previously in any Government office or not,

(d) If employed, the number of years in service with the name of the office or department where employed at the time of examination and the division in which employed,

(e) If employed, the departmental recommendation on the form of application forwarded to the Board,

(f) Marks obtained at the written test,

(g) Marks obtained at the interview,

(h) Number of members of the Board present at the interview of each of them and whether any Indian Member was present,

(i) Percentage of Anglo-Indians who passed for the Upper and Lower divisions respectively and their failures,

(j) Percentage of Indians who passed for the Upper and Lower divisions respectively and their failures?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The Honourable Member has probably not realized the amount of labour and expense that would be involved in the preparation of the statement asked for. The number of candidates examined whose results have so far been determined is over 1,100. The information called for could not be given without a scrutiny of the applications and other papers relating to each of these men, and a compilation of the results would form a considerable volume. The information asked for in part (e) of the question is in any case of a nature which is necessarily treated as confidential. Government do not consider that the utility of a statement giving the information asked for in parts (a) to (i) of the question would be commensurate with the labour and expense involved in its preparation.

The answers to parts (i) and (j) are as follows:

(i) Total number	74
Upper Division	54 per cent.
Lower Division	15 "
Failures	41 "
(j) Total number	1,038
Upper Division	18 per cent.
Lower Division	11 "
Failures	71 "

These calculations exclude the results of the examination held on the 26th February 1921, at which over 500 candidates appeared, as these results have not yet been determined.

INSPECTOR OF OFFICE PROCEDURE.

656. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (a) What is the present pay of the Inspector of Office Procedure?

(b) What was the pay of the present incumbent of the post before he was appointed to this post?

(c) When was this post created?

(d) Have the Government considered whether a suitable Indian Civil Service officer of the rank of Deputy Secretary to the Government of India could not be appointed to that post?

(e) What will be the difference in expenditure if the pay of the post be made at par with that of a Deputy Secretary?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: (a) Rs. 2,250.

(b) Rs. 1,500.

(c) June 1920.

(d) No. The question of selecting an Indian Civil Service officer of the rank of Deputy Secretary for the post was not specially considered, but in any case no such officer had had the same experience in the organization of Commercial and Government offices as Mr. Watson.

(e) A Deputy Secretary to the Government of India is entitled to pay under the superior time-scale for the Indian Civil Service *plus* a duty allowance of

Rs. 400 subject to a maximum of Rs. 2,250, exclusive of overseas allowance of Rs. 250. The total maximum pay of a Deputy Secretary is therefore Rs. 2,500 which is also the maximum pay of the post of Inspector of Office Procedure.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT PROCEDURE COMMITTEE.

657. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas :** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the Report of Secretariat Procedure Committee?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : As stated by the Honourable Sir William Vincent in reply to a question asked by Dr. Sir Debaprasad Sarbadhikari at the meeting of the Legislative Council on the 16th September 1920, it is not proposed to lay on the table a copy of the Secretariat Procedure Committee's Report. The Honourable Member is also referred to the answer given by the Honourable Sir William Vincent to part (c) of the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's question No. 142 at the meeting of the Council of State on the 21st February 1921.

WATER WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

658. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas :** Will Government be pleased to state :

(a) if they have received a Memorial from Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman Khan in connection with his invention about Water Wireless Telegraphy.

(b) what facilities they have given to the gentleman in question for experimenting further,

(c) what facilities he asked for,

(d) whether they propose to allow him to experiment at any of Government wireless stations, if so, when and where?

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

(b) and (c). While Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman was in the Telegraph Department, several offers were made to him to put him on duty for experimental work at Alipur but he did not accept the offers. Since his retirement he has several times asked for financial assistance and for loans of staff and apparatus. Government were unable to provide such assistance but granted him a licence to experiment.

(d) It is not proposed to allow this gentleman to experiment at wireless stations as they are all working stations and cannot be used as experimental laboratories.

COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES IN FACTORIES.

659. **Mr. N. M. Joshi :** Does Government propose to take steps to enable persons working in factories, mines, docks and on railways to get adequate compensation for injuries which may be caused on account of accidents during the course of their work, and if so, will they state when they will place their proposals before this Assembly?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland : This question has been under examination in the Labour Bureau, and a provisional scheme is now being considered inter-departmentally. I hope we shall be in a position to consult Local Governments at an early date. If the Honourable Member will please repeat his question during the next Simla session, I may be in a position to give him more definite information.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HINDU AND MOSLEM UNIVERSITIES.

660. **Bhai Man Singh** : Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table copies of all the papers relating to the constitution of the Hindu University, Benares, and the Moslem University, Aligarh, including the correspondence and communications that passed between the promoters of these schemes, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India, and any Local Government?

Mr. H. Sharp : The Honourable Member is referred to the reply which I gave on the 17th instant to a similar question asked by Lala Girdharilal Agarwala.

MARTIAL LAW AND POLITICAL PRISONERS.

661. **Bhai Man Singh** : Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing :

(a) The number of all the Martial Law and other political prisoners and internees at the time of the Royal Proclamation regarding clemency.

(b) The number of such prisoners and internees granted clemency since then.

(c) The number of the Sikh political prisoners and internees under the Martial Law and otherwise at the time of the said proclamation.

(d) The number of the Sikh political prisoners and internees granted clemency since then?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : A statement is laid on the table.

Statement.

(a) 1,457.

(b) 1,270.

(c) 445 (approximately).

(d) 381.

SIKH POLITICAL PRISONERS AND INTERNEES.

662. **Bhai Man Singh** : Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing :

(a) A list of the present Sikh political prisoners and internees.

(b) The dates of their being so interned or imprisoned.

(c) The Court or any other authority under whose orders they have been so imprisoned or interned.

(d) The remaining period of imprisonment or internment.

(e) The offences for which they have been so imprisoned or interned.

(f) How many of them are America-returned.

(g) Any special reason why they have not been granted the benefit of the Royal Clemency?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : There are no Sikhs at present in internment. The information asked for by the Honourable Member in regard to Sikh political prisoners is being collected, and will be furnished as soon as available.

With reference to part (g) of the question, however, the Honourable Member is referred to the speech of the Honourable Sir William Vincent in the debate on the release of Martial Law prisoners in the Council of State as

far as persons convicted in the Punjab disturbances and still in jails are concerned. The release of the other Sikh political prisoners was not considered compatible with the public safety.

PROSECUTIONS OF SIKHS FOR KEEPING *KARPAN*.

663. **Phai Man Singh** : Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing :

- (1) A list of all the prosecutions of the Sikhs for keeping *karpān* :
 - (a) before any circular exempting *karpān* from the Arms Act was issued ;
 - (b) after a circular so exempting *karpān* was issued in the Punjab ;
 - (c) after the issue of any similar circular in any other province wherein the prosecution was started ;
 - (d) after the issue of any similar circular by the Government of India ;
 - (e) at places where no such circular was in force at the time of any such prosecution.
- (2) The result of all such prosecutions.
- (3) Any warning or punishment given to the Police or other officers responsible for starting such prosecution at places where any of the circulars exempting the *karpān* from the Arms Act was enforced ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : The information asked for is not available.

I will endeavour to obtain it from Local Governments and to supply the Honourable Member with the statement asked for in due course.

INITIAL OUTLAY ON CANALS IN INDIA.

664. **Bhai Man Singh** : Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing :

- (a) The gross initial outlay on each of the canals in India.
- (b) The average *abiana* (water rate) realized from each of such canals during the last seven years.
- (c) The net expenditure for the upkeep and administration of such canals during the said years.
- (d) The net average annual profit realized from such canals during the said years.
- (e) The average rate of annual interest thus realized from such canals on the initial capital invested by the Government ?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank : The Honourable Member will doubtless understand that the preparation of a statement giving the information he requires for the 233 canals in India for which separate capital accounts are kept would entail an enormous amount of labour altogether incommensurate with the cost of the establishment engaged thereon. The whole of the information desired is contained in published official reports on irrigation ; that referred to in parts (a), (c), (d) and (e) of the question being given in the statistical tables which accompany the annual Review of Irrigation in India, while that referred to in part (b) will be found in column 14 of Statement II E of the annual Irrigation Administration Reports published by the Local Governments. A statement giving the total figures for each of the seven years referred to is laid on the table.

Statement showing principal statistics of irrigation works in India for which capital accounts are kept, for seven years ending 1919-20.

Year.	Capital expenditure to end of year.	Gross revenue (including enhanced land revenue) from all sources.	Working expenses.	Net revenue.	Area irrigated.	Gross revenue per acre irrigated.	Working expenses per acre irrigated.	Percentage of net revenue to capital expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.
1912-14	64,91,92,020	7,30,61,407	2,14,77,842	5,65,83,565	16,969,445	4-25	1-27	7-79
1914-15	67,53,01,076	7,30,68,493	2,26,17,473	4,94,50,959	17,310,518	4-05	1-27	7-33
1915-16	69,62,18,473	7,32,21,379	2,41,71,732	4,90,49,527	17,340,683	4-23	1-39	7-05
1916-17	71,03,93,973	7,34,97,834	2,33,31,037	5,46,66,787	18,410,637	4-26	1-29	7-70
1917-18	72,33,37,665	7,66,48,390	2,45,03,503	5,21,44,887	18,005,590	4-26	1-36	7-21
1918-19	73,23,54,076	8,13,37,766	2,40,88,146	5,63,49,630	18,912,213	4-30	1-33	7-70
1919-20	73,93,82,157	8,96,53,655	2,74,03,426	6,12,48,229	20,765,144	4-27	1-32	8-23
Average of seven years	70,37,35,634	7,74,93,883	2,41,48,597	5,83,56,235	18,314,833	4-23	1-32	7-53

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT AND RAILWAY ACCOUNTANTS.

665. **Bhai Man Singh :** (a) Is it not a fact that the scale of pay of the Public Works Department and Railway accountants has not been revised except by way of introduction of the time-scale of pay with the same minimum (Rs. 80) and reduced maximum (from Rs. 550 to Rs. 450) which was fixed originally in 1864 ?

(b) If so, does not the Government propose to revise the said scale of pay commensurate with the rise of prices of the necessities of life during the period of over half a century and for the same reasons that necessitated the revision of scales of salaries of the enrolled and Public Works Department lists of superior Accounts Officers several time during these years ?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : (a) It is true that the minimum pay of the revised time scale for Public Works Department accountants is Rs. 80 which was also the previous minimum. The annual increment for the first ten years of service has, however, been increased from Rs. 7 to Rs. 10 and as these men, besides receiving other concessions, have been allowed to count previous service in determining their new pay, this gives a considerable concession to most of them. Further, the amalgamation of two grades into one has given an advantage to the men at the top of the lower grade and to almost all those in the upper grade. The same remarks apply to the Railway accountants, except that in their case a further modification has been made in the scale, whereby those men who retain the title of accountant now start on a minimum pay of Rs. 150. After rising to Rs. 450, both these classes have the chance of earning two further increments of Rs. 50, which will bring their maximum up to Rs. 550.

(b) The Government have no present intention of revising these scales of pay again.

INDIAN ACCOUNTANTS OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT AND RAILWAY
LISTS.

666. **Bhai Man Singh :** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state respectively the number of European, Anglo-Indian and Indian accountants of the Public Works Department and Railway lists who have been promoted to the enrolled list of the Indian Finance Department since 1911 ?

(b) If no, or very few, Indians have been so promoted, will the Government be pleased to state (1) if there are special reasons for the omission, and (2) if the Government now intends to make up the deficiency by promoting a sufficient number of Indians to the said list ?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : (a) Six officers have been promoted to the General List of the Indian Audit Department since 1911, and they are all Europeans or Anglo-Indians.

(b) (i) and (ii). Promotions of subordinates to the General List are made by strict selection from amongst the Assistant Accounts Officers and senior Accountants without any regard to race or creed, and the six officers selected were the most able of their contemporaries. This omission of Indians is largely explained by the fact that formerly Europeans and Anglo-Indian

preponderated in the higher grades of the Public Works Department subordinate account staff. For example, of the eight Public Works Chief Accountants in service in July 1911 six were Europeans or Anglo-Indians. The disparity has, however, been now extinguished. Of the eight Assistant Accounts Officers (Public Works Department) now in service four are Indians. Thus it is likely that in future a considerable share of such promotions will go to Indians.

DISCONTENTMENT IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

667. Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : (a) Is Government aware of the great discontentment prevailing in the Ordnance Factories among the leading hands and Indian service mechanics due to the non-fulfilment of promises made to these men by the heads of their departments to revise their pre-war rates of pay, while the rest of the staff have been in receipt of substantial increment for some time ?

(b) Is Government aware that these men were promised in early 1918 that their rates were being revised along with the Home-recruited men, *viz.*, the Foremen and Assistant Foremen of the Factories, and that whereas the latter received in September 1919 an increase of pay averaging 35 to 40 per cent. over pre-war rates, the former received nothing more than the temporary war allowance sanctioned for both in 1918 ?

Sir Godfrey Fell : I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the replies given on the 11th March to the Questions asked by Dr. Gour, Nos. 440 and 443.

INDIAN SERVICE MECHANICS IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

668. Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : (a) Is it not the fact that the leading hands and Indian service mechanics in Ordnance Factories after appealing for three years have just been granted only an additional 5 per cent. temporary allowance, whereas another 15 per cent. would have only cost Government approximately Rs. 1,400 monthly, and at the same time given these men a percentage of increase which would have brought them into line with increases granted to the rest of the staff ?

(b) Is it not the fact that the Home-recruited men are being granted (if not already granted) a further increase of pay by way of 'overseas allowance' which gives them an increase of *nearly 60 per cent.* over pre-war rates of pay and cost Government an additional *1½ lacs of rupees* annually, while the leading hands and Indian service mechanics, 'for want of funds,' can only get a temporary allowance of *25 per cent.* over pre-war rates? If so, will Government please state the reasons for this differential treatment ?

(c) Does Government propose to see that necessary action is taken immediately to increase the temporary allowance of leading hands and Indian service mechanics in the same proportion as the increases sanctioned for the Home-recruited men, *viz.*, Foremen and Assistant Foremen; and also to recompense these men by early sanctioning a revised permanent scale commensurate with the present high price of labour, basing it on a time scale with retrospective effect to September 1919 as in the case of the Home-recruited men ?

Sir Godfrey Fell : (a) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by me on the 11th March to Question No. 440 asked by Dr. Gour. He will see that the increase of pay sanctioned to these men in January last represented a *permanent* increase of 25 per cent. over their pre-war rates of pay. An additional 15 per cent. bringing the total increase on pre-war rates of pay up to 40 per cent. would have cost Government Rs. 2,648 per mensem, and not Rs. 1,400 per mensem as stated by the Honourable Member.

(b) I have nothing to add to the reply given on the 11th March to clause (a) of Question No. 442 asked by Dr. Gour.

(c) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given in answer to (b) of Question No. 443 asked by Dr. Gour on the 11th March.

DISTRICT JUDGES FROM THE INDIAN BAR.

669. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala :** (a) How many District Judges, if any, are going to be recruited from the Indian Bar ? If so, when ?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing approximately the number of such appointments in each province, detailing the number of Vakil Barristers, Hindus and Muhammadans, and also detailing Brahmans and non-Brahmans in Madras ?

(c) How many more posts of District Judges in each province are going to be thrown open to the members of the Provincial Judicial Service ?

(d) Is it proposed to appoint the members of the Indian Bar or the Provincial Judicial Service to the posts of Registrar, Deputy and Assistant Registrars in the Indian High Courts, Chief Courts and Judicial Commissioners' Courts ; if so, when, and how many ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : (a), (b) and (c). The Honourable Member is referred to the answers given to the similar questions asked by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail and Mr. Alli Baksh Muhammad Hussain on the 15th February 1921.

(d) The selection and appointment of persons to the posts referred to in the Calcutta High Court vests in the Chief Justice of that Court under clause (8) of its letters patent as recently amended. It may be added, however, that attorneys are usually appointed to the Registrarship on the Original Side, and that the corresponding appointment on the Appellate Side is borne on the cadre of the Indian Civil Service and is filled from that service. As regards the other High Courts the Honourable Member should address the Local Governments concerned.
legislatures

DEPUTY COLLECTORS AND EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS.

670. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala :** (a) Is the Government aware that many Deputy Collectors and Extra Assistant Commissioners in India are graduates in law and High Court Vakils who aspire for higher appointments than those at present thrown open to ordinary Deputy Collectors not so qualified ?

(b) Does the Government intend to open a door for them for High Court Judgeships by appointing some of them as District and Assistant Judges along with the members of the Indian Civil Service ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : (a) The Government are not aware that there are many Deputy Collectors and Assistant Commissioners who cherish these aspirations.

(b) Promotion from the provincial services to appointments of District and Sessions Judge or Assistant Sessions Judge is reserved for members of the judicial branch of these services just as promotion to listed posts of District Magistrates and Collectors is reserved for the members of the executive branch. This was known to the officers referred to when they entered the executive branch and the Government see no reason to depart from the policy adopted hitherto; officers promoted from the provincial service to hold posts ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service have the same opportunities of promotion as those who have been directly recruited.

EXPORT OF WHEAT AND OTHER FOOD-GRAINS.

671. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : (a) What principle governs the control of export of wheat and other food-grains ?

(b) To what extent and when and by whom may any such grains be exported and on what conditions ?

Mr. J. Hullah : (a) With the exception of the 400,000 tons of wheat specially released for export in October last, allotments for export of wheat and other food-grains are only made to those countries, mostly with a large Indian population, which are ordinarily dependent on India for supplies or which cannot obtain their requirements from elsewhere.

(b) These allotments are distributed by the Collectors of Customs at Indian ports amongst established shippers to the destination concerned.

SUPPLY BILL TRANSACTIONS.

672. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : (a) Are supply bill transactions made at tehsil sub-treasuries ? If so, under what conditions and restrictions ?

(b) If not, are the Government prepared to arrange that such transactions within reasonable limits be made at sub-treasuries also ?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : (a) and (b). Supply bills and currency telegraphic transfers are sometimes issued at and on sub-treasuries under special instructions from the Deputy Controller of the Currency of the circle concerned. No general conditions or restrictions are laid down. Each individual application is treated on its merits by the Deputy Controller of the Currency.

POWERS OF MINISTERS OVER TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

673. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : (a) What are the powers of Ministers over Transferred Subjects in the Provincial Governments ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : The Honourable Member is referred to section 52 of the Government of India Act, the Devolution Rules, and the rules under section 19-A of the Government of India Act.

PRINTING WORK OF GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND HIGH COURTS.

674. Lala Girdharilal Agarwala : (a) Will the Government be pleased to state on what principles the work of Government offices and High Courts and other courts is given to private presses for printing ?

(b) Has the question of giving the said work to all the presses who apply for the work and are not considered to be unreliable for special reasons, at reasonable terms, been considered?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland : (a) The Government of India are concerned only with the printing work of the Departments of the Government of India and subordinate offices. The printing work of all High Courts, excepting the Calcutta High Court, and of offices subordinate to Provincial Governments, is regulated by Local Governments. In order to ensure expedition, as well as economy, the Government of India have established State printing presses at Calcutta, Delhi and Simla. Work which cannot be done in these presses is entrusted to private firms subject to the examination of rates by the Controller, or local Superintendents of Printing. The printing of Government of India forms has also been given, for the last 40 years, to private firms on the best available terms.

(b) So far as the Government of India are concerned, the answer is in the affirmative.

INCREASED RATE POSTCARDS.

675. **Lala Girdharilal Agarwala :** Have any increased rate postcards been printed already?

Mr. C. A. Innes : The answer is in the negative. The Secretary of State wired out on the 14th March that to avoid delay he proposed to proceed with the manufacture of dies and plates at a cost of £100, but we cabled Home on the 22nd March that arrangements for the printing of half-anna postcards should be stopped. In India, as a precautionary measure, a number of postcards have been stamped with a half-anna surcharge.

DISTINCTION IN RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS.

676. **Haji Wajihuddin :** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state, with reference to Question No. 327, answered on the 1st March 1921, why the distinction between 'Europeans' and 'Indians' in the compartments of Intermediate class is allowed, when the same is not considered desirable for the first and second classes?

(b) Are the Government prepared to issue immediate instructions for the removal of the distinction from the former compartments also?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn : There is, so far as Government are aware, no general wish for reservation of separate compartments in the first and second classes. There is, however, a considerable section of the public which desires reservation in the lower classes, and consequently Government do not propose at present to remove such reservation entirely as at present exists.

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE.

677. **Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** Is it a fact that discontent prevails among the Deputy Superintendents of Police of all the Provinces and that they have submitted memorials to His Excellency the Governor General for a further increase in their pay in order to bring it to the level of Deputy Collectors? If so, what steps have been taken up to now to remove their discontent?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : Memorials have been received from the Deputy Superintendents of Police of several provinces showing that those officers are not satisfied with the rates of pay sanctioned for them and asking for a further increase. The memorials are under the consideration of the Government of India.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSIT IN THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

678. **Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai :** Will the Government be pleased to collect information and lay on the table a statement showing the latest figures available as to the amount deposited in the Imperial Bank of India by the Government.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : On the 18th March 1921, the public deposits in the Imperial Bank amounted to 4 crores 1½ lakhs.

GOVERNORS OF THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

679. **Rai Bahadur S. P. Bajpai :** Will the Government be pleased to state what the Governors of the Imperial Bank are paid by way of pay and allowances ?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : The Governors of the Imperial Bank appointed under section 28 (1) (i) and (iii) of the Imperial Bank of India Act receive, under Bye-law 14 of the Bye-laws of the Imperial Bank of India, a fee of Rs. 200 for each Central Board meeting which they attend, together with the amount of their travelling expenses, if any, and a fee of Rs. 50 for each committee meeting of the Central Board which they attend ; no fees are paid for attendance at additional meetings.

680. **Mr. Syed Nabi Hadi :** (*Vide* pages 1619-1620 of these Debates.)

ARMY HEADQUARTERS EMPLOYEES AND HIS HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT'S VISIT TO DELHI.

681. **Munshi Mahadeo Prasad :** (a) Is it a fact that officers and clerks of Army Headquarters at Simla and other places, if any, were permitted to have a trip to Delhi at the Government expense on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to Delhi ?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, then will the Government be pleased to state (i) what has been the total expenditure so incurred, (ii) the number of officers and clerks who got this concession, and (iii) how many of them were Indians and Europeans, respectively ?

Sir Godfrey Fell : (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) This part of the question does not, therefore, arise.

ROYAL AIR FORCE IN INDIA.

682. **Munshi Mahadeo Prasad :** Will the Government state :

(a) If it intends taking in its own hands the policy regarding the Royal Air Force in India ? If not, why not ?

(b) If it intends taking steps to get the Royal Air Force open to Indians ?

(c) If there be any bar, then the nature and authority for the same ?

Sir Godfrey Fell : (a) The question is not understood. The Royal Air Force is a British Service, controlled by the Air Ministry in the United

Kingdom: Units of the Royal Air Force are lent for service in India, and while in India, they come under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and under the administrative control of the Government of India.

The Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, is responsible to the Commander-in-Chief for the efficiency of the Royal Air Force in India. He prepares the estimates and administers the budget of the Royal Air Force, subject to the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief. He is permitted to correspond direct with the Royal Air Force authorities in England on technical subjects, including the supply of technical stores for which provision has been made in his budget or for which special sanction has been obtained.

(b) and (c). As I explained in reply to a question asked by Munshi Jawar Saran, on the 22nd February, recruitment for the Royal Air Force is in the hands of His Majesty's Government. The Government of India are not aware that there exists any bar to the admission of Indians to the Royal Air Force, subject to their fulfilling the necessary conditions. They propose, however, to inquire from His Majesty's Government what is the exact position in regard to the admissibility of Indians into the Royal Air Force.

RACIAL DISABILITIES IN THE ROYAL AIR FORCE.

683. **Munshi Mahadeo Prasad:** (a) Is it a fact that racial disabilities exist even in the clerical establishment of the offices of the Royal Air Force in India?

(b) Is it a fact that higher scale of pay has been introduced for European and lower for Indian clerks in the Headquarters of the Royal Air Force? If so, what is the difference between the two?

(c) Is it a fact that prior to September last, Indians could become Superintendents and get more than Rs. 200 a month in Headquarters of Royal Air Force, but now cannot?

(d) Is it a fact that there is a general discontent among the Indian clerks of the Headquarters of the Royal Air Force? If so, what do the Government of India propose to do to remove this discontent?

Sir Godfrey Fell: (a) The answer is in the negative. On the constitution of the Royal Air Force, the senior administrative unit of a group of Air Force Squadrons, such as we have in India, was termed a Group Headquarters. This headquarters has a standardised establishment and may be compared with a Brigade or Division Headquarters in the Army. The clerical establishment consists mainly of Air Force personnel trained in technical capacities; and as the Group Headquarters of the Air Force in India is a mobile unit, liable to be moved anywhere within and outside India, it is imperative that the senior clerical personnel should be serving airmen of the service.

(b) The European clerks receive their ordinary rates of pay as fixed by the Air Ministry for all units of the Royal Air Force. The pay of the Indians employed in the Group Headquarters of the Air Force in India is based on the duties they are called upon to perform and on the rates pertaining to similar posts in other Government offices.

(c) The answer is in the affirmative. Prior to September last, it was possible for an Indian to become a Superintendent in the Headquarters of the

Air Force, but subsequent to that date, the post of Superintendent was abolished.

(d) A memorial dealing with certain grievances has recently been submitted by the Indian clerks of Royal Air Force Headquarters, this is now under the consideration of Government. From the fact that applications to serve at Royal Air Force Headquarters are constantly being received from Indians, it may be inferred that this service is not unpopular.

HEADQUARTERS OF ROYAL AIR FORCE.

684. **Munshi Mahadeo Prasad:** (a) Is it a fact that Headquarters of Royal Air Force have been treated hitherto as a branch of Army Headquarters. If so, is it a fact that a uniform time scale of pay has been applied to all clerical establishments of the Army Headquarters except Headquarters Royal Air Force? If so, why?

(b) Is it a fact that the clerical staff of Army Headquarters have been sanctioned an increment of pay except that of Headquarters of Royal Air Force?

Sir Godfrey Fell: From 1915 to 1918 the Royal Flying Corps Headquarters in India formed part of Army Headquarters, India.

When the Royal Air Force was formed in 1918 as a separate service, the flying units then in India were entirely separated from the administrative control of Army Headquarters. The conditions of clerical service which apply to Army Headquarters are not therefore applicable to the Royal Air Force.

INDIAN CLERKS OF HEADQUARTERS ROYAL AIR FORCE.

685. **Munshi Mahadeo Prasad:** Has any representation been received from the Indian clerks of Headquarters Royal Air Force, about increment and other grievances? If so, what action has been taken or is proposed to be taken to meet their wishes?

Sir Godfrey Fell: I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to my reply to (d) of his Question No. 683.

AUTOMOBILE TRAFFIC BETWEEN MECCA AND JEDDAH.

686. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Has the Government any information regarding the introduction of automobile traffic between Mecca and Jeddah?

Is it a private arrangement or connected with the Hedjaz Government and is it intended to carry stores only or both pilgrims and stores?

Mr. H. Sharp (on behalf of the Honourable Mr. Denys Bray): So far as the Government of India is aware, there is no automobile service between Jeddah and Mecca. They believe there were a few motor cars, presumably privately owned, running on the road last year.

PROVINCIAL POLICE SERVICE.

687. **Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally:** Will the Government be pleased to state what action has been taken on the memorial and representations submitted last year by the Provincial Police Service of different provinces in India, on the subject of their grievances in the matter of pay and prospects as compared with other Provincial services?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The memorials are under the consideration of the Government of India.

INDIAN SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE.

688. Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally: Will the Government be pleased to state how many appointments of Indian Superintendents of Police have been or will be made by promotion, and if so, when from the existing cadre of Deputy Superintendents in each Province in pursuance of the orders passed by the Government of India in the Home Department in their letter No. 1227, dated the 30th June 1920?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The Government of India are unable to give the detailed information asked for. Recruitment to the Indian Police will, under the new system which is to come into force this year, be so regulated that eventually 11 per cent. of the superior appointments will be filled by promoted Provincial Service Officers, but the time which must elapse before this percentage can be fully worked up to must necessarily vary with the conditions obtaining in the Police cadre in each province.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE AND THE PROVINCIAL SERVICE.

689. Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally: Has the attention of the Government of India been invited to a reply of the Bombay Government in the first session of the new Council (to a question of Khan Sahib S. N. Bhutto, O.B.E.) to the effect that no orders have as yet been received increasing the number of Superintendents of Police to be held by the members of the Provincial Service? Will the Government kindly state when such orders will issue?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The attention of Government has not been drawn to the question and answer referred to. No specific orders have issued or will issue increasing the number of superior posts in the Indian Police to be held by members of the Provincial Police Service, but, as I have just informed the Honourable Member in reply to another question, officers of the Provincial Service will be promoted to the Indian (Imperial) Police so as eventually to hold 11 per cent. of superior appointments. The new system of recruitment, in which the provision above mentioned is included, is to come into force this year, and this decision was communicated to Local Governments in June 1920.

INDIAN DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENTS AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE.

690. Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally: (a) Are the Government aware of the fact that the percentage of appointments to be made from Indian Deputy Superintendents to the grade of Superintendents was fixed at 5 only some 15 years back; that as a matter of fact out of the two appointments allotted to Indians in the Bombay Presidency one has been given away to a non-Indian (Eurasian or European) thus leaving only one appointment for a *bond fide* Indian after 15 years' long waiting?

(b) Are the Government aware that the members of existing Provincial Police Service have been looking forward with impatience to their share in the higher branch of service. Will the Government be pleased to state when the new orders are likely to come into effect?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The Honourable Member has correctly stated the percentage of superior posts which have hitherto been open to Provincial Police officers. The Government of India have no information regarding the facts alleged in the matter of promotion of Deputy Superintendents in the Bombay Presidency. As regards the remainder of the question I would refer the Honourable Member to the answers I have just given to his other two questions on this subject.

STAFF SELECTION BOARD AND APPOINTMENTS IN CERTAIN DEPARTMENTS.

691. Babu K. C. Neogy: With reference to the reply to Question No. 347, clause (g), will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that certain appointments have been given in the Legislative Department, the Department of Industries, and the Office of the Deputy Financial Adviser, Military Finance, to persons who have not passed the examination held by the Staff Selection Board?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: No exemptions have been granted by the Staff Selection Board—but in the Departments mentioned some men have been appointed who have not passed the Staff Selection Board Examination. In the Legislative Department, men were required urgently so as to be trained in their new duties well before the commencement of the current Legislative Sessions and it was therefore not possible to wait till the results of the examinations held by the Staff Selection Board had been determined. The Financial Adviser's Office was on a temporary basis and largely staffed with accounts clerks and as it was essential that there should be no break in the continuity of their work which is of a highly technical description appointments were given to men who had done well. In future, recruitment will be made through the Staff Selection Board. The Department of Industries had been organized in March 1920 on a temporary basis on the understanding that men would be made permanent if the Secretary of State sanctioned the full strength then employed. The permanent staff was eventually reduced but the undertaking had been given before the creation of the Staff Selection Board. No new men have been recruited since the creation of the Staff Selection Board on a permanent basis, and no men will be employed in future without reference to it.

SELECTION GRADE POSTS IN THE IMPERIAL SECRETARIAT.

692. Babu K. C. Neogy: With reference to the statement made in reply to Question No. 347, clause (f), to the effect that the 'heads of Departments of the Government of India have neither the time nor the opportunity to obtain sufficient personal knowledge of the ability of each member of the clerical establishment,' will Government be pleased to state how and by what agency are selections of Assistants for promotion to the Selection Grades made?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: Generally speaking, the Deputy Secretary in each department deals with questions pertaining to the promotion of assistants within the department. In doubtful cases, he obtains the orders of the Secretary. What was intended to be conveyed by the words quoted by the Honourable Member was that the recommendation of a Head of a Department was not sufficient to justify exemption from appearance at the examination in question, without which a uniform standard could not be secured.

PERCENTAGE OF LITERATES IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE HINDU COMMUNITY.

693. **Mr. A. B. Latthe:** (a) Is the Government aware of the very great disparity in the percentage of literates, both in English and Vernacular, among the different sections of the Hindu Communities?

(b) Do the Government propose to obtain from Local Governments each year separate figures about the educational progress of all communities whose literacy is below 10 per cent. among males, and embody this information in a special Table in their Annual Bulletins on Indian Education?

(c) Are the Government prepared to call for reports as to what steps are taken by the Local Governments every year to bring up the Hindu Communities whose educational progress in the fields of primary, secondary and higher education has been very slow, and to summarise that information in the said bulletin on Indian Education?

(d) Was the problem of the abnormal educational backwardness of some Hindu Communities, relatively to the great progress made by others, considered by the Central Advisory Educational Board? If so, what were the conclusions arrived at by the Board in this respect?

Mr. H. Sharp: (a) The Government of India are aware of the great disparity in the percentage of literates belonging to the more advanced and the more backward Hindu communities, as disclosed at the Census of 1911.

(b) The suggestion of the Honourable Member, if adopted, would involve every year the preparation by the officers of the Provincial Education Departments of a table somewhat similar in character to table IX of the Census Report. The benefit derived from the annual compilation of such a table would not be commensurate with the expenditure of time and trouble involved.

(c) The annual reports of Directors of Public Instruction usually contain information as to the educational progress of backward communities. A summary of the information most recently supplied will be found at pages 19 and 20 of Indian Education in 1919-20. General Table III-A of the annual educational returns compares Brahmans and non-Brahmans in respect of numbers attending educational institutions; and, as regards the communities which are generally termed 'the depressed classes', elaborate figures were shown in Appendix XIII to the last Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education and were summarised in Chapter XVIII of the same publication. It is hoped to collect this information again for the next Quinquennial Review.

(d) The answer to the first part of this question is in the negative. The education of backward classes would not form a suitable subject for consideration by the Central Advisory Board inasmuch as the conditions of this problem vary greatly from province to province and different methods of dealing with it have been adopted by different Local Governments. Education being now a provincial transferred subject, the problem is essentially one for Local Governments to handle.

AUDIT OF EXPENDITURE ON STORES.

694. **Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer:** (a) Will the audit of expenditure on stores purchased in England for India be under the control of the Auditor-General in India?

(b) If this is not intended, what steps will be taken by Government to safeguard the interests of the Indian tax-payer?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : (a) No.

(b) Under sub-section (2) of section 27 of the Government of India Act, all expenditure of the kind in question must be audited by the India Office Auditor, who is appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor. A perusal of the other sub-sections of the section will, I think, make it quite plain that the conditions under which the India Office Auditor is required to work are such as to safeguard very materially the interests of the Indian tax-payer.

STORES PURCHASES IN ENGLAND.

695. **Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer :** (a) Will financial irregularities brought to light in connection with the stores purchases in England, be brought under the review of the Public Accounts Committee appointed by the Indian Legislature?

(b) If not, how will the Legislative Assembly be in a position to exercise any voice over the heavy expenditure in England on its accounts?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : (a) I have explained in my answer to the previous question that all expenditure on stores in England will be audited by the India Office Auditor. A copy of the report of the Auditor, which is submitted to the Secretary of State and to both Houses of Parliament, is sent to the Government of India also. I am quite prepared to lay copies of such reports when received before the Committee on Public Accounts and to send to the Secretary of State in Council any remarks on the Auditor's reports which the Assembly may desire to make after considering the recommendations of the Committee on Public Accounts.

(b) In view of my reply to clause (a) this question does not arise.

SALE OF SALT IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

696. **Mr. J. Chaudhuri :** (a) Do the Government of India propose to appoint agents for the sale of salt in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh?

(b) Are the Government aware that the appointment of such agents has the effect of raising the retail price of salt?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland : The Government of India have consulted the Local Governments of the Punjab, United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa on a proposal for the appointment under the control of district officers of agents in each district who will keep an adequate stock of salt from the Northern India Sources and sell it at prices to be fixed by the district officer with due reference to the cost at the source, transport charges and a small and fixed margin of profit. It is hoped that this system will insure the salt being sold to retailers and consumers at reasonable prices and will prevent the reckless speculation and profiteering that has characterised the trade in recent times. It is claimed that the proposal will have an effect

exactly opposite to what is suggested in the second part of the Honourable Member's question.

The statement laid on the table in reply to Question No. 385,* dated 5th March 1921, which it was stated would be printed later, is published below :

Statement laid on the table in connection with the reply to Question No. 385, dated 5th March 1921.

(b)(iv) Scales of pay for Anglo-Indian, Hindu and Muhammadan clerks are the same, also for Station Masters and Assistant Station Masters. In the Locomotive Department, different scales of pay exist for Indians and Anglo-Indians (including Europeans) running staff as will be seen from the list given below :

Drivers.

Indians (Hindu and Muhammadan).	Anglo-Indians.
34	140
36	150
38	160
42	170
46	180
50	190
54	200
58	210
62	220

Shunters.

Indians (Hindu and Muhammadan).	Anglo-Indians.
23	110
25	
27	
13	75
14	85
15	90
17	
18	
19	

NOTE.—It is pointed out that Indian running staff are mostly illiterate whereas Anglo-Indian firemen must have at least passed the Standard VI before they are appointed.

The Resolutions† of the Government of India Nos. 2559, dated 1st December 1920, 1260, dated 24th June 1920, and 2853, dated 1st November 1920, referred to in the reply to Question No. 467, dated 15th March 1921, have been published in *Supplements to the Gazette of India* dated 4th December 1920, 26th June 1920 and 6th November 1920.

*Vide page 594 of these Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume I, No. 8.

†Vide page 1066 of the Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume I, No. 11.

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY BILL.

MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

The Honourable the President: I have received a message from the Secretary of the Council of State :

'I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have, at their meeting of 26th March, agreed without any amendment, to the Bill to amend the Law relating to the Calcutta University, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 17th March 1921.

H. MONCRIEFF SMITH,
Secretary of the Council of State.

THE HINDU TRANSFERS AND BEQUESTS (CITY OF MADRAS) BILL.

The Honourable the President: Another Message from the Council of State :

'I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have, at their meeting of 26th March, agreed without any amendment, to the Bill to declare the right of Hindus to make transfers and bequests in favour of unborn persons in the City of Madras, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting of 21st March 1921:

H. MONCRIEFF SMITH,
Secretary of the Council of State.

THE INVALIDATION OF HINDU CEREMONIAL EMOLUMENTS BILL.

Mr. A. B. Latthe: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the law relating to the emoluments claimable by Watandar Hindu priests.

The only thing that I wish to add to the Statement of Objects and Reasons is, that under the rules framed under the Government of India Act, this is a central subject and cannot be dealt within a Provincial Council; and that is the reason why, although this Bill applies principally to the Bombay Presidency and some parts of the Central Provinces, I am asking this House for leave to introduce it here. I may also add that this Bill does not seek to interfere with any vested rights in property or anything of the kind. It simply seeks to declare the claims of the hereditary priests to fees from persons who do not employ them at their ceremonials as being invalid. That is the only purpose of the Bill and I hope that the House will permit me to introduce this Bill.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. A. B. Latthe: I introduce the Bill, Sir.

RESOLUTIONS RE ESHER COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Honourable the President: There are fifteen Resolutions on the paper in the name of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. It will be for the convenience of the Assembly if a certain latitude is allowed to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in moving his first Resolution, in order that he may deal with the general subjects raised by the Report of the Esher Committee. I hope it will be generally understood that in allowing the Mover a certain amount of latitude, that deprives him, and to some extent those who follow him, of their full rights of

(The President.)

discussing every Resolution as it is put from the Chair. The proposal is, therefore, that I do not strictly enforce the rule relating to the half-hour time limit on speeches by Movers of Resolutions in the case of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, he on his part undertaking not to do more than move formally each successive Resolution standing in his name.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : Sir, the course which, in view of the very limited time at our disposal and the large number of Resolutions which have to be considered by the Assembly, I should like to pursue, with your permission, is to make one speech introducing not merely my first Resolution, but all the other Resolutions. The whole series of Resolutions is a compact one and they all really hang together; and in order to enable the Assembly to follow the whole series of Resolutions, it would, I think, be desirable that I make some general remarks in my speech now explaining the reasons which led the Committee to put forward these recommendations. After my first speech I have no intention of coming before you again with any speech upon the subsequent Resolutions after the other Members have been called upon to speak. This course will, I am sure, save the time of the House, save my own energies and be conducive to the convenience of all.

Sir, the terms of the reference to the Esher Committee were wide enough to include the whole question of the administration and the organisation of the Army in India, with reference to post-bellum conditions. But, notwithstanding the very wide terms of reference to them, the Committee took a somewhat unduly restricted view of their duties. They did not consider it necessary to go into the question of the strength of the army, the composition of the army, nor even

'The specific purposes for which the army is required in view of the greater responsibilities assumed by the British Empire in consequence of the Treaties of Peace recently concluded'.

I am quoting their own words. They gave no opinion upon the ratio of the British to the Indian troops; the only point of view from which the committee approached the question of army administration and organisation was how to make the army, such as it is, a more efficient machine and a more contented machine. That was the only point of view which they placed before themselves. Now, I grant that efficiency and contentment are important considerations in the administration of an army, and efficiency depends upon contentment. An army which is not efficient is worse than useless. But the Committee forgot that an army which imposes heavy financial burdens upon the people and absorbs the greater part of the revenues of the country is bound to create discontent, especially when it cannot enlist the sentiment of national pride in its support.

Mr. H. E. Spry : Will the Honourable Member speak a little more loudly? We cannot hear him here.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : I have got a weak voice, but I shall do what I can. The Committee paid little heed to the question of the cost of their proposals or the training of the nation for self-defence or the gratification of national aspirations. The result was that the report of the Committee was not merely disappointing, but created feelings of alarm, alarm with regard to the fiscal burdens it might impose, and alarm with regard to the question of national training for self-defence. I may call your attention to

an article which appeared in that notorious Tory organ, the *Morning Post*, which said that the effect of the Committee's proposals was to raise an effective barrier against the Babu for quite a generation. The committee of the Assembly, Sir, has sought to supply some of the defects in the report of the Esher Committee. Our conclusions are not merely critical but constructive. Our committee, I am sorry to say, has not been able to deal with all the subjects which have been dealt with in the report of the Esher Committee; for instance, we have not been able to deal with the question of the organization of the Indian Medical Service, of the relations between the Indian Medical Service and the Royal Army Medical Corps; nor has it been able to deal with the question of the separation of the civil medical service from the military medical service. We have not been able to devise any measures for immediate relief from the burden of Military charges. We have not even been able to feel that we have touched the bottom of the military charges. We are unable to understand how the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England was able to declare from his place in the House of Commons a few days ago that the normal expenditure of the Army in England would be £69 millions and would enable England to maintain an army of about 340,000 odd soldiers. On the other hand, our Finance Minister declared in his speech introducing the budget that our normal expenditure for military purposes would be Rs. 58 crores per annum. We are convinced, however, that our recommendations adumbrate the only sound line of policy and that they are bound eventually to result in economy and national efficiency. I shall just say a few introductory words with regard to the recommendations of the Committee.

The first two recommendations of the Committee deal with the main question of the purposes for which the Army in India exists. This is one of the basic questions of any inquiry into the administration or organization of the Army. We declare that the purpose of the Army in India must be held to be defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity: and we go on to say that to the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up to date, and with due regard to Indian conditions, in accordance with present-day standards of efficiency in the British Army so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organization, etc., which would render such co-operation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions. I do not think that this Resolution will meet with any real criticism. I am sure it will commend itself to all. The size, the limits of the Army must necessarily be determined by the purposes for which it is maintained, and those purposes are the two which are mentioned in this Resolution.

Upon one point is absolutely necessary to make our intention clear, namely that the equipment, organization and administration should, as far as possible, correspond to those adopted in England. Our standard of efficiency must be the same as the standard of efficiency that is aimed at in England. We also desire to make it clear that we have no desire to shirk our obligations as regards the defence of the empire. We are quite willing to share the burdens which in this respect rest upon all the members of the empire, and all we ask

.

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

is that we should be called upon to undertake those burdens subject to the same conditions to which the Self-governing Dominions are subject.

Then the second part of this Resolution seeks to repudiate the assumption underlying the whole Report of the Esher Committee : (1), That the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire, and (2), that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities. I am in fact quoting the *ipsissima verba* of the Esher Committee's Report. The Esher Committee cannot get out of the fact that their language throughout the report implies a desire to determine the organization of the Indian Army with reference to the possibility of operations in the middle East as the result of the normal political machinery created by the Peace Treaty and the disturbed condition of the middle East brought about by European diplomacy and politics. In this connection, I may point out that my Honourable friend, Sir Godfrey Fell, has given notice of an amendment which substantially does not differ from ours except to this extent ; we take it that there are two assumptions underlying the whole report, and we are abundantly supported in our conclusions by the language of the Report. Sir Godfrey Fell does not wish it to be taken that the Committee has assumed these two things. He also asks that the Government of India should repudiate these two assumptions ; The only point of difference between myself and my Honourable friend, Sir Godfrey Fell, being that he objects to our stating that these assumptions were made in the Esher Committee's Report. Whether those assumptions are there or not it is for the Assembly to judge. All that I should like to observe in regard to this Resolution before I pass on, is this. Every one knows that just as India is part of the Empire, the armed forces of India must also be part of the Empire. Did the Esher Committee only mean to lay down this arithmetical truism ?

Did they mean nothing more than that when they said that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities ? Whatever they meant, what they said can only mean what our Committee have said, they meant and I am glad that Sir Godfrey Fell on behalf of the Esher Committee has come forward to state that the Esher Committee had no such intention as that.

Now, Sir, I pass on to another Resolution. The members of the committee thought it necessary that the purposes for which the Army exists should not only be declared positively but should also be defined negatively, by stating for what purpose the Army should not be employed, and it was because they wanted to make the intention clear both positively and negatively that they went on to enunciate the recommendation contained in Resolution No. 2, that the army in India should not as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India, except for purely defensive purposes, or with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council in very grave emergencies, provided that this Resolution does not preclude the employment on garrison duties overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government and with the consent of the Government of India. Now the words 'external frontiers' are no doubt an elastic term, but we cannot help it. It may not be wise or possible for us to wait till the Bolsheviks knock at our gates. It is impossible to be more precise, and the object of the committee in providing for the use

of the army, with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council, in very grave emergencies, was to provide for cases where the army might be required for service outside the external frontiers of India, on occasions like the one when Lord Hardinge sent the Expeditionary Force from India to Flanders. It is emergencies of that kind that the Committee had in view when they put in the words 'in very grave emergencies.' Our object was not to say anything which would enable the Government to employ the army for offensive purposes, but to enable the Government to utilise the army for common purposes which would commend themselves to all as purposes justifying the employment of the forces of all parts of the Empire. The Committee wanted to be quite clear that the Army in India should be employed only for defensive purposes, and that if it was ever required for services in very grave emergencies, it should be only with the consent of the Governor General in Council. As I said on a former occasion, the reason why we thought it necessary to reiterate this condition was that though the statute forbids the employment of Indian revenues, except with the consent of Parliament, for the use of the Army outside the frontiers of India, it does not forbid the employment of Indian troops if the English Government pays for the expenditure. We do not wish to participate even to that extent, unless the emergency be really a very grave one, unless the occasion is one of serious unprovoked peril to the whole empire. Now, Sir, it is conceivable that statesmen at home may desire to employ Indian forces in some parts of the middle East or in other places for schemes of imperial aggrandizement. We do not wish that the Indian Army should be utilized for purposes of that character. Then, with regard to the proviso here, I wish to explain that this was inserted at the instance of one member of the committee, and upon his suggestion which commended itself to other members also. It was suggested by Dr. Gour, that the employment of Indian troops on garrison duties overseas would furnish them with valuable experience of new conditions and environments, and that if the burden of expenditure involved in such employment were borne by the Imperial Government, we should not forbid such employment.

It seemed to the Committee that there might be some advantage in allowing our troops to be employed on garrison duties overseas, and that was the reason why this proviso was inserted.

Then, Sir, I go on to Resolution No. 3. This is likely to be a contentious Resolution. It seeks to bring about an assimilation between the system of army administration in India and the system in force in England. It deals with the relations between the civil authorities and the military. The Resolution is to this effect :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the absence of full responsible Government in India, the differences in conditions between India and England, and the provisions of the Government of India Act do not warrant differentiation in the army administration between India and England in regard to the ultimate control of, and responsibility for, the defence of the country, and that in view of the desirability of assimilating the system of administration in India to that in the United Kingdom, which has been arrived at after prolonged experiments, and the desirability of emphasizing the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the civil power, it is essential that the Commander-in-Chief should, without prejudice to his official precedence, cease to be a member of the Governor General's Executive Council and that the Portfolio of Defence, including Supply, should be entrusted to a civilian member of the Executive Council assisted by an Army Council including the Commander-in-Chief and other high military experts and a certain number of civilians more or less on the model of the Army Council in England.'

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

Now the system of army administration in England has been the subject of repeated consideration and repeated experiments ever since the Crimean war. At one time, there were numerous conflicting jurisdictions with regard to the administration of the army. The tendency of all these changes has been to simplify the administration, to reduce the conflict of jurisdictions, to promote efficiency and unity of direction and to mark also the principle of the supremacy of the civil power. The system which now obtains in England with regard to the administration of the army has been modelled upon that of the Admiralty. There is a Secretary of State for War who is responsible to Parliament and who is assisted by an Army Council consisting, if I am right, of 4 military members and 3 civilian members. The Army Council is a consultative body, though each of the military members of that Council is the executive head of some particular department. One of the objects of the system is, that it emphatically marks the supremacy of the civil power to the military; in fact it is the symbol of the supremacy of the civil power. *Prima facie*, there is no reason why this system should not be applied in India.

Now, upon this subject the Esher Committee's report is singularly meagre and unconvincing. They say, that there is no responsible government in India as in England and that the differences of conditions between India and England do not warrant the adoption of the English system. Here I would like to point out how the question of responsible government affects the matter at all. Where you have a system of responsible government, it is *necessary* that you should have at the head of the Army administration a Minister who is responsible to Parliament; but while responsible government requires that the administration of the army should be entrusted to a minister responsible to Parliament, the absence of responsible government does not preclude the adoption of the same system. It does not follow that where there is no responsible government it is wrong to entrust the ultimate control or administration of the Army to a civilian member of the government. That is a logical distinction which it is necessary to bear in mind. In fact, in other places, the Committee has often stated that it is desirable to assimilate the system in India to that in England. Both the majority and the minority of the Esher Committee, on questions on which they have differed, have admitted the desirability of assimilating the two systems; but where they do not like to assimilate the two systems, they rely upon differences of conditions and the presence or absence of responsible government. Beyond the *ipse dixit* of the Esher Committee upon this question, I find no reason which satisfies me that the absence of responsible government must forbid the vesting of the ultimate control of military administration in a civilian. On the other hand, it would be more consistent with the approach of India to a self-governing status, and I would also refer you to a passage from the work of an eminent constitutionalist as to the advantage of this system. I refer to Sir William Anson. At page 208, Volume II, Part 2, this is what he says:

'The mode in which the system works may now be considered and the relations of the Secretary of State to Parliament and to the Army. His relations to Parliament are these. First, he must every year ask Parliament to legalise the standing Army and the rules necessary for its discipline, and to vote the money required for its efficiency in all branches of the service. And next, he must answer to Parliament, when called upon to do so, for the exercise by the Crown of its prerogative in respect of the Army. Aided by the Financial Secretary, he considers the demands framed by the military heads of the departments represented on the Council, and must endeavour to reconcile the requirements of the army

for money with the requirements of the Treasury for economy. The presence of the military members at discussions on these questions of supply, for which the whole of the Army Council is responsible, will tend to prevent that sharp antagonism which formerly existed between the representatives of the Service and the ministers responsible to Parliament for the cost of the army. But in the end the estimates for the various branches of the Service must depend upon the decision of the Cabinet, which, in forming its decision, is sure to keep in view the probable wishes of its majority in the House of Commons and in the country. The Treasury loves economy for its own sake; the Cabinet loves economy because economy is popular, but it is collectively responsible, with the Secretary of State, for the condition of the army, and therewith for the security of the Empire. In the end perhaps the House thinks that the estimates are extravagant, while the army think they are insufficient. But there can be no doubt that the House is more ready to grant the sums demanded when the demand is made by a civilian, after passing the criticism of the Treasury and the Cabinet, than it would be if the demand were made by a military expert, who might be supposed to think no money ill spent which was spent on his department.

There is the advantage, Sir, in handing over the portfolio of defence to a civilian member, an advantage which at least I am sure will be appreciated by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The proposal that I make is not a new one. It was entertained by Lord Lytton, and my authority for the statement is the Welby Commission's Report, page 22. So also Sir Ashley Eden. At the same time, I must confess, that there are many people in this country who think it very necessary, and probably very rightly, to preserve the dignity and the prestige of the office of the Commander-in-Chief. I have no wish to trench upon the dignity, the status or the utility of the Commander-in-Chief. The Government will be guided, though not dominated, by him.

As a matter of fact the Esher Committee itself has gone a long way in giving away their case. They say, the Commander-in-Chief has such a heavy burden of work in the way of inspection, in the way of organization and in the way of supervision, that, notwithstanding all the pious dicta upon the virtue of concentration and authority in the hands of a single individual, they say he must be largely relieved in military matters by delegation and in civil matters altogether.

Now the solution we propose is one by which we would assimilate the system of administration here to the system in England. It would avoid the the fierce controversy between the majority and the minority as to how the departments of supply and production should be administered. Now, Sir, I feel convinced, and I may tell you that the Committee felt convinced, that the principle for which we are pressing is a right one, and that the sooner we press for its adoption the better. It may be said that the Secretary of State must be consulted, that the Cabinet at Home must be consulted, they may not be ready to accept it immediately. But the sooner we begin to hammer at it the better. Now with regard to this question, I may say that we have not framed any cut and dried scheme to work out the recommendations, but that is a matter of detail. What the Esher Committee dealt with in many many months, we had only six days to deal with and it has not been possible—nor could anyone expect such a thing—to produce a cut and dried scheme with regard to this question. Some of my Indian friends are naturally anxious as to the manner in which this proposal will affect the parity between the English and the Indian elements of the Executive Council. That is not a question affecting this issue of the administration of the Army but is an independent political issue, no doubt, of first rate importance. And that is an issue which ought

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

to be pressed by itself, independently and on its own merits at the earliest possible opportunity.

Now, Sir, I come to Resolution No. 4 which reads :

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that if the Portfolio of Defence including Supply is not entrusted to a civilian member of the Executive Council as recommended above, the proposal of the majority of the Esher Committee for the creation of a separate department for Production and Provision under a member of the Executive Council be not accepted, and that the proposal of the minority, namely, that the responsibility should be entrusted to a Surveyor-General of Supply, who should be a civil member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council, be accepted. This would seem to have the merit of being more logical and economical and would have the further advantage of avoiding the addition of a civil member to the Executive Council in connection with Military administration.

The proposition is one which admits of argument on both sides, and the arguments on both sides have been very well summed up in the Report of the Esher Committee. On the whole, our Committee felt that the balance strongly inclined on the side of the minority. It is logically consistent because the Committee has said that you must concentrate all responsibility for administration in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. Now if you entrust all responsibility for production and supply to a civil member of the Military Council, subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief, you will secure that ultimate unity of control and responsibility. If you appoint a civil member you will have a certain amount of dispersion and the minority headed by Lord Esher have pointed out the various weak points in the conclusions of the majority. Another consideration which weighed with us very largely was this. The Esher Committee referred in numerous places to the predominating importance of the Army in India. We do not wish to deny its just importance but we do not like it to have a *predominating* importance and it would be quite sufficient for us if the Portfolio of Defence has only one representative on the Executive Council in the same way as other Departments are represented on that Council. The Commander-in-Chief and the civil member would make two members of the Council representing Production and the Army while each of the other departments would be represented by only one member.

Sir, another thing which moves me personally is, that we shall have the pleasure of agreeing with our Honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, who was cruelly described by a friend of mine as being a friend of every country but his own but whom I regard as an exceedingly amiable gentleman who carries his amiability to the point of extreme pliability.

Now, Sir, I pass on to Resolution No. 5 which reads :

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that :

- (a) The Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India should be appointed by the Cabinet on the nomination of the Secretary of State for India in consultation with the Government of India and the Secretary of State for War.
- (b) In the case of Army Commanders who are officers of the Indian Army the appointment should be by the Secretary of State for India on the nomination of the Government of India.
- (c) Appointments to the offices mentioned against Serial Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 (Report Schedule annexed to Section VI) should be made in the manner proposed for Army Commanders.

- (d) The appointment of Secretary to the Military Department, India Office, should be made by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Government of India and after advice obtained from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He should, *ex-officio*, have the status of a Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff and should have the right of attending the meetings of the Army Council when questions affecting India are discussed. He should not be under the orders of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

It is simply a question of the appointment of officers to the higher commands; the Commander-in-Chief, the Chief of the General Staff and so on. Our Committee have been guided throughout by the desire to make these appointments come under the control of the Government of India and give the Secretary of State, and the Government of India a voice—a determining voice—wherever possible in the appointment of officers to high commands. I do not think it is necessary to say more on this proposition.

Now, as regards my Resolution No. 6 which reads :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Commander-in-Chief's right of correspondence with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff should be subject to the restriction that it does not commit the Government of India to any pecuniary responsibility or any line of military policy which has not already been the subject of decision by them; copies of all such correspondence at both ends being immediately furnished to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India'.

It relates to the question of the right of direct correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Many of us felt that this right of correspondence should be exercised only in the ordinary way, that is, passing through the channels of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. It was explained that this would involve endless delay and we thought it expedient that the Commander-in-Chief should be allowed to correspond directly with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff subject to the safeguards we have mentioned, namely, that it does not commit the Government of India to any pecuniary responsibility or any line of military policy which has not already been the subject of decision by them and that copies of all such correspondence at both ends should be immediately furnished to the Government of India and the Secretary of State. I am sure all will admit that that is a harmless and reasonable proposition. My next Resolution on the paper reads :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

- (a) That the King-Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval, and air forces in India and the ancillary services and the auxiliary forces, that every encouragement should be given to Indians—including the educated middle classes—subject to the prescribed standards of fitness, to enter the commissioned ranks of the Army and that in nominating candidates for the entrance examination, unofficial Indians should be associated with the nominating authority.
- (b) That not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with'.

Now, in the first place, I may explain that we are not satisfied that the experiment which has been recently made of admitting a certain number of Indians to the commissioned ranks has been made on a sufficiently liberal scale or has been made on lines which would ensure the success of the experiment. We have a feeling—I will not attempt to justify that impression—but I will only say that there is a feeling that in making this experiment the Government have probably given too great regard to considerations of aristocratic birth and so on.

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

Sir, it is perhaps part of the divine law of compensation that aristocratic birth is not always coupled with an abundance of intellectual equipment and we are anxious that whatever experiment is tried should be tried under the most favourable conditions, which would ensure success, and not under conditions which would enable the gentlemen who make the experiment to say 'Oh I told you it would be a failure and it has turned out so.' There is a certain amount, I frankly confess, of distrust of Government action—not unjustified by their action in former years, as for instance when they appointed members to the Statutory Civil Service.

Then, I would just refer to one or two points upon which we lay stress, namely, that we should be admitted to all arms of the Service, to all arms of the ancillary services, that is, the Medical, Engineering, Veterinary and so on, and the auxiliary forces, which would include the Territorial Force. I am not using the word 'auxiliary' in the technical sense in which it is defined in the Auxiliary Force Act. I am using it in the broad general sense, not the technical statutory sense. We want that the Territorial Force should be open to Indians in all the branches in which the auxiliary services are open to the members of the community to whom the auxiliary services are open, and then we want that every encouragement should be given to Indians.

We shall be told that every encouragement has been given. They have passed a Territorial Force Act; they have even framed rules under it—30 rules, while they have passed 190 rules under the Auxiliary Force Act, and we shall be told that it only remains for the Indians to avail themselves of these. I would ask the House to bear with me while I refer to some of the experiences we had in the working of the Indian Defence Force, the predecessor of the Indian Territorial Force. In a pamphlet which was published some months ago the defects were all noticed and several recommendations were made by myself. I am sorry to have to refer to myself in support of these recommendations. But the suggestions which I then made in that pamphlet expressed briefly the defects which we complained of, and I will simply read them.

One of our suggestions was that the theory that the treatment of the Indian Auxiliary Force should in all respects be exactly the same as that accorded to the regular units of the Indian Army should be definitely abandoned and that the former should be practically self-contained instead of being attached to the latter. The Indian Defence Force was recruited not from the classes from which the Army was recruited but from the classes above them. And to apply this theory and treat them in the same manner in which the ordinary sepoy was treated was to court failure. As a matter of fact, our young men were treated a great deal worse. I had to carry on several months' correspondence before I got this generous concession from the Army Headquarters that we could arrange for the messing of the men and let them draw 4 annas per diem for rations, which amounts to Rs. 7-8-0 per mensem, while the sepoy is said to cost Rs. 14 per mensem. Next, that the scale of clothing should be revised. Our third suggestion was, that flogging should be abolished by statute. This has been done. Our fourth suggestion was, that the Indian designation of Subadar, Havildar, and Naik, should be abolished from the Indian Defence Force.

In conclusion we suggested that the nomenclature of the officers whether commissioned or non-commissioned should be exactly the same as in the European and Anglo-Indian Force and the pay and allowance should also be the same. Recruitment and promotion too should be regulated by the same principles and conditions in both sections. The members of the Indian Defence Force should be eligible for appointment to all arms of the defensive force. Next, the object of the training should be not merely to train men as soldiers but also to produce an efficient body of commissioned and non-commissioned officers to serve both as commanders and instructors. Next, the training, both initial and periodical, should be exactly the same in both the voluntary and compulsory services, and training centres should be established on the same principles. Would you believe it, that while there were nearly 40 training centres for the compulsory section of the Defence Force, there was only one centre for the whole of the Madras Presidency for the Indian section? The number of officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, should be in the same proportion to the strength of the unit in the Indian as well as the European and Anglo-Indian sections. It should be manned by Indians as far as possible.

I do not propose to dwell any further upon this Resolution, more especially as I am afraid the President must be watching the clock.

The next Resolution No. 8 is as follows :

‘ This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

- (a) That adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.
- (b) That the desirability of establishing in India a Military College, such as Sandhurst, should be kept in view.’

Now, we Indians have all along been clamouring not merely for the provision of facilities for training but also for the opening of a College like Sandhurst in India. The Committee of the Assembly has to some extent departed from these repeated wishes of the Indian community, repeated on many a platform and on many occasions. The reason why we have departed from that will be apparent in the few words that I am about to address. It was explained to us by Sir Godfrey Fell that the number of Indian cadets is at present 5 and that if our request for 25 per cent. of the commissions is granted, the annual number of recruits would be about 12 or say not more than 15. And he pointed out, that it would be extremely expensive to establish a college on the same lines, as the one at Sandhurst, in India for the benefit of these 12 or 15 students. You cannot have the same standard of instruction, the same types of instructors or the same high level of instruction. Another consideration which did weigh with us very largely was that if this system is to be given a chance of success, it is necessary that the future Indian officer should have opportunities of coming in close contact with his English confreres and that the training at Sandhurst would give him these opportunities. Whereas if he were kept here and trained here, apart from the English cadets who were trained at Sandhurst, he would have no opportunity of coming in contact with them, of getting on with them and of really being in a position to get on with them when he was appointed to a post in the Army.

That was the consideration which weighed with us. At the same time we say that the desirability of establishing in India a Military College should be kept in view.

[Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer.]

The next Resolution that I wish to call attention to, is Resolution No. 9. That, I am glad to say, has not evoked any criticism in the shape of an amendment. The Resolution runs thus :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council, that in the interests of economy and in view of the likelihood of the growth of the Indian element in the commissioned ranks, it is essential that before vested interests arise, the pay of all commissioned ranks in all branches of the army should be fixed on an Indian basis with an overseas allowance in the case of British officers and with a similar allowance for Indian officers holding the King's Commission, when serving overseas.'

Now, Sir, the reason for this recommendation of the Committee was this. Take for instance the Indian Civil Service, the Service to which we are grateful for many things but which has set a very unfortunate and a very evil example in some respects. It is the most costly service. Its scale of salaries, while it may be perfectly suitable to the English members of the Civil Service, has unfortunately proved the model on which the Indian members of the Service and all the Indian and other services have framed their claims to remuneration. Our standard of living has been raised. Whether that is an unmixed advantage or not is a question which need not be considered. But almost every other service in India, European or Indian, has framed its demands upon the example set by the Indian Civil Service, and in so far as the scale of salaries fixed for the Indian Civil Service has set the example for the raising of the scale of salaries for all other services, English and Indian, I am afraid it has exercised an influence on the whole more to the bad than to the good. It is for the purpose of guarding against the growth of vested interests and against the framing of similar demands that we propose that the salaries should be fixed on the Indian basis. So long as it is necessary to rely upon an English element, you must pay them salaries which will attract them. We propose to divide the salaries into two parts, *vis.*, Indian pay *plus* an overseas allowance which is necessary to attract the British element.

Our next recommendation I think is probably one of the most important Resolutions that the Committee has recommended. It is this :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council, that in view of the need for the preparation of India to undertake the burden of self-defence and in the interests of economy, it is essential that a serious effort should be made :

- (a) To organize and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force on attractive conditions.
- (b) To introduce in the Indian Army a system of short colour service followed by a few years in the reserve.
- (c) To carry out a gradual and prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops.'

Excepting these three ways we really see no way of retrenchment of the cost of the army. It is here, that the salvation of India from the burden of military charges must be sought and not by tinkering with the various other proposals. If any substantial relief from fiscal burdens is to be secured, it is only by following these three methods that such relief can be had. The proposal to introduce a system of short service is in fact favoured in a way by the Esher Committee, though it has not succeeded in securing the assent of Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, and it has also secured, I believe, the approval of the Government of India, if I am right in drawing that inference from the

Memorandum furnished to us by Sir Godfrey Fell. The reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops is one of the essential remedies to be applied, but it can only be done gradually and prudently, and I do not think that any exception can be taken to this recommendation of the Committee.

Then, Sir, the next Resolution is No. 11, which runs thus:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that officers in the Indian Territorial force should have the rank of the 2nd-Lieutenant, Lieutenant, or higher rank, as the case may be, and that no distinction should be made between the Indian territorial force and Indian auxiliary force in respect of the authority which signs the Commissions, and that officers in these two forces should take rank *inter se* according to dates of appointment.'

A few minutes ago, I told you about the necessity for encouraging the Territorial force, and I pointed to you what the difficulties were in the administration of the Defence Force. If there is one thing which would make the Indian Defence or Territorial Force hateful to me, it is this distinction in the designation of the commissioned ranks. An Indian officer, whatever may be his merits, whatever his educational qualifications, whatever his social status, can only rise to the rank of Subadar and perhaps of an honorary Lieutenant or honorary something else. This is a distinction which burns into the souls of many an educated Indian. We want that there should be no distinction made in this respect between the territorial force and the auxiliary force.

Then, Sir, I come to Resolution No. 12 which provides for the interchange of officers between the British and Indian services. I should be strongly opposed to any large proposals for the interchange of officers if it involved a serious burden on the taxpayer. But the Committee have provided three safeguards:

- (a) That the cost to Indian revenues should not be thereby appreciably increased.
- (b) That such proposals should not be allowed to interfere with a steady expansion in the proportion of King's Commissions thrown open to Indians in the Indian Army.
- (c) That the interchange of British officers should, in no way, affect the control of the Government of India over the entire Army in India.'

Subject to these three safeguards, any system which permits an interchange of officers between the British and Indian services of the Army can only be productive of good just as an interchange of officers in other departments too might be productive of equal good.

The next Resolution is No. 13 which runs:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that having regard to the creation of two additional Commands in India, the Government of India do consider the expediency of reducing the size of the administrative staff at Army Headquarters.'

This is a question which it has not been possible for us unassisted to go into within the short time at our disposal. Instead of two Commands, we have now four Commands. Somehow we have an uneasy feeling that the administrative staff and the ministerial staff have all become enormously bloated. We trust largely to the influence of the Honourable the Finance Member to exercise a rigid scrutiny upon the strength of these various staffs.

Resolution No. 14 is also one of the important Resolutions.

It runs thus:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council, that as soon as the external and internal conditions of India permit, the Governor General in Council should, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, appoint a Committee adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion for the purpose of examining and reporting upon:

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

(a) The best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country and prepare the country for the attainment of full responsible Government which has been declared to be the goal of British policy.

(b) The financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure.

(c) Her claim to equality of status and treatment with the Self-governing Dominions; and

(d) The methods of recruitment to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army.*

All these four points which are mentioned as suitable for an inquiry are points not covered at all by the report of the Esher Committee. The Esher Committee did not go into any of these questions, and that is why we ask that a committee adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion should be appointed to consider these things. As it was pointed out that the question of the total strength of the Army was not a question for laymen to decide, but was a question entirely for military experts, we have left it alone, and included only these other points.

Sir, the reason, why I am referring to external and internal conditions, is this. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has referred to these conditions in the speech which he made on the last occasion in this Assembly. The atmosphere which has been created by the non-co-operators is not one favourable to the discussion of proposals for a reduction of the Army. With the Bolsheviks in Bokhara intriguing with the Amir, with one or two Muhammadan leaders who are prepared to welcome an invasion by the Amir, because he is, after all, their co-religionist, and because, perhaps, it may help to revive Muhammadan ascendancy, with Hindu saints who prefer Bolshevism to British rule, who rely upon soul force as a barrier against invasion, and who seek to destroy the law-abiding disposition of the people, it must be obvious that the hands of Members of the Legislative Assembly are terribly weakened in proposing immediate action in the direction of retrenchment. That is why we propose, that as soon as external and internal conditions permit, this inquiry should be undertaken.

The next Resolution, Sir, is No. 15*, which is merely explanatory. We only want fair play and no favour, and we want that Anglo-Indians should be as freely admitted as Indians into the Army.

If these proposals of the Committee are accepted, and I hope they will be, it will be the duty of the Government to see that they are faithfully carried out in practice. I do not think that, if they are accepted, they are likely to share the fate of the Queen's Proclamation. Lord Curzon once attempted to whittle down the Queen's Proclamation by relying upon the saving words 'as far as may be'. The current of public opinion now flows swift and strong, and Government must recognise that it cannot be held up for long without risk of inundation and disaster. If there is one feature more than another of the British rule which has filled Indians with a sense of humiliation and wounded their self-respect, it is the way in which they have been treated in the army of their own country and held to be only fit for being hewers of wood and drawers of water. Great Generals have not been wanting in the past in this country, and it is difficult to believe that the capacity and

* This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that Anglo-Indians should be included in the terms 'Indian subjects' or 'Indians,' wherever such terms occur in the above Resolutions.

talent for leadership have been altogether lost. Until this grievance is removed, Indians cannot walk with their heads erect among the peoples of the earth. It is a characteristic of the British rule in India, and perhaps also in England, that they never have the knack of doing the right thing at the right time. They let the psychological moment pass by and reasonable demands for justice and fair play are only conceded after years of persistent agitation. No task that the new Viceroy can set before himself can have a nobler purpose or meet with more grateful recognition than a determined attempt to retrieve the error of past policy in emasculating the whole nation and to restore India to the full vigour of her manhood. It was perhaps necessary in the dispensation of Providence that the people of India should be reduced to a helpless, formless pulp before being moulded together. The process has gone on sufficiently far and the Government will do well to realise the advantage to the Empire which will flow from the increased efficiency and increased contentment of her largest partner.

RESOLUTION No. 1.

The Honourable the President: The Resolution moved is :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

(a) That the purpose of the Army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment, and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date, and with due regard to Indian conditions, in accordance with present-day standards of efficiency in the British Army so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organisation, etc., which would render such co-operation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions.

(b) To repudiate the assumption underlying the whole Report of the Esher Committee :

- (i) that the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire, and
- (ii) that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan : Sir, the learned Mover just now has not only moved one Resolution, but has made a general remark on all the Resolutions. I am now dealing with the first Resolution. I should say nothing against the Resolution; but as I differ from the principal part of it in a sense, I have to make some observations.

The learned speaker admits India's obligation to Great Britain. But worded as the Resolution is, such is not the case, and it gives quite a different impression. I would, therefore, have for it :

'That the purpose of the Army in India shall be the defence of India against external aggression, the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity and the discharge of India's obligation as a partner in the British Empire to defend that Empire, against attacks, from without or disruption from within.'

As this point is not quite clear in the Resolution just now moved, I desire to insert it. It is obvious, that as the Resolution stands, it loses sight of India's obligation to the Empire. The duty of the Indian army, in my opinion, should not be merely the defence and maintenance of order in India.

India is not what she was some years ago. India should now have far higher ideals than this. Her policy should not be selfish and parochial. She

[Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.]

has assisted the Empire and she must express her readiness to assist the Empire in times of need. She is a member not only of a world-wide Empire based on the mutual affection and toleration of its constituent parts. She has also been admitted on equal terms into the League of Nations and it is hoped that in time she may be a constituent part of a large world-wide state, the watchwords of which will be love and toleration for all and not hatred as it is taught at present. It is on these higher grounds and with a wider outlook of the world situation that I have placed my views before the House, and when India finds herself in such a position as I have described, she must feel accordingly and I am sure she will think nobly, feel nobly and act nobly showing herself to be a partner in the Empire and I am sure, if she acts as such, the feelings of India will be reciprocated not only in Great Britain but throughout the Empire. It is for these reasons, Sir, that I ask that the Resolution may be amended thus :

'That the purpose of the Army in India shall be the defence of India against external aggression, the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity and the discharge of India's obligation as a partner in the British Empire to defend that Empire against attack from without or disruption from within.'

That is my object, Sir, in regard to Resolution No. 1. Now I have to make some observations

The Honourable the President : We will take each Resolution separately.

Dr. H. S. Gour : The members of the Select Committee who are responsible for the drawing up of this report which is under discussion are so heartily in accord with the loyal and patriotic sentiments to which we have just now listened that I can only feel that the Honourable Member who has just sat down could not have rightly read the Resolution to which he has taken exception, because I feel, Sir, that all the sentiments to which he has given expression are given their appropriate place in that Resolution. If he will turn to that Resolution, he will find that India's duty to the British Empire, as a member of that Empire, has not been lost sight of, and it has been emphasized that her responsibility in that respect is a responsibility which is on a level with that of the other dominions of His Majesty. I do not think that my learned friend ever desired that India should accentuate her military strength to be kept up for the benefit of the British Empire. What my learned friend desires, and I think it is sufficiently clear from the Resolution which we have drafted, that her responsibility is to herself first and then to the rest of the British Empire. That is a conception which is commensurate and consonant with the conception of the British Empire as a whole, and a conception which not only finds place in the dominion of India but in the other dominions of England. I hope, therefore, that the Honourable gentleman will not prolong the discussion upon this Resolution in regard to which the sub-committee was unanimous and we must go on to other points upon which there is a great room for discussion and on which I think the discussion must be focussed.

Mr. Eardley Norton : On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether subsequent speakers will be permitted to follow the example of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and make a short speech on the whole subject of his Resolutions or whether each Resolution will be taken up separately and the speeches be confined to each such separate Resolution.

The Honourable the President: Provided he lays stress on the word 'short'. The Honourable Member will see that with the exception of one or two of the Resolutions there are amendments to be moved which will necessitate some discussion on most of the Resolutions on the paper. I imagine that the House will co-operate with the Chair in restricting rather than expanding discussion.

Mr. M. K. Reddiyar: Sir, I beg to move my amendment which runs as follows:

'That for the Resolution the following be substituted, namely:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he should be pleased not to enforce the reactionary proposals of the Esher Committee Report which are disappointing inasmuch as the Indian interests are sacrificed by suggesting the saddling of India with burdens necessitated by Imperial Policy quite disproportionate to the slender resources and poverty of India and that the purpose of the Army in India must be held to be the Defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of peace and tranquillity and while recognising the rapid development of Military science giving rise to the necessity of improved Army equipments costing large sums of money to keep the Indian Army in an up-to-date condition with the present-day standards of efficiency so as to co-operate with the British Army where Imperial Policy demands it expecting as justice demands that the British Parliament should contribute half the cost of the maintenance of the British Army in India and that the obligations thrust on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to Self-governing Dominions of the British Empire.'

It is unfortunate that these recommendations should be placed before this House at almost the last day of this long and wearied session when nearly 50 per cent of the Honourable Members are obliged to go home, of course under pressure of other duties. How I wish these Resolutions were placed before this Assembly at the Simla session when the House is full. President Wilson once said:

'Hundreds of measures of vital importance receive, near the close of the exhausted session, without being debated, printed or understood, the constitutional assent of the representatives of the people.'

Sir, though I am a layman, not entitled to discuss questions entirely of a technical character like the military organization and efficiency and though we are pigmies before those giants that sat at that committee, yet what I have felt convinced on this important question I have put down in the form of a Resolution in as clear and plain language as possible to avoid further explanations on this difficult subject.

Sir, the illustrious authors of the report have entirely lost sight of the fact that India is a very poor country and not having this fact in mind they made their recommendations. Throughout the whole report, there are frequent references to efficiency. In this connection, Sir, I am reminded of an old story of a frog and a bull, where the frog in its jealous attempt to grow up to the size of the bull continued to drink water with the result that it burst and had its end. Our country should not certainly be asked to compete with Britain or other countries in matters of military efficiency. Efficiency, Sir, is a relative term. Lord Salisbury once said 'All efficiency must be relative,' that is, it must take into account not merely the requirements but also the resources of the people.

Ours is a poor country, overburdened with taxation, already spending 50 per cent. of its total revenues for military purposes when all other countries are spending far less than ourselves. There is no end to this increase of

[Mr. M. K. Reddiyar.]

military expenditure; I ask, Sir, if there is going to be any end at all if the Esher Committee's Report is given effect to. I learn we have to spend another 15 crores of rupees over and above the current year's budget allotment for the Army. If this is true, to ask us to spend this additional amount in the name of efficiency, in the name of internal and external disorders, is, what shall I say, *injustice*. The whole current of public opinion in the country is being poisoned by the bitterness caused by the enormous and alarming growth of military expenditure in the country. Unless the mother of Parliament is going to meet us half way and relieve us of the burden, there will be no end to disaffection in the country. Sir, it is a question of the most vital importance, and it is only in the measure in which the Government deal with it reasonably that they will have identified themselves with the best interests of the country.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Sir, I rise to a point of order. Is this amendment admissible?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I merely wish, with your permission, to ask the Honourable Member (Mr. Reddiyar) to repeat to the House what we understood him to say about the necessity for an additional expenditure of 15 crores on the Army. If we understood that statement correctly, we should like to have an opportunity of answering it; if we understood him incorrectly, we should like to know what he did say.

Mr. M. K. Reddiyar: I said, that if the Esher Committee's Report is going to be given effect to, there will be another additional expenditure of 15 crores of rupees.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: That is not correct.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, before I deal with Mr. Reddiyar's amendment, I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, on the extremely able, the extremely lucid and, if I may say so, the extremely moderate, speech with which he has introduced this series of 15 Resolutions. If I mention one or two points—I am glad to say that there are only a few points on which I am not in agreement with him—it is, he will understand, in no spirit of carping criticism, but merely by way of explanation.

At the outset of his speech, he took exception to the fact that the Esher Committee did not deal with certain matters. These were the strength of the Army in India, the ratio of British troops to Indians, and the functions which the Army is called upon to perform. I should like to explain that all those subjects were debarred: we had instructions not to touch on them.

He then complained that we ignored the cost of our proposals. Sir, I have endeavoured hitherto, from reasons of loyalty, to avoid explaining this omission but, as I am directly challenged, I must say, that before the Esher Committee left India about this time last year, they put in a complete list of the proposals which they were likely to recommend which involved expenditure, and asked for an estimate of cost. They waited for that estimate till the end of June; and as they did not receive it, they had to issue their report without it.

The only other point I want to touch on, and it is a very minor one, is that though the sins of the Esher Committee are no doubt as numerous as

the sands on the seashore, there is one thing of which we are not guilty. We did not edit the *Morning Post*, nor did we write leading articles in the *Morning Post*, so that we cannot accept responsibility for the remark on that journal about the Babu to which my Honourable friend took exception.

I will now turn to Mr. Reddiyar's amendment. The Honourable Member's speech hardly reached me in an audible form but, judging from the amendment which he has moved, the three main points he makes apparently are as follows :

He speaks of the reactionary proposals of the Esher Committee; he says, that the Committee sacrificed Indian interests, and saddled India with burdens necessitated by Imperial policy; and he makes the proposal that the Parliament at Home should bear half the cost of the British Army in India.

Sir, it is extremely easy to condemn a report by an epithet. The Honourable Member is presumably a close student of the Esher Committee's Report, and I regret that he has not enlightened the Assembly as to the matters in which he regards that Report as reactionary, but has left the House to guess. As he has not explained in what way he regards it as reactionary I am unable to answer him.

I will therefore pass on to the next point, namely, that the Esher Committee proposed to sacrifice Indian interests and to saddle India with burdens necessitated by Imperial policy. Sir, I listened in vain to the Honourable Member's speech in the hope of obtaining some light on this point too. I give a categorical denial to the statement that India is being saddled by the Esher Committee with burdens necessitated by Imperial policy. I have already assured this Assembly, that the Army in India at the present time is maintained for India's own needs and for no other purpose; that is to say, so much of the Army in India as is paid for out of India's revenues. There is not a single man, not a single gun, maintained at this moment in India at India's own expense which is required otherwise than for India's own needs; so that a general statement of the sort made by the Honourable Member, unsupported by any facts, is not worthy of serious attention.

The third point is his proposal that the United Kingdom should be asked to bear half the cost of the British Army in India. Now, that is obviously a very attractive proposition, but what is the justification for it? In view of what I have just stated about the cost of the Army in India, and the object with which that Army is maintained, what reason have we to expect Great Britain to pay any part of the cost of our Army? We have the protection, in the first place, of the Royal Navy, towards which we contribute the magnificent sum of £100,000 a year. In the second place, we have, as I explained to the Assembly the other day, the whole of the armed forces of the Empire behind us in case we require assistance against an enemy. So I really do not think it is a practicable proposition to ask the Home Government to contribute towards the defence of India itself any further than it is doing now by maintaining a Navy, an Air Force, and an Army ready to come to our help in time of need.

Before I sit down, Sir, I should just like, as the Honourable the Finance Member has already done, to deny the statement—I do not know where the Honourable Member got his figures from—that the Esher Committee's recommendations would add 15 crores to our military burden, and to inform

[Sir Godfrey Fell.]

the House, that so far as can be foreseen, if all the recommendations of the Esher Committee which are likely to be accepted were to be sanctioned, the maximum cost would be 180 lakhs a year, and not 15 crores.

I oppose this amendment very strongly.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Sir, I support the Resolution which has been moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and oppose the amendment moved by Mr. Reddiyar for these reasons. Sir, I rose to a point of order, but I thought that the Chair was not with me. Therefore, I did not prosecute that proposition any further. Still I will explain what I mean. I find that the amendment does not really arise out of the Resolution and it is out of order in two other respects. In the first place, Mr. Reddiyar, while condemning the reactionary nature of the Esher Committee's Report, is becoming a reactionary himself. He wants the Indian Army to be tied down to the British Army because that necessarily must be the consequence if we are going to have half the cost of its maintenance from the British Parliament. I most strongly object to that. I say, that it is not consonant with our self-respect that we should get a contribution like beggars from other quarters. We should be able to maintain our own Army ourselves at our own cost. Of course, if any extra obligations are going to be imposed on the Army in the nature of its being called upon for service outside, then the cost should be borne by Britain, but that is quite different to formulating a proposal that for all time one-half of the maintenance cost should be paid from some other source. Furthermore, I submit, Sir, that as the amendment could not be admissible for the simple reason . . .

The Honourable the President: Order, order. I am not sure whether the Honourable Member is submitting a point of order or making a speech.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: I am making a speech. I say, Sir, that my observations are both in the nature of a speech and also as pointing out to the House, that we should reject the proposal because it is not in order. By saying, that it is not in order I mean to say: Is it open to this House to pass any Resolution the result of which would be to dictate to the British Parliament, or for the matter of that to any other country, to make payment to us?

Sir, I think that the Resolution that has been moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer explains in its wording, in the text, what the object of that Resolution is. The object of that Resolution is to point out for what purposes the Army in India has been created and what are the duties it has to perform; and, furthermore, it lays down that the Army should have for its object efficiency and proper organization so that, whenever it may be called upon to do its duty by the Empire, it should be able to do so. Whereas the amendment simply attacks the Esher Committee's Report, with which the Resolution is not in the least concerned. I submit, Sir, that we are here not for the purpose of considering the merits and demerits of the Esher Committee's Report or the recommendations that the Esher Committee have made, but I think—I am speaking subject to correction—that we are concerned with the report which has been submitted to us for consideration by our own Select Committee, and that we are concerned with the recommendations, in the nature of Resolutions, which have been submitted to us to-day. And therefore the amendment that has been moved by Mr. Reddiyar is one which is not appropriate and, if I

may use the words, out of order. I would therefore recommend to the House to pass this Resolution without further discussion because Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has fully explained the reasons in support of his Resolution, and those reasons do not require any further elaboration, and to reject the amendment.

Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally : Sir, Sir Godfrey Fell paid a high compliment to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer for the lucid speech he made in connection with the Resolution he has moved, and I do not think it is for me to say anything more upon that subject. But he made one remark in the course of his speech which was something to this effect, that the Muhammadan leaders of this country were ready to welcome an invasion of India. To that remark I would take strong objection.

Dr. H. S. Gour : I did not hear Sir Godfrey make that statement.

Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally : I do not mean Sir Godfrey Fell. I am referring to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's speech. In the course of his speech he made the remark.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : I did not say that of Muhammadan leaders generally. I only referred to some.

The Honourable Mr. Shafi : My recollection, if I may venture to point out, is, that the words used were 'when Muhammadan leaders are ready to welcome an invasion'.

Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally : I only wish to say, Sir, that the Muhammadans of India as a class are extremely loyal and would rise to a man to repel any invasion, if it comes at any moment. (Loud applause.)

So far as the amendment of my friend, Mr. Reddiyar, is concerned, all I have to say is, that I could not hear his speech. I would ask the President to have the acoustic properties of this Chamber examined, because it was entirely inaudible on this side, and throughout the session I have felt very great difficulty in listening to the speeches of Members who are far away from this side and the result is we are at a very great disadvantage.

Mr. Eardley Norton : If it be permissible, Sir, I should like to say what I have to say as a whole upon the various amendments and not rise again. While asking the House to reject this amendment . . .

The Honourable the President : Order, order. The Honourable Member seems to have forgotten that there is a specific amendment to the Resolution before the House. I think we had better dispose of that amendment before we take up questions involved in the next amendment to be moved by Sir Godfrey Fell.

The amendment* was negatived.

Sir Godfrey Fell : I rise to move the amendment standing in my name :

• That for clause (b) of the Resolution the following clause be substituted :

• That it should not be the object of the Government of India to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to Imperial necessities, as stated in paragraph 17 of Part I of the Fisher Committee's Report, but to organise, equip and train the army in India on the lines adopted from time to time by the other military forces of the Empire'.

[Sir Godfrey Fell.]

I do so, Sir, because I think that clause (b) (1) is not an assumption which requires to be repudiated. The meaning of that sentence, which is taken from the introductory letter to Part I of the Report, is that the Committee were unable to consider the administration of the Army in India otherwise than with reference to the administration of the total armed forces of the Empire. Now, I think, that this is a self-evident proposition. India is a part of the Empire. The armed forces of India are part of the armed forces of the Empire, and a large part of the armed forces of the Empire is serving in India, namely, the British troops and the Royal Air Force. Therefore, a Committee appointed to consider the system of administration of the Army in India cannot possibly ignore the system of administration prevailing in other parts of the Empire. It is for that reason that I suggest the omission of clause (b) (i) of Resolution No. 1.

With regard to the second part of it, namely, that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities, the Assembly will see that my Resolution is practically to the same effect—that it should not be the object of the Government of India to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to Imperial necessities, as stated in the Esher Committee's Report, but that its object should be, as stated later on in my amendment, to organise, equip and train the Army in India on the lines adopted from time to time by the other military forces of the Empire. I should just like to explain briefly, Sir, why those words, to which so great exception has been taken, found their way into the Report. The position was this.

When the Esher Committee met in London in September 1919, it had a very heavy programme of witnesses to examine, and that programme lasted up to almost the last day before the majority of the Committee sailed for India. It was not until actually the last day before we sailed that Lord Esher was able to bring down the draft of Part I, and the Committee had, as a matter of fact, about 2 or 3 hours, at the outside, in which to go through that important document. Lord Esher attached the greatest importance to its being signed before we left England, because, unless it could be placed in the hands of His Majesty's Government, and unless some expression of their views could be obtained on the main issues, namely, whether there should be a Commander-in-Chief, and what should be the relations between the War Office and the India Office and the Government of India, before the Committee arrived in India, the whole scope of our inquiry in India would have to be changed. Consequently, several expressions found their way into the report which we now recognise were unfortunate, which have given rise to much criticism, and which we would gladly alter if we could. These remarks only refer, I should say, to Part I.

Now I suggest, Sir, that the amendment which I have moved, in lieu of clause (b) of the main Resolution, is really little more than an amplification of what is stated in clause (a). In asking the Assembly to accept it, Sir, I should just like, if I may, to refer for a moment to the assumption really underlying the Esher Committee's Report in this respect. We had in mind the Imperial Conference on Defence which sat in 1909. Mr. Asquith, in speaking in the House of Commons, regarding the proceedings of that Conference, explained exactly the point which we in 1919 had in mind. He said, that the substance of the papers relating to this Conference was contained in the

recommendation, that without impairing the complete control of the Government of each Dominion over the military forces raised within it, these forces should be standardised; the formation of units, the arrangements for transport, the patterns of weapons, etc., being as far as possible, assimilated to those which had recently been worked out in the British Army.

Thus while the Dominion troops would in each case be raised for the defence of the Dominion concerned, it would be made readily practicable in case of need for that Dominion to mobilise and use them for the defence of the Empire as a whole. This was the idea underlying that sentence in our Report. I suggest that the amendment which I have moved brings it out more clearly than the original clause (b) of the Resolution which is purely negative.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, Sir Godfrey Fell has said nothing new in support of his amendment which has not been considered by the Select Committee. This was exactly the point of view presented by Sir Godfrey Fell to the members of the select committee; and our reply to Sir Godfrey Fell then was the reply which I shall place before the Honourable Members of this House now, *viz.*, that the sentence, which is the cardinal sentence, in the opening paragraph of the Esher Committee's Report controls and governs the whole of that part of the Report. If you will refer, Sir, to the terms of reference on the title-page you will find that four points were set out in this paragraph:

'to inquire into and report with special reference to post-bellum conditions—(now mark the words)—upon the administration, and where necessary, the organization of the Army in India, including its relations with the War Office and the India Office, and the relations of the two Offices to one another.'

Now, if you analyse this sentence you will find that four points are submitted for the consideration of the Esher Committee. The first is the question of administration; the second is the question of organization; the third is the relation with the War Office and the India Office; and the fourth is the relation of the two offices, the War Office and the India Office, with each other. These are the four points submitted for the consideration of the Esher Committee. Now, in the opening sentence on the first page of this report they refer to the first and second of these questions, namely, administration and organization; and in this connection you will find that the Esher Committee have given the following reply, have placed before themselves the following principles as guiding and controlling the principle of the whole report. They say:

'We cannot consider the administration of the Army in India otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. Yet we have no indication of the form of organization which may be set up in the future for the control of other parts of the forces or of the whole.'

Consequently, the two points, first, the point of administration, and second, the point of organization, are commented upon by them in the opening sentence; and the select committee take objection to the assumption that is made in this opening sentence. Now, Sir, Sir Godfrey Fell has given us the history of the drafting of this report; I presume he is not the draftsman; he is one of the interpreters of the draft; and I beg to submit that other members of the Esher Committee may justifiably place a different construction upon this sentence, and it is therefore necessary that this House should repudiate any assumption, that is implied, of the character which is embodied in clause 1 (b)

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

of our Resolution. I therefore hope that the House will support the select committee's recommendation and reject the amendment proposed by Sir Godfrey Fell.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, Sir Godfrey Fell has very frankly told us that certain unfortunate expressions have crept into the report. He does not quarrel with Sir Sivaswami Aiyer's reading of the report. But he has told us, how the members of the Committee in a hurry came to sign it, and how they had not time to revise the draft. In view of this observation of Sir Godfrey Fell, I submit, it is not necessary to refer him or the House to various statements made by the members of the Esher Committee in regard to the relation of Indian troops to the Empire. This report has been very carefully read by very competent critics and by very careful students of Indian politics, and they have all come, if I may say so, unanimously to the conclusion—taking the report as they find it, and not as the members of the Committee may have meant it to be—that it does contain the assumption which Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in clause (b) of Resolution I repudiates. I am fully prepared to believe that what Sir Godfrey tells us is in his opinion the cause of the use of those unfortunate expressions, but may I tell him, that as a member of the Bar that I find it impossible to accept a statement made by a member of the Esher Committee, however distinguished he might be, to be equivalent to a statement made by all. It is the opinion of Sir Godfrey Fell himself, and I respectfully submit, that the House will be perfectly justified in saying that it cannot take his statement to over-ride the distinct language of the report itself. I, therefore submit Sir, that Sir Sivaswami Aiyer was perfectly right in repudiating this assumption made by the Esher Committee, an assumption which I submit ought to be repudiated by us in clear and emphatic language. I therefore oppose the amendment of Sir Godfrey Fell.

Mr. J. P. Cotelingam: Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by Sir Godfrey Fell. The Resolution moved by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer on behalf of the Assembly Committee asks the Governor General to :

'repudiate the assumption underlying the whole report of the Esher Committee,'

and leaves it there. What is to follow the repudiation is not laid down. Sir Godfrey Fell in his amendment states that quite explicitly. He says :

'that it should not be the object of the Government of India to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to imperial necessities, as stated in paragraph 17 of Part I of the Esher Committee's Report,'

and then goes on to state what it is to be, namely :

'to organize, equip and train the Army in India on the lines adopted from time to time by the other military forces of the Empire.'

Therefore, Sir, I think it is desirable that Sir Godfrey Fell's amendment should take the place of part (b) of the Resolution moved by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Sir, I also rise to support the amendment that has been proposed by my Honourable friend, Sir Godfrey Fell, and for these reasons. The statements that are contained in the second clause of the Resolution moved by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer are explicitly and, I think, better stated in the amendment that has been proposed by Sir Godfrey Fell, that the military resources of India are not to be developed in a manner suited to

imperial necessities, and secondly the maintenance of internal tranquillity. There is no doubt that India is a part of the Indian Empire, and that the third obligation has to be recognised by India, namely, that being a part of the Indian Empire she must certainly look to the needs of the British Empire too. There is no reason, however, why we should mention this as a specific purpose for which the army in India is to be maintained. Such a statement, I suppose, is not made by any other members of the British Empire. It should suffice if in the Resolution it is stated that the army is to be maintained in a manner which will be in keeping with the duty devolving upon the Indian Empire. I therefore propose that the original Resolution should be accepted by the House, and that the second clause of it be changed as suggested by Sir Godfrey Fell.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, may I first make to the House one general remark with reference to what fell from some Honourable Members? Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer told us what were the views represented to the Select Committee by Dr. Gour, and Dr. Gour told us what were the opinions that were expressed by Sir Godfrey Fell before the Select Committee. Might I suggest, Sir, the advisability of following a convention we used to observe in the Council which preceded this House, namely, that matters which occurred in the Select Committee were not referred to outside it? Now, Sir, as regards the exact point at issue. I, like many other Members of the House, read the Report of the Esher Committee in a critical spirit. How critical that spirit was, I know that some of my friends on this side of the House will bear witness. I, like very many Members of the House, took exception in my own mind, at all events, to the expressions used in paragraph 17 of Part I. I can, therefore, speak with a perfectly clear mind when I say, that I equally repudiate any suggestion that the Army in India should be organized or maintained primarily with a view to imperial purposes. But I am here speaking on this particular amendment moved by Sir Godfrey Fell, and I put it to the House, that if they fail to support this amendment and instead support the substantive Resolution moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, they will be falling into an error of not of terminology but of substance. It is perfectly true, as Dr. Gour said, that in the opening letter of the Esher Committee they said, that they were unable to consider the administration of the Army in India otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer seems to ask us to repudiate that position entirely. I can perfectly well understand the desire of the House to repudiate the view expressed in the second section of the Resolution before us but what substantial ground is there for repudiating the proposition that the administration of the army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire? That is the substantive point which I ask this House

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: If it is anything more than a truism.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: If it is a truism, still less should we repudiate it. You may object to the definite manner in which the committee interpret the way in which India's forces should be administered as part of the forces of the Empire; you may, for instance, object to the control, shall we say of the Imperial General staff, you may again object to certain of the committee's recommendations with regard to nominations to higher appointments. You may object to what they say, for instance, with regard to the nomination of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's successor. But while you

[Mr. W. M. Hailey.]

are objecting to those details, can you at the same time honestly repudiate the main position that the administration of the army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire? If we fall into difficulties in India, we need the support of the other forces of the Empire. The forces of the Empire include not only the Army, but the Navy. The administration of the total forces of the Empire is a matter for His Majesty's Cabinet, and whatever the details of the administration may be, the administration of the whole must be considered as an entity; you cannot get away from that position, and I do not think it is logical formally to repudiate it. I am as strong as any body else in believing that the main and primary purpose of maintaining the Indian Army is for the defence of India against external attack and internal disorder. I believe that position should always be maintained, but I do ask the House not to repudiate any suggestion that the administration of the Indian Army, whatever the details of the administration, can be entirely dissociated from the administration of the general forces of the Empire.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment moved by Sir Godfrey Fell. I do not think that the expression to which we take exception has been rightly understood in all its bearings. The assumption underlying the whole report of the Esher Committee is first that the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. Now what the meaning of that expression is, is made clear in the covering letter itself. After laying down this dictum, they proceed to expound it in the next two paragraphs. They say:

'Novel political machinery created by the Peace Treaty has enhanced the importance of the Army of India relatively to the military forces in other parts of the Empire, and more particularly to those of the British Isles'.

They proceed further and say:

'We feel bound to assume that Western Europe will no longer be an armed camp containing national armies in a high state of preparation for war, and we note that conflicts fraught with the gravest consequences to the belligerent nations cannot in future take place within a few days or weeks of an order to mobilize'.

I shall now draw attention to what follows:

'We realize, and the evidence of Lord Allenby confirms our belief, that the war has left Eastern Europe, and what is commonly known as the near and Middle East, in a condition of grave unrest, with consequences to India, especially as regards her military and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore'.

Now, the whole point of view of the Esher Committee's Report and objective of the recommendations which have been made, is obsessed by the idea that in Europe you will not have any large armies, the centre of gravity has turned now to the Middle East and Near East, and therefore the administration of the Army in India must be so controlled from the War Office that it shall be available for the purposes of these extra-territorial needs of the Empire. I do not wish to take up longer time in explaining the whole scheme; but those who have been conversant with the detailed criticism of the *London Times*, when the Esher Report was out,—the prompt, penetrating, trenchant and informed criticism to which this Esher Report was subjected by the *London Times* will understand the importance of repudiating what that paper effectively repudiated, namely, these two underlying principles of the Report, and I

trust that nothing that has been said either by the Honourable the Leader of the House or our Honourable friend, Sir Godfrey Fell, will induce the House to give up the position which we have taken up deliberately in this clause.

The Honourable the President: The original question was:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council:

- (a) That the purpose of the Army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date, and, with due regard to Indian conditions, in accordance with present-day standards of efficiency in the British Army so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organisation, etc., which would render such co-operation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions.
- (b) To repudiate the assumption underlying the whole Report of the Esher Committee:
 - (1) That the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire, and
 - (2) That the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities.'

Since which an amendment has been moved to substitute for clause (b) the following clause:

'That it should not be the object of the Government of India to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to Imperial necessities, as stated in paragraph 17 of Part I of the Esher Committee's Report but to organize, equip and train the Army in India on the lines adopted from time to time by the other military forces of the Empire.'

The question I have to put is, that that amendment be made.

The Assembly divided as follows:

AYES—39.

Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
Afsar-ul-Mulk Akram Hussain,
Prince.
Ahmed, Mr. Zahir-ud-Din.
Aiyar, Mr. A. V. V.
Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
Bryant, Mr. J. F.
Carter, Sir Frank.
Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
Crookshank, Sir Sydney.
Dentith, Mr. A. W.
Fell, Sir Godfrey.
Gajjan Singh, Mr.
Hailey, The Honourable Mr. W. M.
Holland, The Honourable Sir Thomas.
Hullah, Mr. J.
Hutchinson, Mr. H. N.
Ikramullah Khan, Mr. Mirza Md.
Innes, Mr. C. A.
Kabraji, Mr. J. K. N.

Keith, Mr. W. J.
Latthe, Mr. A. B.
Majid, Sheikh Abdul.
Maw, Mr. W. N.
McCarthy, Mr. Frank.
Mitter, Mr. D. K.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Muhammad Ismail, Mr. S.
O'Donnell, Mr. S. P.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Pickford, Mr. A. D.
Renouf, Mr. W. C.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Shahani, Mr. S. C.
Sharp, Mr. H.
Singh, Raja S. P.
Sircar, Mr. N. C.
Spry, Mr. H. E.
Waghorn, Colonel W. D.
Wild, Mr. C. E.

[The President.]

NOES—44.

Abul Kasem, Mr.
 Agarwala, Lala G. L.
 Aiyer, Sir Sivaswamy.
 Amjad Ali, Mr.
 Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
 Bagde, Mr. K. G.
 Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
 Barua, Srijut Debi Charan.
 Bhargava, Mr. J.
 Bishambhar Nath, Mr.
 Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
 Das, Babu Braja Sundar.
 Dasa, Pandit R. K.
 Dwarkadas, Mr. J.
 Faiyaz Khan, Mr. Muhammed.
 Ghulam Sarwar Khan, Chaudhuri.
 Gidney, Lt.-Col. H. A. J.
 Ginwala, Mr. P. P.
 Gour, Dr. H. S.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Hasanally, Mr. W. M.
 Ibrahim Ali Khan, Nawab Muhammad.

Iswar Saran, Mr.
 Jalkar, Mr. B. H. R.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Lakshmi Narayan Lal, Mr.
 Mahadeo Prasad, Mr.
 Misra, Mr. Piyari Lal.
 Mukherjee, Mr. T.
 Nabi Hadi, Mr.
 Nag, Mr. Girish Chandra.
 Neogy, Babu Khitish Chandra.
 Norton, Mr. Eardley.
 Prari Lal, Mr.
 Ramji, Mr. M.
 Rao, Mr. P. V. Srinivasa.
 Reddiyar, Mr. M. K.
 Samarth, Mr. N. M.
 Shahab-ud-Din, Chaudhuri.
 Singh, Mr. B. P.
 Singh, Raja K. P.
 Sohan Lal, Mr.
 Subzposh, Mr. S. M. Zahid Ali.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.

The motion was negatived.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that that Resolution* (No. 1) be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty-Five Minutes past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty-Five Minutes past Two of the Clock. The Honourable the President was in the Chair.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: I understand, Sir, that some remarks which I made in the course of my speech have given rise to misconstruction as to my intention. When I referred to Muhammadan leaders who were prepared to welcome the advent of the Amir, I had in mind only one or two

* This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

(a) That the purpose of the Army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date, and with due regard to Indian conditions, in accordance with present-day standards of efficiency in the British Army so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organization, etc., which would render such co-operation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions.

(b) To repudiate the assumption underlying the whole Report of the Esher Committee :

(i) that the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire, and

(ii) that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities.

gentlemen. It is not necessary for me to refer to the names of these gentlemen; I believe they are known to most of the Members here.

One Honourable Member : They cannot be gentlemen.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : I had no intention at all of casting the slightest reflection upon the loyalty of my Muhammadan friends, and I shall see that the version of my speech which appears contains only the words 'one or two Muhammadan leaders' and not 'Muhammadan leaders.' With that explanation, I hope, the House will be satisfied.

Mr. Amjad Ali : Are not there two or three Hindus as well who are very extremely violent in wishing to drive out the English from this country and help any invasion?

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : I have referred to them also.

Mr. Amjad Ali : You would do well in that connection if you mention also that there are Hindu leaders.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : I have no intention of casting any reflection on any Muhammadan gentleman.

The Honourable the President : Order, order.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan : I thank you on behalf of the Muhammadans. It is only a section of the Muhammadans, as there are everywhere among the non-co-operators, who may become violent, but we Muhammadans generally who are not non-co-operators are loyal to the very core to the British people. (Applause.)

RESOLUTION No. 2.

The Honourable the President : The Resolution moved is :

'That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Army in India should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for purely defensive purposes, or with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council in very grave emergencies, provided that this Resolution does not preclude the employment on garrison duties overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government and with the consent of the Government of India.'

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, you will be pleased to notice that Amendments Nos. 5, 7 and 9 standing in my name all relate to this Resolution. I wish to have your ruling, Sir, whether I should move them all together in one speech, or I should move No. 5, and then Mr. Samarth will move No. 6 and then I should move No. 7 and so on.

The Honourable the President : Does the Honourable Member mean that the three amendments standing in his name are really parts of one amendment?

I think he had better move them together.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, having in view all the observations made by Sir Sivaswamy in moving these Resolutions I do not think it is necessary for me to move Amendments No. 5 and No. 7 standing in my name. My object in moving these amendments was to make it perfectly clear that we did not want our troops to be employed for any aggressive purposes. But the Mover of the Resolution made it quite clear in his speech that the Resolution moved by him embodied this very idea. I shall therefore, with the leave of the House, not move these two amendments.

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

There remains No. 9* standing in my name. I shall not read it, but I shall state the substance of the amendment. The first part of the Resolution, Sir, I welcome, as embodying our considered opinion that Indian troops should not be employed except in certain cases and under certain conditions beyond the frontiers of India. I am anxious that we should make it unmistakably plain as to what we want. We are utterly opposed to the idea of the Army in India being used for aggressive purposes beyond our frontiers. I am happy to find that Sir Sivaswamy left the House in no mistake as to the meaning of the Resolution moved by him. The idea that our soldiers should be regarded by other nations as mere mercenaries is very galling to us. The House will kindly notice that according to the first Resolution, we are prepared to share our military burdens in common with the Self-governing Dominions and in addition we are willing to undertake a little more responsibility provided we are not involved in engagements that lower the position and the prestige of our soldiers. As regards the second part of the Resolution, I must frankly say, that I am against the employment of our troops on garrison duties overseas. At the same time I am free to appreciate the motive of such Honourable Members as have suggested this proviso. They seem to imagine that our soldiers by doing garrison duties overseas will have a good opportunity of improving themselves and of becoming better soldiers. I join issue with them. Even according to these friends our troops will not be called upon to engage in wars overseas. They will have to be content merely with garrison duties. I submit, Sir, that there would have been some force in the view of my Honourable friends who insist on this proviso if they had insisted that our troops should take part in wars beyond the frontiers. But that they do not say. What they say is, that they should be engaged on garrison duties. I submit, Sir, that the mere doing of garrison duties overseas is not a matter of such great importance—I speak with great diffidence—to our soldiers that we should for that consideration lend them for purposes not legitimately Indian. I venture to think, that one aspect of the question has not been sufficiently given importance to by my Honourable friends who want this proviso to be inserted. There are not a few competent and qualified critics who maintain that the strength of the Army in India is on a war footing. Public opinion will of course demand, and I for one have no doubt that it will secure its reduction. If the Army is reduced to its irreducible minimum, I am afraid, we shall not be able to lend our troops for garrison duties overseas. The fact that our troops to-day are to be found scattered in various parts is proof positive in my humble opinion of the unnecessarily large army which we are keeping. Look at the number of troops that we are able to spare to-day. On the 22nd of February 1921 we were told by Sir Godfrey Fell that approximately 74,700 Indian troops were employed in Mesopotamia and Persia, and about 23,000 troops were serving in Egypt and Persia. I hope this House will clearly express its opinion about the employment of Indian troops overseas in this fashion. But, Sir, I am anxious that we should raise no objection if His Majesty's Government wants to keep Indian troops in India for purposes

* That the words 'maintenance in India wholly at the expense of His Majesty's Government with the consent of the Government of India of Indian troops for employment on garrison duties overseas' be substituted for the words from 'employment on garrison duties,' in line 5, to the end of the Resolution.

of employment on garrison duty overseas provided it obtains the consent of the Government of India, which in its turn will secure the consent of the Secretary of State. I mean, if His Majesty's Government can come to terms with the Government of India as regards the employment of troops—not the regular troops that we have, but some other troops that they shall maintain in India,—then, I submit, that this House, having regard to our connection with England, should have no objection to it. It is with the object of making it perfectly clear that we do not want our troops to be employed out of India that I bring forward this amendment. At the same time, I wish the House to make it equally clear that we do not want to stand in the way of His Majesty's Government making any terms with the Government of India for keeping troops wholly and solely at their cost in India. I therefore move the amendment standing in my name.

The Honourable the President: Amendment moved:

'That the words 'maintenance in India wholly at the expense of His Majesty's Government with the consent of the Government of India of Indian troops for employment on garrison duties overseas' be substituted for the words from 'employment on garrison duties,' in line 5, to the end of the Resolution.'

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, I may perhaps be permitted to justify the Resolution as it stands on the paper. The view that the Select Committee adopted was a compromise between the opposing views prevalent in this country. One of them is, that the Army of India must remain in India at all times and on every occasion, that it should be a *pardanashin* army and that it should be maintained as such, religiously watched and scrutinised against excursion into foreign territory.

The other view is, and a view to which some countenance is lent in Lord Esher's Report, that the Indian Army might, at times, be a pawn in the game of Imperialism. The Select Committee have chalked out a middle course, and that is that the Indian Army must primarily be for the defence of India and for the purpose of repelling external aggression, and in order to equip it for that purpose it must receive that up-to-date training which is necessary for the purpose of withstanding an international conflict.

My learned friend, who has moved this amendment, Munshi Iswar Saran, questions the wisdom of employing our troops outside the frontiers of India on garrison duty. He joins issue with me, and I join issue with him. I submit, that if we were not to allow our troops to go outside the frontiers of India for the purpose of doing garrison duty, we would not give our Indian soldiers the necessary training and experience which they would obtain by foreign travel. What other alternative has my learned friend suggested beyond levelling at this Resolution a purely destructive criticism? Has he suggested any means for the training and equipment of the Indian Army? He has done nothing of the kind. I submit, that the means that the Select Committee has adopted of training the Indian soldier and keeping him up to date as regards efficiency is only justifiable if we allow the Indian soldier to go overseas for the purpose of doing garrison duty. My learned friend seems to suspect, that in doing so, the cost of the Indian Army would be greatly increased. I have no suspicion of that kind. If my learned friend will read the proviso which is a part and parcel of the Resolution, he will find that the cost of the Indian troops serving overseas for the purpose of doing garrison duty will be borne by His Majesty's Government. We, therefore, train our soldiers at the expense of His Majesty's Government, and while His Majesty's Government receives service from the

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

Indian soldier, the latter in turn comes back better trained, better equipped, with greater confidence in himself, and able to withstand a foreign foe in times of emergency and national necessity. I submit, therefore, Sir, that the clause as suggested by the Draft Committee should stand, and the Honourable Mover's amendment be rejected by this House.

My friend has further said that so far as the question of defence of this country is concerned, there is no objection to the employment of Indian soldiers, but the rule should be made rigid and inflexible. He has wisely withdrawn his amendment which is, that the words 'as a rule' should be deleted from this Resolution. The object of the Select Committee in adding these words, 'as a rule', was to give it the elasticity necessary in the case of a military army.

I therefore submit, that every word of this Resolution should receive the unanimous assent of this House.

Sir Godfrey Fell: I think it might be of interest to this Assembly if I were to explain the point of view of the Government of India with regard to the employment of Indian troops overseas. Before doing so, I should like to say at once that the Government are prepared to accept this Resolution as moved.

The position about the employment of Indian troops overseas is as follows: As the Assembly is aware, after the Armistice large numbers of Indian troops were retained for garrison duty in various parts of the world, such as, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia and so forth. The Government of India have been pressing the Home Government for their return. In pressing the Home Government for their return, they believed that they were acting in accordance with the wishes of the people of this country. It now appears, from the Resolution which stood in the name of my friend, Dr. Gour, but which has not been moved, and from the proviso to the Resolution which we are now discussing, that there is a considerable body of opinion in India in favour of allowing Indian troops to serve overseas. Well, if that is so, the Government of India have no objection whatever to reconsidering their position. But there are certain points which must be borne in mind. The first is this. We must not do anything which will interfere with the contentment of the Indian army. As the Assembly is aware, in normal times the Indian sepoy gets a good deal of leave every year. He is able to go to his home and attend to his private affairs, to look after his land, to take up law suits, to marry his daughters, or whatever it may be. If he is serving overseas, he will, of course, not be able to go home so frequently, and that will possibly be a source of discontent. In any case, therefore, it would be necessary, if Indian troops were employed overseas, to give them very liberal leave rules.

There is very little difference really between the Resolution as moved and the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran. I think, if my friend will allow me to say so, that his amendment is not very clearly expressed. But I take him to mean, that instead of Indian troops, that is, part of our Indian Army, being employed on garrison duties overseas, he would prefer that a special force should be raised and maintained in India, at the expense of His Majesty's Government, for garrison duties overseas, and that it should be no part of the functions of the Indian Army to form those garrisons. There is not a very great deal of difference between the two.

The same class of men would be serving in the two categories. It is really, I think, a matter which should be left to the experts to decide—whether, if His Majesty's Government want Indian troops for garrison duties overseas and the Government of India are prepared to agree, it should be done by increasing the strength of the Indian Army above the amount required for India's own needs and, of course, debiting the cost of that excess to His Majesty's Government, or by raising a separate force for service overseas, again, of course, at the expense of His Majesty's Government. I would ask this Assembly to leave that matter for the decision of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the expert advisers of His Majesty's Government at Home. The two main things which we have to bear in mind are, firstly, that whatever we do must not interfere with the efficiency and contentment of the Indian Army, and, secondly, that it must not throw any unfair financial burden on India; that is to say, whatever is done must be done wholly and entirely at the expense of His Majesty's Government.

I therefore commend to this Assembly the original Resolution as drafted.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: There is very little difference, Sir, between the views expressed by Sir Godfrey Fell and the views as embodied in the amendment* of which I have given notice. I am in favour of organising the Indian Army for the purposes and to the extent to which we have made reference in Resolution No. 1 which we have passed. Over and above that, there should be organised at the same time, a body of Indian troops for the purpose of garrison duties overseas. Many troops are now returning, and I do not wish to have in my country the question of unemployment of demobilised men raised as in England. Thousands of these troops are coming back, and where is the employment for them unless you find some such employment for them as I have mentioned? My proposal is, that these Indian troops should be organised in the manner in which expert advice may sanction or dictate, in such a way that they may be available for Great Britain in all those territories where Great Britain has a mandate now under the League of Nations. We undertake to help Great Britain in her needs, but it is for Imperial purposes that we do so. Therefore, it is but right that the cost of recruiting, training, equipment, transport and supply, invaliding, pay, pensions, gratuities, allowances, and all that, should be borne by His Majesty's Government. That is my proposition, and I take it, that from what fell from Sir Godfrey Fell, he would have no objection to substitute my wording for the wording of the proviso as it now stands in the Resolution.

Now take the original words as they are. They do not bring out the full sense of what Sir Godfrey Fell conveyed to us. The original Resolution says:

'Provided that this Resolution does not preclude the employment on garrison duties overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government,'

that is to say, when they go overseas. But what about the cost while in India? I separately allocate an army for the purposes of India and a certain separate

* 'For the words from 'provided' to the words 'Government of India', the following be substituted, namely:

'Provided that, in addition to the army which it may be necessary for India to maintain for the purposes and to the extent mentioned in clause (a) of the Resolution 1, the Governor General in Council may, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for India and at the desire of His Majesty's Government, provide for the maintenance and upkeep of Indian troops for garrison duties overseas and for their employment on such duties, the entire cost of such troops being borne by His Majesty's Government.'

[Mr. N. M. Samarth.]

portion of Indian troops for overseas garrison duty.. Now, the cost of such troops who are maintained in India when they are not required overseas must also be borne by England, by His Majesty's Government. There is, Sir, a history behind it. After the Army Commission of 1879, additions were made, on account of the panic of the Afghan War to the troops and these additions were in excess of the maximum defence forces required for India as laid down by the Army Commission of 1879. What happened? The additions were protested against by two Members of the Viceregal Council including the Finance Minister who urged that in the first place they were not necessary and secondly that if they were wanted that was for purposes of Imperial policy and the Imperial Treasury should pay for it. That is exactly the position which I wish this House to take. The proviso as drafted does not bring out that idea. The wording of that proviso only says that the troops, when they are employed overseas shall be at the expense of His Majesty's Government. It makes no provision for the cost of those troops, for the cost of recruiting and maintaining them and of giving them, pay and allowances and so on while they are here or when they come back from overseas. Therefore, Sir, I do not know whether I shall be in order in moving my amendment at this stage. I should like to move it, if you permit me to do so.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I feel that the point that Mr. Samarth has just referred to is partly a financial one and it would no doubt interest the House to know how I, as representing the Finance Department, would interpret the original Resolution as put forward by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. The words used are:

'Maintenance of garrison duties overseas at the expense of His Majesty's Government.'

Now, Sir, as we interpret that phrase in regard to the employment of overseas troops, that would undoubtedly cover not only the cost of the troops when employed overseas and their transport overseas, but also the maintenance of the necessary drafts in India at our depôts in order to fill up any vacancies that occur when troops are employed overseas. It would further mean that His Majesty's Government should bear the necessary share of what you might call semi-capital expenditure, that is to say, on their barracks and maintenance in India. It would also still further imply that His Majesty's Government should bear a certain percentage of what in commercial circles would be called 'overhead' charges, namely, the general cost of supervision of the Army. It would include also non-effective charges (pensions, furlough and the like); so that if I were called upon to interpret the meaning of the Resolution as originally put forward, I should myself have interpreted it in exactly the sense that Mr. Samarth himself desires. I may say, that we have been very particular as to the terms on which we would be prepared to supply troops for overseas duty and the conditions that we have made correspond very closely to those which I have just explained to the House. The House is no doubt aware that throughout the course of the war we had in India an official called the 'Controller of War Accounts'. He is a distinguished Indian officer; it was his duty to apportion the charges falling respectively on His Majesty's Government and on ourselves and I can assure the House, that they need be under no apprehension whatever as to the strictness with which he has interpreted his duties. He has on every occasion charged His Majesty's Government fully with everything that might legitimately be put down to

their debit and I have not the smallest doubt that if the Indian troops are continued in employment overseas much the same arrangements in regard to the financial division of accounts will also be maintained and the very strictest discrimination will be made between the charges which should fall on His Majesty's Government and those which properly fall on the Indian Government itself.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, I am inclined to favour the view which was put before this House by my Honourable friend, Mr. Samarth. Besides the arguments which he has used in support of his view, I may also say one thing more and it is this. If we have got an independent unit of army for employment on garrison duties outside India, Government will not be open to the blame of using our forces as mercenaries. If there is an independent unit and if a man joins that unit knowing that the Army is mainly for garrisoning other countries besides India, then certainly there is no blame attached to the Government of India. If a man chooses to join such an army, we cannot prevent him. There are several people who take service in other capacities, in other professions and we do not call them mercenaries and if some people choose to go into the profession of a soldier to serve on garrison duties in other countries we cannot also prevent them from doing so. I think, therefore, if we accept Mr. Samarth's view that there should be an independent unit, it will be much better.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: I rise to point out that it will be very undesirable to demarcate between the forces that are to be employed in India for the purpose of defence or maintaining peace in India and for the purpose of garrison duties overseas. The object with which this Resolution has been framed will also be defeated. It is deemed desirable that the Indian soldier should be properly trained and should have opportunities afforded to him for seeing fighting done elsewhere. I at the same time feel disposed to support the amendment that has been proposed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Samarth. If, as he has pointed out, it will be desirable to see that the entire cost of this unit or the entire cost of the troops doing garrison duty outside should be borne by the Imperial Government, there is no harm in making an explicit provision in the Resolution that will be passed by this House to-day. It is true, that we have had verbal assurance to the effect that none of the cost will be borne by India but as I have said it will be only right to make it plain, so that the relation between the Indian and the Home Government in the matter in question may not be from any point of view unintelligible in the Resolution that we are passing here to-day.

The Honourable the President: The question is:

'That the words 'Maintenance in India wholly at the expense of His Majesty's Government with the consent of the Government of India of Indian troops for employment on garrison duties overseas' be substituted for the words from 'employment on garrison duties' in line 5 to the end of the Resolution.'

The question is, that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Sir, I beg formally to move the amendment that stands in my name, amendment No. 8, namely, that for the words from 'provided

The Honourable the President: Does the Honourable Member wish formally to move his amendment on the paper? I may say in point of fact

[The President.]

that the question raised by amendment No. 8 is substantially the same as the question raised by amendment No. 9. If the Honourable Member thinks otherwise, I am prepared to hear him briefly on that point, but does he wish to move amendment No. 6 first of all?

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Sir, I beg to move :

'That in line 2, after the words 'frontiers of India' the words 'which should be statutorily defined' be inserted.'

It is necessary to know really what are the frontiers of India. Members who are aware of controversies in the past about the scientific frontiers of India need not be told that the expression has been variously interpreted from time to time as military exigencies may require. I wish, when we are now here laying down as a rule that the Army in India should not be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India, to have the frontiers of India in the General Clauses Act statutorily defined. I need not say anything more about this point. It is an amendment which will, I hope, commend itself to Government.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, though I have every sympathy with the Honourable Member's amendment, I doubt if it is a practical proposition. The external frontiers of India, for a great part of the way, are of course very easily defined, because they are the sea. In other parts, we have land neighbours, and one party obviously cannot define, by a Statute which will be binding upon its neighbour, the frontier between the two. These national frontiers are, as a rule, settled by mutual agreement, which sometimes has to be arrived at by delimitation or boundary commissions. I do not think there will ever be any doubt about when an army that is actually fighting passes beyond the external frontiers of India. The other side will take care that they quite understand that they are beyond the frontiers, as the bullets begin to fly. I do not think this is a practical point, and I therefore do not think it is really worth while accepting this amendment.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: All right; I do not press it.

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

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Sir, I beg to move :

'That for the words from 'provided' to the words 'Government of India', the following be substituted, namely :

'Provided that, in addition to the army which it may be necessary for India to maintain for the purposes and to the extent mentioned in clause (a) of the Resolution, the Governor General in Council may, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for India, and at the desire of His Majesty's Government, provide for the maintenance and upkeep of Indian troops for garrison duties overseas and for their employment on such duties, the entire cost of such troops being borne by His Majesty's Government'.

Now, Sir, the difference between the amendment moved by my friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, and myself is this. He was against the employment of Indian troops or the maintenance of Indian troops at all. My object is, that in addition to the purposes mentioned and to the extent mentioned in Resolution No. 1, separate Indian troops be organised for the purposes of garrison duty. Resolution No. 1 lays down that the Army in India must be held to be for the defence of India against external aggression and the

maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. Now I want that Army to be paid for by India alone, I mean that so far as those purposes are concerned that army is absolutely for Indian interests and should therefore be maintained at Indian expense. Over and above that, my amendment says, there shall be organised Indian troops for garrison duties overseas at the expense of His Majesty's Government. So far as these expenses were concerned, I take it, there was hardly any difference between my view and the view of the Honourable Mr. Hailey and the view of Sir Godfrey Fell. I therefore move this amendment.

The Honourable the President : Without pronouncing upon the military meaning of the words, from the point of view of order within this Chamber, there is not sufficient difference between the word 'organization' used by the Honourable Member and the word 'maintenance' used by Munshi Iswar Saran to justify me in allowing him to move it. I think the Assembly has substantially given its decision upon the same point

Mr. N. M. Samarth : If that be your ruling, I bow to it.

The Honourable the President : So much so that the reply given by Sir Godfrey Fell to Munshi Iswar Saran was of course very nearly the same as would be given to the Honourable Member who is moving this Resolution.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : I wish to see it.

The Honourable the President : The Honourable Member can consult Sir Godfrey Fell in private.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

'That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Army in India should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India, except for purely defensive purposes, or with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council in very grave emergencies, provided that this Resolution does not preclude the employment on garrison duties overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government and with the consent of the Government of India.'

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 3.

The Honourable the President : Resolution moved :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the absence of full responsible Government in India, the differences in conditions between India and England, and the provisions of the Government of India Act do not warrant differentiation in the army administration between India and England in regard to the ultimate control of, and responsibility for, the defence of the country, and that in view of the desirability of assimilating the system of administration in India to that in the United Kingdom, which has been arrived at after prolonged experiments, and the desirability of emphasizing the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the civil power, it is essential that the Commander-in-Chief should, without prejudice to his official precedence, cease to be a member of the Governor General's Executive Council and that the Portfolio of Defence, including Supply, should be entrusted to a civilian Member of the Executive Council assisted by an Army Council including the Commander-in-Chief and other high military experts and a certain number of civilians more or less on the model of the Army Council in England.'

Sir Godfrey Fell : Sir, I should like to say only a few words on this Resolution. As the Assembly is no doubt aware, there used to be a Military Department of the Government of India. That Military Department was in charge of a soldier, of the rank of Major-General, who represented, so to speak, the Government of India side, of army administration. At the same

[Sir Godfrey Fell.]

time there was a Commander-in-Chief, an officer of higher rank than the Member in charge of the Military Department; he was also an extraordinary Member of the Governor General's Council. Lord Kitchener took exception to having to submit his administrative schemes for the sanction of a Department of Government, presided over by a military officer of lower rank than himself. He also objected to the proposals of his principal staff officers, as they would now be called, being noted upon and examined by military officers considerably junior to them in rank; and, as a result of this objection, the Military Department was abolished and there was created instead a Department of Military Supply, also under a soldier of the rank of Major-General. This Department ceased to exist after two or three years; and from that time onwards the whole of the administrative and executive control of the Army has been centred in one person, the Commander-in-Chief and Army Member.

Now, the experience of the great war showed, that at all events under war conditions, the burden was more than any one man could bear. Experience since the war, until the arrival of His Excellency the present Commander-in-Chief, has been to the same effect. The Esher Committee were very much impressed with the necessity for granting some relief to the Commander-in-Chief. They devised, as the Assembly is aware, two alternative methods. One was to relieve the Commander-in-Chief of all responsibility for provision and production, for supply in other words, and also for the administration of the Royal Indian Marine, by creating a new Department of Government, to be placed under a civilian head. The minority of the Esher Committee were not in favour of this arrangement, but proposed instead a Surveyor General of Supply, a high civilian officer working directly under the Commander-in-Chief.

I do not propose, either now or in connection with the next Resolution, to say one word on the merits of these alternative schemes proposed by the Esher Committee. The arguments for and against are clearly stated in the Report itself; I only wish to mention this, that the third solution, which forms the subject-matter of the Resolution now before the Assembly, has naturally not escaped the attention of the Government of India, nor of His Majesty's Government. It is indeed at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government. The Assembly will, I think, realise that a change of this importance requires very careful examination and very considerable knowledge of the issues involved, and could not be carried out, even if it were approved, until many delicate readjustments have been made in the administrative machinery, so as to define on a satisfactory basis, the relations between the Commander-in-Chief, who under any scheme would have to be retained in his present high position, and a Civilian Army Member. The Government of India propose neither to accept nor to oppose this Resolution, nor the next of the main Resolutions. They will welcome an expression of the Assembly's opinion on both.

I have only one word more to say in connection with this Resolution, and that is this. The matter was touched upon by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his opening speech. The Assembly has to deal with a very difficult problem of Army administration—a problem which is exercising and has always exercised the minds of statesmen in other countries, in Europe and in America, a problem which is never satisfactorily solved. All I ask is this, that in considering this question and in giving their vote upon it, the Assembly will put

on one side that totally irrelevant consideration, namely, the ratio of Indian Members to European Members on the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is open to anyone in this Assembly to raise that constitutional question and to have it thrashed out on its merits. I only ask the Assembly to leave this out of consideration, in dealing with a problem which is sufficiently difficult without this complication.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar: Sir, I rise to oppose the Resolution. Before I do that, may I be permitted to convey the thanks of this Assembly to the Committee for the exceedingly good service they have rendered the House in stating very lucidly the principles which they want the House to accept. It is perhaps curious that the non-official spokesman on this subject should be a Madrasi and a Brahman, too, who does not belong to one of the warlike classes.

There is only one other matter, before I deal with the question itself, which I should like to mention, though it is rather unpleasant for me to do so. I wish my friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, had not referred to non-co-operators in the way he did at the end of his speech. This constant nagging at them is not likely to conduce to harmony or goodwill. We are all anxious that there should be close relationship between the Government and them and between them and ourselves. In these circumstances it is not desirable that their belief in 'Soul Force' and other matters should be sneered at frequently in this Assembly.

Now, Sir, on the Resolution itself I shall say only a few words. With Sir Sivaswamy I also cannot understand the reason why, because India has not got responsible government, we should be treated differently from the Colonies. I take it, that the object of the British people in this country is to govern India in the interests of the Indian people.

If that is their object, what does it matter whether we have got full responsible government or whether our affairs are being managed by Englishmen for us? If our affairs are to be managed by Britishers for us, there is no reason for any differential treatment as regards the Army Department between India and the colonies. Now, Sir, the first question I have asked myself in dealing with this problem is, is there any reason why there should be a departure from the *status quo ante*? Hitherto, the Commander-in-Chief has been a Member of the Executive Council, responsible for peace and war, and responsible for military policy. Has Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer assigned sufficient reasons for initiating a departure from the existing rule? In my opinion, Sir, the reasons which he has given are not sufficient for making a departure. He has said, that the organisation of the Army in India should approximate as far as possible to that in England. But, is it possible to make such an approximation so long as we have a Commander-in-Chief in India? There is no Commander-in-Chief in England; there is only the Secretary of State for War at the head of the Army Department assisted by an Army Council. Here we have a Commander-in-Chief who is an experienced and superior officer; and he is assisted, I think, by an advisory board; and the advisory board consists of his subordinates. Now, Sir, let us look at this question more closely. Supposing there is to be an Army Council, who is to be the President of it, the Civilian Member or the Commander-in-Chief? Supposing we say that the Commander-in-Chief is not to be a Member of the Executive Council, and that a Civilian Member should be appointed. Will the Commander-in-Chief be content to remain in the Army Council.

[Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar.]

under the Civilian President? It is altogether unthinkable. If that is unthinkable, if you have a Civilian Member in the Executive Council and if you have a Commander-in-Chief who is at the head of the Army Council, there will constantly be differences of opinion, and I think this arrangement will not lead to harmony; it will lead to considerable friction between the two representatives. Under these circumstances so long as there is a Commander-in-Chief who occupies the peculiar position he does in this country, there is no use in saying, that there should be approximation between the position of the Army in India and of the Army in England. It may be said, Sir, that so far as the Army Council is concerned if it is put on a statutory basis, for example if Letters Patent are issued for the constitution of the Army or if by legislation in this Assembly an Army Council is constituted with a Civilian Member at its head, the position would become better. I do not share in this optimism. At present, the position is, that the advisory board, which I take it would ultimately become the Army Council, consists of persons who are entirely subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief. Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to accept the suggestion that there should be a Civilian as the Member of the Executive Council and that the Commander-in-Chief should be entirely outside this body. On the other hand, the better course would be to give the Commander-in-Chief, as has always been the case, a voice, a predominant voice in matters of peace and war and in all matters relating to military policy. He is not likely to trouble the Executive Council often, and I think he would be content to come here only whenever these important questions are discussed.

There was one passage in the quotation which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer read, which struck me as being important; that passage was from Sir W. Anson. Sir W. Anson said, that if you have a military man to come for money, it is likely that he will not get it, but if he is a civilian, he is sure to get the money; and I think that should certainly be a recommendation to this Assembly to have in the Executive Council only a Commander-in-Chief to whom we might refuse money and not a Civilian Member whom we may find it difficult to refuse.

There is one other matter which must be taken into account, and that is this. As matters at present stand, the Commander-in-Chief will have his pay, his full pay, and he will have his staff; and if you get a Civilian Member in addition, the country will have to bear additional expense; whereas if you have a Commander-in-Chief who is also a Member of the Council, the country will be spared that expense. That is an argument which I think ought to commend itself to Mr. Hailey and to this Assembly as well.

Under these circumstances, I see no force in the suggestion put forward that there should be a Commander-in-Chief outside the Council and a Civilian Member in the Council.

Sir, these are the only observations that I wish to make, and under these circumstances, having regard to the fact that sufficient reasons have not been advanced for altering the existing state of affairs, I would advise my friend to veto this proposition altogether.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Sir, four alternatives are before this House, and the House should clearly understand the proposition they are called upon to vote for. The first is, shall we have, as we had prior to 1906, a Commander-in-Chief

and a Major-General who was the Military Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council? I may point out, that this proposition has been unanimously condemned by the Esher Committee who have decided that the Executive Committee should not have a Major General as a Military Member sitting side by side with the Commander-in-Chief in the Executive Council. So we may rule out this contingency as no longer open to discussion. There remain now three other possibilities. Let me state them to you. The first is, a Commander-in-Chief as a Member of the Executive Council and no Civilian Member, and the work that he is to do is proposed to be entrusted by the select committee to be done by a Surveyor General; second, that we should have both the Commander-in-Chief as well as a Civilian Member, and in having both, should we follow the recommendation of the six out of the ten members who constituted the majority of the Esher Committee; and the third alternative is, shall we have merely a Civilian Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council and recommend that the Commander-in-Chief be not a Member at all. Now, Sir, I shall advert to every one of these alternatives in their order. As regards the Commander-in-Chief being a Member of the Executive Council, as is the present practice, and which has been the practice since 1909, that is a course recommended by four Members out of the ten Members of the Esher Committee. You will find, Sir, by referring to Part II, page 11, paragraph 17, cogent reasons given why the Commander-in-Chief should be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and I submit, that after considering the *pros* and *cons*, I feel inclined to the view that this House should vote in favour of the Commander-in-Chief remaining a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. My friend, the Honourable Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, has pointed out that the Commander-in-Chief is too exalted a personage to write despatches upon subjects other than his own. I am sure that a convention could very soon be framed that in matters which do not directly concern his department, such as Education, Industries, Agriculture and so forth, he will be treated as a Member of the Executive Council for purposes purely military. If this convention can be framed, I see no reason whatever why the Commander-in-Chief should not be given a place in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Such, Sir, is the view of four Members of the Esher Committee, namely, Lord Esher, Lieutenant-Generals Sir Hudson, Sir Caine and Major Umar Hayat Khan. Then we have the Majority Report, that is to say, the second alternative.

The majority of the Esher Committee propose that the Commander-in-Chief as well as a Civilian Member be both Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the reasons given by the majority of the members of the Esher Committee are, so far as I can see, that the Commander-in-Chief will have lots to do and he cannot be expected to make arrangements for supplies and provisions in addition to his ordinary duties. Now I submit, that that is no reason whatever for rejecting the proposal of the minority, that the Surveyor General should be in charge of munitions and supplies, and that the Commander-in-Chief should take his place in the Viceroy's Executive Council for the purpose of advising and guiding that Council so far as matters relating to his department are concerned.

There is the last alternative suggested by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, and one of the alternatives of the Select Committee, namely, that there should be only a Civilian Member in the Executive Council to represent military interests. It has been said, quoting from Sir William Anson, that a Civilian Member, if he presents a military budget, is likely to receive a more favourable response

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

from Parliament than a purely Military Member. If I know this Assembly aright, I venture to think, that so far as this House is concerned, whether the military budget is presented by a Civilian or a Military Member, it will be open to equal scrutiny, and whatever may be the view in England, with reference to which Sir William Anson wrote his book on the constitution, I submit, that the view of this House would always be to scrutinise the facts and figures, and we shall not vote or refuse any grant merely because it comes from a Civilian or a Military Member. I am assuming, as was assumed in a recent Reuter's telegram, that military affairs are within the control of this House. At the present moment, they are not. I submit, therefore, that that argument need not detain us.

There remains the next question. If you are to denude the Viceroy's Executive Council of the expert advice of the Commander-in-Chief, the Viceroy's Executive Council will have no one to represent the military, and surely it cannot be said, that the Viceroy's Executive Council should be such a civilian body when the military interests may be of large importance in connection with the maintenance of the Indian Empire. As a matter of fact, as the Honourable Members know, they absorb the bulk of our annual revenues. I therefore submit, that it is essential that you must retain the Commander-in-Chief as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, subject to the proviso I have stated, and that should be the vote of this House.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Sir, I oppose the proposition and support Mr. . . .

The Honourable the President: I should like to ask the Honourable Member who has an amendment in his name if he does not propose to move it, because if he does not, I shall not call his name.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, I beg to move the amendment which stands in my name and with the permission of the House would insert two words. My amendment would then read:

'That in line 1, the words 'in view of' be inserted after the word 'that', and in line 2, the word 'and' be inserted after the words 'Government in India.'

'That the words 'it is considered advisable for the time being that when questions affecting the defence of the country or the army come up before the Executive Council, the Commander-in-Chief should have all the rights and privileges of a member thereof and the appointment of a Civilian Member of the Executive Council in charge of the Portfolio of Defence including Supply be deferred' be substituted for the words from 'and the provisions of the Government of India Act' in line 3 to the end of the Resolution.'

Sir, the question now before the House is whether the House would be in favour of the view that we should have a Civilian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council or that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should continue to be a Member of the Executive Council.

When Sir Godfrey Fell spoke on this Resolution he said that it was a Resolution of considerable difficulty and one which required great thought and considerable knowledge. I entirely agree with him. It is a question of great difficulty and I have given great thought to it, but unfortunately I do not claim to possess considerable knowledge. Now there is no doubt that there will be many amongst us who will be inclined to agree that the administration of the Army in India should be assimilated to the administration as it is in England and that the civil power should be ultimately supreme, but I shall beg the House not to be led away by mere theories but to take the actual facts into consideration. Having regard to all the facts and circumstances, my

submission is, that the Commander-in-Chief should continue, for the time being, to be a Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council. As we all know from the Report of the Esher Committee, the system of dual responsibility was tried and found wanting, and it was in the year 1909 that it was abandoned. It is quite possible if there is a Civil Member on the Executive Council representing the Army there may arise occasions of friction. I do not say they will, I only say they may. So why introduce the chance of friction arising while there is none under the present system?

There is considerable force in the argument that the Commander-in-Chief has more work than he can possibly cope with,—the Report of the Esher Committee lays great stress upon this point and I do not think there is any Member of this House who will not feel inclined to give some relief to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief when he is so heavily pressed with work. I have suggested—and I hope the suggestion will meet with the approval of the House that he should have all the rights and privileges of a Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council when questions relating to the Army and of defence come up for consideration. I ask you, how can His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief be particularly interested, for example, in questions relating to co-operation, agriculture, or public works? Why ask him to give away a great part of his time to these questions? Why should it not be placed on an official basis that he should only exercise the rights and privileges of a Member of the Executive Council when any question, however remotely it may be, connected with the defence of the country or affecting the Army comes up before the Executive Council for consideration. My suggestion, if accepted, will afford some relief to the Commander-in-Chief.

Then there was a proposal by the Esher Committee that some official of the Army should be given the right of representing His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in the meetings of the Executive Council, during his absence, to place the military point of view before the Council. I submit, that we should take away the heavy work from the Commander-in-Chief and make provision that he should be relieved of every responsibility, but we should keep him as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General.

There is one matter which should not be lost sight of; we should be very careful to preserve the unity of control for the time being. It may be true, that the system as it prevails in England may be far superior to the system that I am advocating but we have to take the actual facts into consideration.

I therefore submit, that having regard to all these considerations, it is necessary that we should accept in a modified form the proposal of the minority of the Esher Committee. We should have a Surveyor-General who will be a Civilian and who will be under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and we should keep the Commander-in-Chief as a Member of the Executive Council only for military purposes. I hope my amendment will find favour with the House.

The Honourable the President : The amendment that has been moved is :

'That in line 1, the words 'in view of' be inserted after the word 'that', and in line 2, the word 'and' be inserted after the words 'Government in India'.'

'That the words 'it is considered advisable for the time being that when questions affecting the defence of the country or the army come up before the Executive Council the Commander-in-Chief should have all the rights and privileges of a member thereof and the appointment of a Civilian Member of the Executive Council in charge of the Portfolio of Defence including Supply be deferred' be substituted for the words from 'and the provisions of the Government of India Act' in line 3 to the end of the Resolution.'

[The President.]

The question I have to put is, that that amendment be made.

Mr. A. D. Pickford : Sir, I think in the matter of this Resolution a very clear distinction wants to be made between two aspects of the question. One is the principle which the Resolution embodies and the other is the question of the best procedure for conducting the affairs of the army in so far as its relations with the Viceroy's Executive Council are concerned. I think really that all this Resolution does is to try and establish the principle of civil control over the military. Immediately we go beyond that and try to decide what is the best method, then I feel that every man who has not been in the Viceroy's Executive Council, which includes by far the larger number of this Assembly, is not really qualified to express an opinion.

So far as one's disposition goes to express an opinion at all, I wonder whether in his secret mind His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would rather be on the Executive Council or not. The point has been raised, especially by Dr. Gour, and I am afraid, I do not agree with him, that military affairs ought to be represented on the Executive Council by the Commander-in-Chief as being the man best qualified to fight military cases. Now, we have had it from His Excellency himself on a previous occasion in this very Chamber, that he is more conversant with bullets than with arguments. Those were not the exact words used, but that was the tenour of them, and I should be disposed to think, speaking with great diffidence on a subject, as I say, of which we cannot have full knowledge, I should be disposed to think that military cases—cases connected with military questions—were more likely to be argued effectively in Council by a Civilian than by a soldier. Therefore, I am afraid, I cannot support the appeal which has been expressed by Dr. Gour, and, as far as I understood him, by Munshi Iswar Saran.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas : Sir, I oppose the motion, even with the addition that Munshi Iswar Saran has proposed in the amendment, because I do not think that the amendment makes any great difference. In this debate one thing has been forgotten which I wish to bring to the notice of the House and it is this. The recommendations of the Committee in this regard are based upon the system prevailing in England. But is it known that that system has been pronounced to be a failure?—I mean the Army Council. As far as my information goes, this Army Council had been thrown out when the war broke out because it was said it makes an army the sport of party politics in England. That is one consideration why I oppose this motion.

Another consideration is, that as Sir Godfrey Fell has told us, this is a very complicated subject and requires a good deal of examination and careful consideration.

Therefore, I would say, that all things being considered, the *status quo* should be maintained as Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar has argued. Another point is as to the position of the Commander-in-Chief on the Executive Council. A good deal has been said with regard to that. But I think that the best solution of that would be, that whilst the Commander-in-Chief should be allowed to remain on the Executive Council as hitherto as the best military adviser of the Government, he should be relieved of a good deal of the duties which he has now, as a Member of the Executive Council, to perform in conjunction with other Members of the Executive Council. I think it is

fair to him and fair to the public that he should be relieved of these duties. It is fair to him because it takes away unnecessarily a good deal of his time which will be better employed in his military duties. It is fair to the public because the Commander-in-Chief cannot be said to be an expert in all these matters that have been mentioned in the debate. Therefore the best solution would be, that except in military matters, the Commander-in-Chief should not be troubled with other matters in the Executive Council at all. But, Sir, there is one important consideration which has not been taken into account in the present case. I mean, we do not know what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's own views are. We have not been enlightened about it. In the absence of that, I think, it is much better that the *status quo* should be maintained.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Sir, I rise to support the Resolution that has been moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. My reasons are, that the duties of the Commander-in-Chief have to be clearly understood. There has been, to my mind, a certain misconception with regard to his duties. It has been made out, that if he is not in the Executive Council, the military policy of India will not be properly shaped. If the military policy of India is to be properly shaped, he should have hardly anything to do with it except in the shape of advice. He should not be required to influence the military policy of India. It is, I think, for the Civilian Members of the Executive Council of the Governor General to concern themselves with the policy, and the execution of this policy is to be left to the Commander-in-Chief. I cannot see how his absence will be calculated to injure the interests of India. Outside the Council he would concern himself with the execution of the military policy only, and the military policy will have a chance of being properly shaped in the Executive Council. It is properly pointed out that the addition of a Civilian Member to the Executive Council will prove costly. I am distinctly of opinion, that this cost should be cheerfully borne by India. It will pay India in the long run to have the supremacy of the civil element in the Government of India, to allow the Commander-in-Chief to influence its military policy. It has been said by my Honourable friend, Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, that the Army Council has failed in England, and that the present English system is about to be changed. My information has been to the contrary and my opinion is that the system which has been in vogue in England should be adopted by us in India.

It would have been a very good thing for the House if Dr. Gour had considered the pros and cons of the question here in this House. He has not in any manner pointed out why we should not accept the principle which has been accepted by the English people and which has been enforced there.

Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh: As has been pointed out on behalf of Government, the question is full of difficulties, and I am very sorry to remark that the Select Committee appointed by this House has only contented themselves with submitting some Resolutions which can be moved in this House. They have given no reasons for their conclusions, because it is in that case alone that this House would have been in a better position to vote one way or the other.

Sir, notwithstanding all these defects, I am very clearly of opinion that the present state of things should be permitted to continue. No reason up to

[Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh.]

this time has been pointed out why this system should be done away with. Unless there is something very very wrong in the system, which I submit is not the case, we should continue the system.

My friend, Mr. Shahani, has pointed out, that the Commander-in-Chief, generally speaking, should have no hand in shaping the military policy of the Government of India. I beg to differ from him. The Government of India requires a military adviser to come to conclusions in connection with the military policy of this country, and I cannot conceive for a moment that anybody except the Commander-in-Chief is in a proper position to advise the Government of India on that policy. I have very great regard and respect for the Civil Service of the country, and I dare say, that many of the members of that service may be very able officers in presenting the case of the military in the Executive Council. But a civilian, whoever he may be, with the best qualifications, will lack experience of military matters, and will have only to go upon paper files. As we all know, great care is generally taken in the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief in India. Generally, he is a soldier of very great experience. He knows modern warfare, and has served on many battlefields, and, therefore, it goes without saying, that he and he alone can advise the Government of India on the military policy to be followed. Then, of course, nobody denies for a moment the principle that the civil ought to be the controlling power. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief ought to be in the Executive Council to advise the Council, and if a decision has been arrived at by the Government of India, he will give effect to that decision. So, the policy that the civil power ought to be the supreme power still holds good. Moreover, Sir, I would beg the House to take into consideration the fact, that by keeping His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief out of the Executive Council, I am afraid the status and the position of the Commander-in-Chief, will be materially impaired, and that is highly undesirable. Therefore, I submit, that the House should carefully take into consideration all these matters before they vote for disturbing the present state of things. The mere analogy of England's constitution does not hold good. In England, of course, it is correct that the War Minister is a non-military officer. But the conditions of England, in many other respects, especially in these matters, are quite different from those in India. There, the War Minister, has the advantage of the advice of the Cabinet which consists of very great statesmen and ministers, while the same cannot be said of the Executive Council here notwithstanding the best talent that we have here. They are not acquainted, with the exception of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with the many problems relating to the military. Therefore, I would strongly urge and beg this House to allow the present state of things to go on unless very good ground has been shown in regard to this matter.

Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally : I move ' that the question be now put '.

The motion ' that the question be now put ' was adopted.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

' This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the absence of full responsible Government in India, the differences in conditions between India and England, and the provisions of the Government of India Act do not warrant differentiation in the army administration between India and England in regard to the ultimate control of, and responsibility for, the defence of the country, and that in view of the desirability

of assimilating the system of administration in India to that in the United Kingdom, which has been arrived at after prolonged experiments, and the desirability of emphasizing the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the civil power, it is essential that the Commander-in-Chief should, without prejudice to his official precedence, cease to be a Member of the Governor General's Executive Council and that the Portfolio of Defence, including Supply, should be entrusted to a Civilian Member of the Executive Council assisted by an Army Council including the Commander-in-Chief and other high military experts and a certain number of civilians more or less on the model of the Army Council in England.

Since which an amendment has been moved :

'That in line 1, the words 'in view of' be inserted after the word 'that'; and in line 2, the word 'and' be inserted after the words 'Government in India' and

'That the words 'it is considered advisable for the time being that when questions affecting the defence of the country or the army come up before the Executive Council, the Commander-in-Chief should have all the rights and privileges of a member thereof and the appointment of a Civilian Member of the Executive Council in charge of the Portfolio of Defence including supply be deferred' be substituted for the words from 'and the provisions of the Government of India Act' in line 3 to the end of the Resolution.'

The question is, that this amendment be made.

The Assembly divided as follows :

AYES—23.

Abul Kasem, Mr.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Barua, Srijut Debi Charan.
Bhargava, Mr. J.
Bishambhar Nath, Mr.
Carter, Sir Frank.
Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
Dass, Pandit R. K.
Gidney, Lt.-Col. H. A. J.
Gour, Dr. H. S.
Iswar Saran, Mr.
Jatkar, Mr. B. H. R.

Lakshmi Narayan Lal, Mr.
Lathe, Mr. A. B.
Mahadeo Prasad, Mr.
Majid, Sheikh Abdul.
Nag, Mr. Girish Chandra.
Neogy, Babu Khitish Chandra.
Peraival, Mr. P. E.
Singh, Mr. B. P.
Sircar, Mr. N. C.
Sohan Lal, Mr.
Subzposh, Mr. S. M. Zahid Ali.

NOES—33.

Afsar-ul-Mulk Akram Hussain, Prince.
Amjad Ali, Mr.
Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
Das, Babu Braja Sundar.
Dentith, Mr. A. W.
Dwarkanadas, Mr. J.
Gajjan Singh, Mr.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Huseanally, Mr. W. M.
Ikramullah Khan, Mr. Mirza Md.
Kabiraji, Mr. J. K. N.
Man Singh, Bhai.
Maw, Mr. W. N.
Mitter, Mr. D. K.

Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Muhammad Ismail, Mr. S.
Nabi Hadi, Mr.
Norton, Mr. Eardley.
Pickford, Mr. A. D.
Pyari Lal, Mr.
Rao, Mr. P. V. Srinivasa.
Reddiyar, Mr. M. K.
Renouf, Mr. W. C.
Samarth, Mr. N. M.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Shahani, Mr. S. C.
Sinha, Mr. S. P.
Spry, Mr. H. E.
Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
Wild, Mr. C. E.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : Sir, my amendment is :

'That in line 8, between the word 'essential' and the word 'that' the words 'to keep in view the goal' be inserted.'

I need not make a long speech in support of that amendment. If I had the time I would have taken the Assembly through the discussion of the subject which took place in 1879. Before the Army Commission of 1879 the whole subject was thoroughly discussed and there was a minority report on this matter as well as a majority report. The minority consisted of Major General Sir Peter Lumsden and Brigadier General O'Connor, and they both pointed out the necessity of keeping intact the Commander-in-Chief's position as Head of the Army as well as Member of the Executive Council. They reviewed the considerations which had been urged for the purpose of introducing the same system of Government in India as obtained in England, but they pointed out that the time had not come for the introduction of such a system, and seriatim they dealt with all the objections which had been taken to the Commander-in-Chief being placed in the position of a Member of the Executive Council. Now I need not detain the Assembly for more than a couple of minutes.

The Honourable the President : The Honourable Member's amendment is a merely formal drafting amendment, and he cannot raise the question of principle by inserting a few words of that kind. Unless the Honourable Member can show me how his amendment raises a larger question of principle, I must take it that his amendment is one of drafting only.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : Well, Sir, my position is only this. I wish the whole thing to be kept in view as a goal, and not overlooked nor given effect to immediately. That is my idea in moving this amendment.

The amendment was negatived.

Babu K. C. Neogy : Sir, I beg to move as an amendment :

That after the words 'assisted by an Army Council' in line 11, the following words be inserted :

'to be created by Statute or by Royal Warrant.'

I do not claim, Sir, that this amendment of mine seeks to do anything more than bring out the latent meaning of the substantive Resolution. As will be seen, it is recommended that the Army Council should be modelled more or less on the lines of the Army Council in England. Now, if we look into the constitution of the Army Council in England, we find that it was created under a Letters Patent in 1904, and its duties are regulated by an Order in Council. My brief submission before this Assembly is this; if we are going to have an Army Council at all, let us give it a regular constitution, a formal constitution unlike the one which the Army Advisory Council has got at present. Well, Sir, I am fortified in this submission of mine by the fact that Mr. Rungachariar had an amendment very much to the same effect—No. 19 on this list—but unfortunately Mr. Rungachariar is away to-day. With these words I commend the amendment to the acceptance of this Assembly.

Sir Godfrey Fell : Sir, as the Honourable Member has pointed out, the Army Council at Home was created by Letters Patent in 1904. Since then

the constitution and organisation of the Army Council have been modified many times. After the original Order in Council in 1904, which gave effect to the constitution of the Army Council, 2 Orders in Council were passed in 1909, one in 1910, two in 1915, one in 1916, five in 1917, three in 1918, and one in 1920--the latest dates up to which I have any information. In the United Kingdom it is very easy to modify the constitution of the Army Council by an Order in Council, signed by His Majesty the King on the advice of his Privy Council. Now, in a matter of this sort, supposing we had an Army Council in India, we should not be able to modify its constitution by an Order in Council, for the Order in Council procedure would not be appropriate to what goes on in India under the Government of India. The alternative proposal of the Honourable Member, that the Army Council should be constituted by Statute, would, I think, give rise to many practical difficulties in this way, that if changes in army administration, due for example to the creation of new arms, such as the Air Force, have to be carried out, or if it is desirable for other reasons to modify the constitution of the Army Council, it would be necessary on every occasion to resort to legislation. So I am opposed, Sir, to this amendment. I think that it will merely create difficulties, and that it will be quite sufficient to leave it to the executive government to modify the constitution of the Army Council, if we have one, as circumstances dictate from time to time.

The amendment was negatived.

The Honourable the President : The question is--that the Resolution be adopted.

Mr. Eardley Norton : I am sorry, Sir, that I am not in a position to accept the invitation of Sir Godfrey Fell that we ought not in discussing this Resolution to keep in our minds the question of the ratio of Indians to Europeans in the Viceroy's Executive Council. It may be quite true that this matter is of sufficient importance of itself to entitle it to be adjudicated upon finally in the course of a full dress debate. But I do not see why, because it happens to be a question of importance and principle, we should not avail ourselves of it when, as here, it forms the essence of the position as that position presents itself to my mind in discussing this Resolution. I am opposed to this Resolution . . .

The Honourable the President : If the Honourable Member means to discuss the question of the balance between the British and Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, I think I must say that it is not strictly relevant to this Resolution.

Mr. Eardley Norton : I wish to refer only incidentally to it as one of the reasons why I oppose this Resolution. I do not wish to touch upon its merits now. I am opposed to this Resolution as it stands. I am opposed to the suggestion that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should be taken off the Viceroy's Executive Council and that there should be substituted for him there a civilian member with a vote in Council. I speak with diffidence on this question, because I do not profess to be an expert on military matters. But still as one of those who are called upon to vote upon these questions, and as I believe that I represent the opinion of some tangible portion of laymen who have taken pains to try and study and master this very difficult question, I think I am entitled to put forward the reasons

[Mr. Eardley Norton.]

which have actuated me to oppose this motion with voice and, if necessary, by vote. Its consideration depends upon a very brief review of the military situation here, and I must include, by way of balance, a brief reference to the military situation as it exists in the Secretary of State's office in London. Here at present the Viceroy's Executive Council consists, excluding His Excellency the Viceroy, of 8 members. Of those 5 are English and 3 are Indians. One of them, Sir George Barnes is retiring, and I understand that his portfolio will be transferred to Sir Thomas Holland. That brings the number of members down to 4 against 3. If, as I suggest, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief be relieved of all obligation and duties possibly for the general civil administration of this country he can devote the whole of his time and ability to the question of the Army.—This, except on the special occasion, when his presence on Army matters would be necessary, would reduce the racial votes in Council to an equality of 3. I do not think that that is an unfair reason to advance in support of my view that the Commander-in-Chief should not be permanently taken off the Viceroy's Executive Council, but should be appointed an extraordinary member of that Council with duties restricted to the consideration and enforcement of the needs of a special organisation like the Army. It is, I suggest, a sound reason for protesting against the introduction of a civilian member whose presence would disturb the equality of the racial vote. I suggest therefore that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should be taken off the Council as an ordinary member and appointed as an extraordinary member, thus relieving him of all connection with the ordinary civil administration of this country, and enabling him to devote the whole of his time to the betterment of the service to which he himself belongs and of which, if I may say so in his presence, he is himself so fine an exponent and an example. Thus the executive will in that view be reduced to an equality of voting power between Englishmen and Indians with a casting vote resting in His Excellency the Viceroy. The Commander-in-Chief should be called upon to advise on all questions which, either directly or indirectly, affect the Army in India, and among all the members in the Viceroy's Executive Council, I am sure his ripe and varied experience and his great services to mankind will entitle him to a constant, respectful and considered acquiescence. He already owns a distinguished and efficient staff, to which might be added, if necessary, the Surveyor General of Supplies and the strength of which might, as occasion arises, be further supplemented. But I should prefer to give the staff of the Commander-in-Chief a corporate statutory existence by an Act passed by both Houses of this legislature, and I think I may express the hope that in consequence of the experience obtained during this our first and infant session, we may all safely assert that our legislature would not be backward in arming the head of our Army with all the necessary powers which his wisdom and his experience may induce him to ask for. That is the position of affairs out here, and that is the position which seems to me best to meet the situation so far as India is concerned.

But we must look briefly at the complement of this picture, the position of Army affairs in our Secretary of State's office in England. There we are represented by a Secretary of State with a Council drawn, theoretically, from the matured elder statesmen of this country who are presumed to offer their chief the crystallized fruits of their own varied and personal experience. The military experts in the India Office at least comply with these postulates. In

General Barrow we possess a worthy type of the soldier-statesman who is competent to offer advice worth the following. His Military Secretary, General Cox, fulfils his functions as worthily. Both are soldiers of wide Indian experience. . . .

Sir Godfrey Fell : May I point out, Sir, that General Cox is not now the Military Secretary at the India Office ?

Mr. Eardley Norton : Has he ceased to be ? Let us hope then that his position will be filled by an equally competent and trustworthy officer. I think there is a great field open for choice plenty of military talent to step into a vacancy and I trust the selected officer will be not inferior to General Cox.

At any rate, with General Barrow in charge and with some able and trustworthy Military Secretary under him, I think we may look forward without anxiety to the Secretary of State being guided by reliable counsel along the right path. I strongly object to the suggestion made that General Barrow should be displaced. I think that he ought to be retained, I think that his Military Secretary should also be retained. In the event of General Barrow remaining in office, I should raise no objection to his Military Secretary becoming, as is suggested, the Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff in London. But, with General Barrow displaced, I should strongly object to his Secretary being brought under the influences of that Staff. I would, therefore, support the retention of both the General and his Military Secretary.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : Sir, may I rise to a point of order ? The remarks that my Honourable friend is making refer to another Resolution altogether, No. 20.

The Honourable the President : I was in some doubt while the Honourable Member was speaking as to the exact relevance to this Resolution. If he is trying to establish the analogy between the system of administration here and that of the United Kingdom, the analogy really under discussion is the analogy between the administration of the army by the Commander-in-Chief in India and the administration of the army by the Secretary of State for War and the Army Council in England and not strictly the military organisation within the India Office.

Mr. Eardley Norton : What I was trying to do was only to complete the other side of the picture which I said was complementary to the situation as I would have it be here and without mention of which my representation would be imperfect. The two make one whole, and it is necessary for me to explain if I uphold the retention of the Commander-in-Chief on the Viceroy's Council—how that retention will react upon the military situation on the Council of the Secretary of State for India. However, I do not wish to pursue that matter further. Let me remind this House that the Secretary of State for India fulfils a two-fold capacity. In his capacity as a member of the Cabinet, he has available to him a whole armoury of knowledge and advice on all questions of military organisation, equipment, and strategy. He is as a Cabinet Minister in touch with the Army Council and with the best and highest military experts whose experience has been enlarged, tested, fortified and defined by direct contact with war. But in his capacity as our Secretary of State the incumbent of that office owes a duty which is

[Mr. Eardley Norton.]

entirely ours. That duty is to defend and conserve the interests of India wherever those interests may be questioned or wherever they come into conflict with the hostile interests of others. On such occasions I maintain we are entitled to his undivided and energetic support. Of such an occasion this Resolution, which I am opposing, affords a clear and important instance. The proposal to tack on a Civilian Member in Council to the Commander-in-Chief is, in the first place, an unnecessary financial burden, and, in the second, an innovation which will fetter the struggles of those who champion the principle that we should foster on every legitimate occasion the education of the representatives of legitimate Indian political power and ambition. These, then, are some of the reasons which prompt me to speak, and speak strongly, against the proposal that the Commander-in-Chief should be taken permanently off the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy where his knowledge must be of paramount importance on all questions affecting military matters in this country, and that his place should be filled by a civilian—I do not necessarily mean a Member of the Indian Civil Service—but at any rate by a civilian who is to have priority on all questions of military expenditure and policy to the Commander-in-Chief himself. That is a proposal which does not appeal to me, I ask this House very seriously to consider whether any reason exists or has been suggested at any rate at the present time, for interfering with conditions as they now stand. These conditions are an existing fact. They have worked not unhappily so far and, as I think Sir Godfrey Fell suggested, they are accompanied and ringed with a multiplicity of delicate considerations which cannot be discussed and thrashed out across the floor of this House. Therefore let us rest content with a situation with which we are familiar with men in whom we can repose confidence, with results which have emerged with success from tests which are as serious as they have been numerous. We should be wise to defer this thorny question until our hands are less fettered by circumstances of menacing and unhappy import to some of which reference has already been made in the course of this session and to which I do not desire to make further allusion to-night.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Sir, as a member of the Select Committee and one who dissented from this proposition, I rise to oppose it.

I submit, Sir, that when the Esher Committee completed its report, conditions of everything in the Empire and especially in India were vastly different to what they are to-day and it is with to-day, and the future that we are mainly concerned.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at that time had more work than he could possibly cope with. His duties were more or less centralised, but now they have been so decentralised as to relieve him of a large portion of his duties and I consider we should advocate his retention on the Executive Council of the Viceroy on the score of less work. But I strongly oppose his being replaced on that Council by a civilian member. Whom would we hold responsible to this House if anything went wrong in connection with the administration of the Army in India, the Commander-in-Chief or the civilian member? I certainly think the Commander-in-Chief. In the Report it is distinctly stated that the Commander-in-Chief should be the sole military adviser to the Government of India, and the Governor-General would look to the Commander-in-Chief for all military advice on questions in which India

alone is concerned, and he would be in a position to express upon the latter the views of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Under this proposal the Governor General would be assured of undivided counsel upon military questions and uniformity of military policy would be established between Great Britain and India.

A civilian member of Council, I think, would certainly be a better man to improve the brains of the Army; but I do think that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would be the better man to blow out the brains of our enemies, and that is why our Army is kept up to a high state of efficiency.

I consider, Sir, that this House would do wrong to accept this Resolution. I noticed that Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer did not mention that at the Select Committee meeting, there were four dissenting votes including one made by myself. I would ask this Honourable House to vote for the retention of the Commander-in-Chief in the ex-Council and to oppose his replacement by a Civilian Member. The Indian Army look to the Commander-in-Chief as their one and only head, and I therefore oppose this Resolution.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the Resolution be adopted.

(i.e., Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution No. 3, as follows :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the absence of full responsible Government in India, the differences in conditions between India and England and the provisions of the Government of India Act do not warrant differentiation in the army administration between India and England in regard to the ultimate control of, and responsibility for, the defence of the country, and that in view of the desirability of assimilating the system of administration in India to that in the United Kingdom, which has been arrived at after prolonged experiments, and the desirability of emphasizing the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the civil power, it is essential that the Commander-in-Chief should without prejudice to his official precedence, cease to be a member of the Governor General's Executive Council and that the Portfolio of Defence, including Supply, should be entrusted to a civilian member of the Executive Council assisted by an Army Council including the Commander-in-Chief and other high military experts and a certain number of civilians more or less on the model of the Army Council in England')

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION NO. 4.

The Honourable the President: The Resolution moved is :

'That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that if the Portfolio of Defence including Supply is not entrusted to a civilian member of the Executive Council as recommended above, the proposal of the majority of the Esher Committee for the creation of a separate department for Production and Provision under a member of the Executive Council be not accepted, and that the proposal of the minority, namely, that the responsibility should be entrusted to a Surveyor-General of Supply, who should be a civil member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council, be accepted. This would seem to have the merit of being more logical and economical and would have the further advantage of avoiding the addition of a civil member to the Executive Council in connection with military administration.'

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I move, Sir as an amendment—and having regard to the fate of the previous Resolution I hope my amendment will be passed without any dissentient voice :

'That the words from 'if the portfolio' down to 'recommended above' be omitted.'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the Resolution, as amended,* be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 5.

The Honourable the President: The Resolution moved is :

* This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that :

- (a) The Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India should be appointed by the Cabinet on the nomination of the Secretary of State for India in consultation with the Government of India and the Secretary of State for War.
- (b) In the case of Army Commanders who are officers of the Indian Army the appointment should be by the Secretary of State for India on the nomination of the Government of India.
- (c) Appointments to the offices mentioned against Serial Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 (Report Schedule annexed to Section VI) should be made in the manner proposed for Army Commanders.
- (d) The appointment of Secretary to the Military Department, India Office, should be made by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Government of India and after advice obtained from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He should, *ex-officio*, have the status of a Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff and should have the right of attending the meetings of the Army Council when questions affecting India are discussed. He should not be under the orders of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, all I need say on this Resolution is that I should like to congratulate the Committee of this Assembly, if I may upon having arrived at conclusions on this point which are identical with those of the Government. I need therefore hardly say that the Government are quite prepared to accept this Resolution as it stands.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 6.

The Honourable the President: The Resolution moved is :

* This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Commander-in-Chief's right of correspondence with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff should be subject to the restriction that it does not commit the Government of India to any pecuniary responsibility or any line of military policy which has not already been the subject of decision by them; copies of all such correspondence at both ends being immediately furnished to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, I beg to move the amendment† which stands in my name. I propose that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's official correspondence with the Imperial General Staff should pass through the regular official channel. I am glad to find that Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his opening speech said that most members of the committee thought that the correspondence should pass through the regular official channel, but that after some explanation was given to them, they thought fit to change their view. I am afraid, Sir, I must press this amendment because I consider that this is really a matter of principle. In official matters too much stress cannot be laid on the observance of regularity of procedure. It was for this reason, I would like to remind this House, that the Mesopotamian Commission remarked that the Governor General should not send private telegrams on

* (i.e., Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution No. 4 as amended by Mr. Samarth.)

† That the words 'passes through the Government of India and the India Office' be substituted for the words from 'does not commit' in line 3 to the end of the Resolution.

official business to the Secretary of State. I do not say that this is a case of private correspondence. What I do submit is this, that in matters of official procedure, too much stress cannot be laid on a strict observance of the rules which may be in existence at the time. Now, as long as the Army is under the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the Commander-in-Chief as the head of the Army should carry on correspondence with the Imperial General Staff through the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Furthermore, I find that the Secretary of the Military Department of the India Office will have the *ex-officio* status of a Deputy Chief of the General Staff, and will have the right of attending the meetings of the Army Council when questions affecting India are discussed. The Military Secretary, I submit, will be a sort of connecting link between the India Office and the Imperial General Staff. I therefore submit that no case has been made out for any departure from the old established practice which is not only wise but also necessary. I should, with your permission, like to say a word as to what this Imperial General Staff is. It was in 1907 at the Imperial Conference that it was decided that the British General Staff should be expanded into an Imperial General Staff. Their function is to study military science, collect and disseminate to the various Governments military information and intelligence, to undertake the preparation of schemes of defence on a common principle and without in the least interfering in questions connected with command and administration to advise, at the request of the respective Governments as to the training, education and war organisation of the military forces of the Crown in every part of the Empire. Having regard to this function of the Imperial General Staff, I submit there is no necessity why correspondence should not be carried on by the Commander-in-Chief through the Government of India and India Office. It is said in the report of the Esher Committee that great delay takes place if the correspondence goes through the Government and the Secretary of State. If that be so, then, I submit there is need for improving the machinery of the Government of India and the India Office so that the correspondence that passes through them should not be delayed. But that is surely no reason why a well recognised official procedure according to which the Commander-in-Chief carries on correspondence through the Government of India and the India Office should be departed from. I submit, Sir, that this is really a question of principle, and I hope the House will accept the principle which is embodied in the amendment which I have the honour to move.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, in opposing this amendment, I should like to point out that, in effect, it is a direct negation of the Resolution to which it is an amendment. The Esher Committee recommended the grant of the right of direct correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff; and the Resolution standing in Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's name supports that recommendation, subject to certain perfectly reasonable safeguards.

Munshi Iswar Saran's amendment would have the effect of denying to the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff any right of *direct* correspondence whatever, and it is for this reason that I describe this amendment as a direct negation of the Resolution.

Sir, the idea that there should be, within certain limits, direct correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff is in accordance not only with the recommendations of the Esher

[Sir Godfrey Fell.]

Committee, but with the views of the Government of India. The Government of India hold that there is every advantage in the maintenance of free communication between these two authorities. Military policy is the function of the civil Government. It forms part of general policy, and it is the supreme civil power, the Cabinet in England, and the Executive Council here in this country, who are responsible for policy. The soldier's function is to advise, whether it be the Cabinet at Home or the Governor General here, to advise the supreme civil authority as to the military means necessary to carry out that policy; and it is just in connection with the assessment of those means that direct and free communication between these two authorities is so desirable, on technical questions especially. It is only by such consultation that misunderstandings can be prevented and differences of opinion composed. The Government of India hold, however, that direct communications of this sort between these two authorities should be restricted to questions of organisation, training, equipment, and the selection of officers for commands and senior staff appointments. They also hold strongly that the Secretary of State for India and they themselves should be kept fully informed of the nature of these communications; and I may say that that has been the invariable practice since this method of direct communication between the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff was adopted during the war. The Government of India, as I think I have already informed this Assembly, hold also that all final proposals or instructions to the Government of India affecting military policy, and more especially those which affect questions of distribution and re-equipment of Indian troops or their employment outside India, should emanate from the Secretary of State for India alone. This system of direct communication between the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff in no way gives the Army Council or any authority of the War Office a right to exercise any control over Indian military affairs. Subject, therefore, to the limitations which I have indicated, the Government are wholly in favour of direct communication, and I ask that this amendment be rejected as interfering with that right.

The amendment was negatived.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: In reference to this Resolution now before the House, I wish to say that we accept the Resolution proposed. But it is a Resolution which touches the Commander-in-Chief, and me personally so closely, that I should like to say a few words to the House upon the subject.

Even in the absence of this Resolution, it would never enter my head as Commander-in-Chief, nor would it be possible for me to commit the Government of India to any pecuniary responsibility or any line of policy which has not been the subject of decision by the Government of India.

Communications between myself and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff at Home are confined, and always will be confined, to matters of administration, of appointment, of all the various details which are constantly matters of communication between high military authorities, and it is for the purpose of paving the way, of hastening decisions, and making things run smoothly, that he and I communicate with each other for the public good.

Honourable Members seem to have an idea that there is some sort of conspiracy going on between myself and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff

which may in some sort of nebulous way influence the Government of this country. Now I wish definitely to tell this Assembly that as their Commander-in-Chief I am the servant of the Government of India and the servant of this Assembly, with no interest at heart except the interests of India, and that they may trust me to fight the battles of India not only on the field, but also in the Council Chamber for the best interests of India and with every weapon and resource that I can command.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the following Resolution be adopted :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Commander-in-Chief's right of correspondence with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff should be subject to the restriction that it does not commit the Government of India to any pecuniary responsibility or any line of military policy which has not already been the subject of decision by them; copies of all such correspondence at both ends being immediately furnished to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India.'

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 7.

The Honourable the President: The Resolution moved is :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

- (a) That the King-Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval, and air forces in India and the ancillary services and the auxiliary forces, that every encouragement should be given to Indians—including the educated middle classes—subject to the prescribed standards of fitness, to enter the commissioned ranks of the Army and that in nominating candidates for the entrance examination, unofficial Indians should be associated with the nominating authority.
- (b) That not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with.'

Mr. W. C. Benouf: Sir, I would ask your permission to move the amendment in my name before those in the names of my Honourable friends Bhai Man Singh and Sardar Gulab Singh. I have obtained their agreement to this course, provided they retain the right to move their amendments if mine fails. If my amendment is accepted, their amendments will be withdrawn.

Sir, I beg to move the amendment which runs as follows :

'That to clause (a) of the Resolution, the following be added :

'and in granting King's Commissions, after giving full regard to the claims to promotion of officers of the Indian Army who already hold the commission of His Excellency the Viceroy, the rest of the commissions granted should be given to cadets trained at Sandhurst. The general rule in selecting candidates for this training should be that the large majority of the selections should be from the communities which furnish recruits to the army and, as far as possible, in proportion to the numbers in which they furnish such recruits.'

Sir, I would explain at the outset that, while this amendment urges that strong preference should be given to those classes which now man the army, it is not implied that there are not many other classes in India which could supply officers and men who possess all the qualities necessary for the profession of arms. This position could not be maintained for a single moment. That many fine races are not represented in the Army is a matter for regret, but financial considerations forbid further expansion.

My amendment is intended to emphasise the principle which is accepted in all armies. This is, that every effort should be made to ensure that the officers and men of each unit belong to one class that

[Mr. W. C. Renouf.]

they have the bond of common nationality or of religion or of home; for the spirit which is engendered by this common bond is of priceless value in the hour of trial. To this end, in England, we have Scotch, Irish, Welsh, County and City regiments; and, in India, we have never swerved from this principle in giving commissions to Indian officers. It is surely obvious that Sikhs, Muhammadans, Gurkhas, Dogras, Jats, Rajputs, Garwalis and Mahrattas will be most contented and, in fact, will only be contented, and will do best, when led by men of their own class. In my opinion, Sir, in giving commissions to Indians, unless considerations of efficiency are to be disregarded, it will be found that there is very little opportunity for the employment in the Indian Army of Indian officers of different classes or tribes from the men whom they have to command.

It has been my good fortune to serve in India among the martial classes of the Punjab which make such a large and honourable contribution to the strength of the Indian Army. I know how they and their communities regard the selections which have been made up to the present for cadetships at Sandhurst. Only a small proportion of the cadets have been from the classes that man the Army. I have heard strong expressions of intense disappointment on all sides. It is these communities that have placed the military reputation of India where it is to-day. They feel that, if it was a grievance that Indians did not receive King's Commissions, the grievance was mainly theirs and that these Commissions, when they are made available, should be given mainly to them.

In giving King's Commissions to Indians, I would first of all strongly urge that the claims of officers now serving in the Army should receive full consideration. Some of these hold what is known as 'direct commissions' but the majority have gained their promotion from the ranks through their own merit and gallantry. We know that these are men of proved military ability and that they command the confidence of the rank and file.

Sir, in the past, the Indian sepoy has always had the knowledge and the inspiration that he is eligible for the highest military rank open to Indians. Let us not deprive the Indian soldier of that most vital part of his equipment, the commission which he carries in his knapsack. Perhaps some day it will be a field-marshal's baton.

It cannot be conceived that the Army would remain contented if they were deprived of this splendid stimulus. Failure to recognise this would have a very adverse influence on recruiting. I say this with considerable personal experience of recruiting. My district, Rawalpindi, produced 8,000 recruits during the first seven months of the war, but, if these men had felt that they were to serve under Indian officers of different communities, I am confident that the majority of them would not have come forward. I cannot conceive that proud and jealous races, conscious of what they have done in the past, will come forward as recruits for the army if they are under a sense of material wrong as regards access to the higher ranks of the army.

I purposely suggest no proportion for commissions by promotion, for at present, the number is limited, unfortunately, by considerations of education. This is a disability which will, however, disappear in process of time.

Proceeding to the question of cadetships, I would recommend that the principle should be accepted that the large majority of these cadetships should be reserved for what are known as the martial classes. And I say with confidence that the landed gentry and other prominent members of the martial

communities, and the sons of Indian officers, will offer an admirable field of selection. My proposal will perhaps satisfy the reasonable claims and expectations of the men of the regular Indian Army, and it will also provide for substantial opportunities for young men of other communities.

My remarks have been with reference to the Regular Army. In the Auxiliary or Territorial Army, there would presumably be no need for restrictions for the Territorial Army would be open to all.

Sir, the people of India are justly proud of the achievements of their Army, and in dealing with the question of preferment which we are now considering, I would ask the people of India and I would ask the Members of this Assembly, to consider in a generous and sympathetic spirit the sacrifices, the expectations and, I submit, the just claims of the men and of the communities who have brought so much honour to their Motherland. In so doing, they will be ensuring also the highest efficiency of the Army in future as a fighting machine and doing what is best in the special circumstances of the case. I would therefore ask the Members of this Assembly to give their united support to this amendment.

I can only regret that we have no Indian Members in this House who have actually served in the Indian Army. If we had, I am sure they would put forward arguments which would weigh greatly with you. In their absence, the Assembly has been placed at a great disadvantage.

Rai Bahadur Bakshi Sohan Lal: Sir, I beg to oppose the amendment, because to keep the commissioned ranks within certain classes is tantamount to frustrating the whole spirit of the Reforms which were introduced to improve not only our political but also our military status. If the amendment is accepted, many families who do not belong to certain classes, such as Rajputs, Jats, etc., will be debarred from the commissioned rank of the Army. For example, I may take my own family of Mahajans and Bunnias whose members have been serving in the Army since time immemorial under the Hindu Rajas, under the Sikh Government and under the British Government up to the present time. It would therefore not be just to restrict these ranks to certain classes only. They ought to be recruited according to the special circumstances of each family and not of each caste.

Mr. Abul Kasem: Sir, it is with great diffidence that I rise to speak on this amendment. I fully appreciate the feelings and the motive of the learned mover, but I regret I cannot support him. It lays down the principle that, in the matter of military appointments, some consideration, and favourable consideration, too, should be shown to those classes who supply the majority of the Army. The principle seems to be very reasonable indeed, but I submit, Sir, to this House that the question of representative employment, *i.e.*, of employment in the public services on the basis of classes and communities, in the civil services is bad enough, and to introduce it into the military service, I think, will neither be wise nor desirable. The military authorities, when making these appointments, will certainly take into consideration the qualifications of various candidates, and in considering the claims of candidates for a military appointment, naturally the martial races will come in for a larger share than others. Sir, I come from the Province of Bengal, and I admit that my Province has not supplied many soldiers to the Army, but that is not our fault so much as our misfortune.

We supplied and maintained our own army in olden times; but the British Government found it more profitable and more desirable to employ our intellect and not our arms, and so we were employed for civil purposes

[Mr. Abul Kasem.]

rather than for military use. But, will that be a reason, Sir, to deprive the people of my province, the candidates from my province, of the opportunity to serve in the Army, if they want to do so, and if the Army authorities who make the choice find them suitable and desirable, simply because the general body of the Army does not contain many Bengalees? I beg, Sir, that the Honourable Mover will think it proper to withdraw it; because in these days of Indian nationalism, when the whole question of secular, communal and racial interests are in the melting pot for moulding an Indian Nation, any attempt to introduce racial and communal distinctions in the Army would only kill the Indian nationalism in its embryo.

Khan Sahib Mirza Mohammad Ikramulla Khan: Sir, I rise to support the amendment made by Mr. Renouf.

His object is that in selecting Indians for King's Commissions regard should be had particularly to the interests of the classes that supply the greater number of men to the Army.

Perhaps I may claim to represent one of those classes.

During the Indian Mutiny, my father Colonel Raja Ataullah Khan joined the British Army with his brother Sardar Bahadur Risaldar-Major Abdulla Khan at the head of 100 men, and was attached to the Regiment now called the 10th Lancers. He did meritorious services throughout the Mutiny and thereafter. He was present with his regiment in the Kabul and Abyssinian Wars.

My brother, Sardar Bahadur Ghulam Ahmed Khan, Risaldar-Major, 9th Lancers, saw service in Egypt and my son, Abdulla Khan, has been given a King's Commission and is a Lieutenant in the 20th Punjabis which is now serving at the Front.

If we keep before us the idea that whatever we do to Indianize the army it must not be at the expense of efficiency, for war, I think it is plain that we must for a long time to come look to get our Indian leaders from the classes with the greatest military traditions. I do not claim that these are the best traditions. The traditions of peaceful service may be equally noble, but for your leaders in war you want traditions of war, not traditions of peace.

There are numerous classes in the Indian Army from which to draw young officers to hold the King's Commission and by so drawing to make an efficient national Army.

If we do not get our young officers from those classes, the fighting efficiency of our Army will suffer. The great military qualities of courage, perseverance and endurance are the product of social heredity, of moral traditions; they are not to be learned in any school or from books.

Consider the lives of men of the fighting races throughout the world. The child in its mother's arms hears her sing to it songs of the bravery of its forefathers, it is brought up on tales of valour; when it goes to school it takes part in manly games very many of which mimic war. The child of our people who is to be trained for a King's Commission must undergo mental and physical preparation to fit him to go to Sandhurst. At Sandhurst he undergoes a life strenuous and exacting and if not judged in every way fit to become an officer he will not be commissioned. If he is honoured with the King's Commission it is then that the test of his soldierly qualities really

begins. It may be ten or fifteen years before he obtains the Command of a Company. During almost every day of that long time the constant drudgery of life in camps and barracks must be faced, and throughout every moment of that time he must drill and shoot and learn by exercises akin to war how to bear the hardship of war.

By taking part constantly in games such as polo and hunting and foot-ball he must keep himself bodily fit to face a foe. Should war come, he must lead his men : always he must be first where danger is, never behind his men, but always leading them. Only men born of forefathers who have led can do this.

I believe that only by taking very careful steps to ensure that none but the very best family men of the fighting classes of India get King's Commissions, shall we get in time a National Army capable of protecting us.

Ruin is before us if we attempt to Officer our Army with the sons of lawyers and shopkeepers and others who whatever may be their virtues, those virtues are not the iron virtues of our old martial classes.

Colonel Sir Sydney Crookshank : Sir, as one who had the pride and privilege to serve in the trenches of France with the Indian Army, not only with the cavalry but with the Sappers, perhaps I may be permitted to say a few words on this subject. It does not appear to me to be necessary to advance the amendment which my Honourable friend has just put forward, because the regimental officer does not stand alone in this matter. There are many other services, Engineers, Medical, Transportation, Supply and others, which go to form the whole of the Army. No doubt, it is conceivable that selections made for Commissions in the regimental ranks should be made from those officers of the Indian Army who already hold the Viceroy's Commission and who have proved their valour on service and their suitability otherwise, subject, of course to such educational qualifications as may be necessary. I think the House will admit that they have a proper call for the King's Commission, but, Sir, as I mentioned, there will be many other Commissions such for instance in my own service, the Engineer's and there will be no hard and fast necessity, in that service at any rate, to restrict the recruitment of officers solely to the martial classes from which the regimental officers would be drawn. There are, as I said, other branches of the service to fill the ranks, to which the communities of India at large could add their contribution. I therefore consider that since the field is so very wide, it is not necessary to define exactly to which classes and to which communities these commissions should necessarily be given.

Sir Godfrey Fell : Sir, I am about to adopt the unaccustomed rôle of a peace-maker, a rôle alien to what I have so far adopted to-day in this Assembly.

This is a very difficult problem, and Government can only look at it from one point of view, that is, how best can we make this great experiment a success. For it is a very great experiment this, an experiment which all India and the rest of the Empire are watching. What we want is to get Indian gentlemen into the Army with King's Commissions, and, having got them there, to encourage them to stay, to encourage them to become highly-trained and efficient officers and to rise to the highest places in His Majesty's army. This experiment, as the Assembly are aware, was begun during the great war. I think that everyone here will agree that Government was well advised at that time, in selecting the first batch of Indian candidates for King's Commissions, to give preference to youths of those races which had

[Sir Godfrey Fell.]

come forward most readily in the war. But Government has not, by any means, confined itself to those classes. We have taken for Sandhurst men of other classes who have not hitherto given many, or any, recruits to the war. I think that probably everyone in this Assembly can recall to mind cadets of that class. We have yet to see how the experiment succeeds, and until we have gained more experience, I do most earnestly deprecate any attempt to lay down a proportion, or to lay down that more should come from one class and less should come from another. Let us all approach this problem from one point of view only, how to make the experiment a success, how to get young Indian gentlemen who will get on well in the regiment, who will be the friends of their British brother-officers, serving with them on equal terms, and eventually adding new lustre to the position of India in the Empire.

I do hope the Assembly will not accept this amendment, though, believe me, Sir, from my long association with the Indian Army, I have very great sympathy with the point of view which has been put forward by the Mover. But I think it would be only right for this Assembly to trust Government to see that fair treatment is given to every class alike. That is the present intention of Government, and I ask the Assembly to leave it in Government's hands.

Sirdar Gulab Singh: I would say a few words, Sir, in support of the amendment by my Honourable friend Mr. Renouf. In all departments, especially in the military, discipline is simply necessary and greatly tends to invariably improve the efficiency of the forces. The nomination of Indian candidates as proposed by proportion will certainly help it. To officer a Muhammadan company by a Sikh or *vice versa* will prove a failure and may end in a tragic calamity. The class which does not supply to the strength of the army does not deserve to have any right for nomination of candidates for King's Commissions. The proportionate recruitment of officers will also attract general recruiting in the army to which the officers belong, which is unfortunately getting more difficult every day. Such a course has already been successfully resorted to in the army by offering Viceroy's Commissions on conditions of supplying a certain number of recruits in times of need.

In India of course, all communities being of equal status, cannot put up with ignoring the rights of one community in favour of others and the principle of fair field and no favour will prove always satisfactory in the long run, and therefore, those who supply soldiers should also get their proper share of King's Commissions.

The case of having a greater number of European officers is different, as their ability is generally admitted and has been above competition and jealousy.

I think that proportionate nominations to the King's Commissions will afford no cause of dissatisfaction to the Indian subjects as it is fair and business like, it will be agreeable to all. I trust the motion in question will be adopted.

Bhai Man Singh: Sir, at the very outset of the remarks, I am about to make, I should like to clear one misunderstanding which seems to have arisen and has been argued. It has been said that this Resolution bars

some communities from recruitment into the Army. I submit, Sir, that if we analyse the wordings of this Resolution we shall find that it does not mean that a man who does not belong to the present military classes should not be recruited in the Army. There is absolutely no ground for that idea in the Resolution itself. The scope of the Resolution is that those people who really supply the ranks with men should have their full share in the distribution of King's Commissions also. If there are classes who have not sent their men or who have not been anxious to send their representatives to the ranks of the Army, this Resolution does not say that they shall not be allowed to be recruited for the Army in future. If there are units raised from other classes, as my Honourable friend Bukshi Sohan Lal said, banias have always been in the military line, then if they choose to send their men to the ranks they will get a larger share of the King's Commissions. The only demand made in this Resolution is that in selecting the candidates full regard should be had to the interests of the communities that supply the greater number of men to the Army. When those communities, who have had no chances of joining the Army, be recruited, they will have a fair share in the King's Commissions. This Resolution does not bar them from being taken in the Army, and I think that nobody can say that it does. It does not altogether bar them from getting King's Commissions also. I think that any gentleman who has got any sense of justice would say that those who do not go into the ranks can have absolutely no claim or right to the King's Commissions as well. We are certainly prepared to send our men to the ranks and therefore we should get full share in the King's Commissions also.

Having cleared that misunderstanding I will now take the facts as they exist. The demand I put forward is that those communities which actually supply the ranks should also see that appointments in the higher commands are open to them. I may, by the way, add here that there can be no doubt about the first portion of the Resolution being accepted, that is to say, in giving full regard to the claims of those who already hold His Excellency the Viceroy's commission.

There has been no opposition to that and I hope there can be none. There have been objections taken to the other part. Now, I put it to any gentleman in these definite words and I hope the Honourable Members of this House will see the reasonableness of it. Certain classes have up till now been sending their men to the army. They have shed their life-blood in the fields of Egypt, the Soudan, Mesopotamia, France, Palestine and everywhere from the very beginning when they were getting about 7 or 8 rupees per month. Now, when the Government has recognised the right of Indians to get the King's Commissions, when the time for reaping the fruit comes, we are told 'No, my dear Sirs, there should be no class distinctions. Now, we have risen to the high pedestal of national unity and those who speak about the communities are sinning against the nationality ideas.' To them I submit, Sir : come forward with your men sometimes, give us your soldiers and then give us your captains too. Now that the time for reaping the fruit has come, we are told 'Never mind, if you have been fools and supplied soldiers.' We don't care about that. We are now all one—we are all Indians. Now that the time comes for the King's Commissions, let us share them equally. Why should you demand a special claim for those who have been shedding their blood ? Oh, excuse me, Sir, I as an honest man, as an Indian and as a Sikh, cannot see the justice of the argument for a moment.

[Bhai Man Singh.]

We are told this Resolution puts an axe to the roots of nationalism. These are not the actual words but that is the import. Now, Sir, I say that if communal distinctions do actually exist, if the framers of the reforms themselves had to admit the principle of communal representation, and now that we see that the principle of communal representation has to be recognised in civil employments; even in the constitution of this very Assembly,—there may be some exceptions, I cannot remember all the electorates—but most of the elected Members are elected either by the Muhammadan or non-Muhammadan or Sikh constituencies; well, Sir, I cannot see now that the question of the King's Commission comes, how with any fairness it could be said, that we should neglect this principle altogether because we are on the road to national unity. My dear Sirs, my Honourable friends, you will see that there is absolutely no use in denying the actual facts as they exist. Facts are facts, and no logic, no talk of high ideals can make them otherwise and if they are ignored, they are ignored at our peril.

It reminds me of a well-known story of the pigeon and the cat. They say when the cat comes, the pigeon shuts his eyes, he sits like this with closed eyes, thereby meaning that the cat does not exist because he does not see her. But that does not make the cat non-existent. The cat does come and pounces upon the pigeon and eats him up. Now, if we actually see that communal differences do exist in the sentiments of the people, I cannot understand how we can so let them be neglected. And then of course, if we do, we are bound to suffer the consequences. We know that in the army the communal distinctions, communal sentiments, are much more strong than in the civil departments.

I know some of the distinctions that have been made and that have sometimes given some trouble to the officers such as the differences of *Majha* and *Malwa* and in reference to Sikh or Muhammadan or Pathan, every military officer who had to deal with the Punjab armies will bear me out. Well, if that had been the cases where a Subadar-Major who is commanding in a certain unit, but who does not himself belong to the same class as the ranks has been shot down, how can we neglect such sentiments?

I know there has been a case of that sort. Well if I mistake not, it was the case of Sardar Bulwant Singh of 23rd Sikh Pioneers. My Honourable friend S. Gajjan Singh tells me another case of Sardar Pritam Singh. Under these circumstances, I cannot understand how if 10 Pathan Units or 5 Companies are put under sikhs or *vice versa*, they would obey them as they would their own men. Surely jealousies must come in, and the communal differences must influence the discipline of the army.

I might here state that discipline and contentment in the army are the first two things that should be looked to. If the army is discontented on the score that their men are not given a chance to get the King's Commissions to the extent they deserve, surely that would be a bad thing. If similar incidents as those of Sardar Bulwant Singh and Sardar Pritam Singh occur, they would be still more sad. I would draw the attention of the House to these facts and I would request this Honourable House not to be guided by some airy idealism and believe that we have achieved the higher ideals of nationalism that all these things are in the hotch pot, and that people in the army are thinking themselves one in the army and they do not mind if they are governed by this man or that man.

The third argument that has been brought forward against this amendment was that the selecting authorities will themselves look to the rights of the military classes. I say, Sir, why should we not provide for a thing which is just? Why should we shrink from doing justice ourselves? We should harm no one if we make a provision that justice should be done to them and they should get their due share in the King's Commissions.

I may add, that some of the military classes are not satisfied with the share that they have up till now got in the King's Commissions. It is a fact which I know from my knowledge. That being the case, I do not see why we should say: 'leave this point to the selecting officer,' we have provided for 25 per cent. commissions for Indians; we have provided for educated middle classes; Honourable Members of this House will see that if there is a necessity, if certain Honourable gentlemen feel that the educated middle classes do not get their due share and that King's Commissions are given simply to the nobility and they then feel the necessity of making provision for the educated middle classes, then I cannot understand why the interests of the military classes also should not be safeguarded.

Those classes who have up till now supplied men to the military department have proved their worth and their valour in fields and in every other way.

There is absolutely no reason why, just as Sir Godfrey Fell said, while we try this experiment we should not try it with tried men. I think it must be rather hazardous to try the experiment with those men who in actual practical work have not shown themselves up till now. You want that the experiment that Indians should be given commissions should prove a success. If this experiment is to prove a success, surely the military classes are the best possible candidates for making that experiment with. Times are gone when it could be said that education should be the first test because I dare say that the military classes can supply as well educated men as any other community. With these remarks I strongly urge my Honourable friends to vote in favour of the amendment.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment as strongly as I possibly can. I am not at all surprised at the mental attitude of Mr. Gulab Singh or of Bhai Man Singh. They are my fellow-Sikhs whom I know. The Sikhs have played an important part in the military history of India, and are justly described as proud and martial. Most of the Sikhs would like naturally to be officered by men of their own community. But I rise to point out that in this matter there is a feeling of prejudice on the part of the Sikh community and that, if there be men available from other communities who can lead them better by reason of superior genius or training, the Sikhs should be trained to think that those officers should be preferred to men of their own community.

I am certainly surprised at the mental attitude of my Honourable friend Mr. Renouf. I wonder if he has contemplated the results which will accrue if the position that he has taken up is pushed to its logical conclusion. Will the proud men of India, who are very proud indeed of their ancient civilisation, if his argument is accepted, endure the idea of Europeans officering the Indian regiments? No. He himself should for the sake of consistency come forward and say that European officers should not be tolerated then in Indian regiments. But I am not for the principle underlying

[Mr. S. C. Shahani.]

Mr. Renouf's position. I am for the principle of the recognition of ability. If Europeans can show superior ability then Indians should have no objection, absolutely none, to Europeans being appointed to Indian regiments. It is imperative at this stage especially that while we should tolerate sectional prejudices with a view to secure efficiency in the parts constituting the British Empire, we should bear in mind that we have to educate ourselves for participation in the central life of the Empire to which we belong. If we confine ourselves to our own communities we may attain to a certain efficiency, but that efficiency will be efficiency of a very limited kind. The Sikhs, or the Muhammadans or the Gurkhas must, in course of time, realise that by admitting men of real merit to their own regiments and consenting to be officered by them whenever necessary they will have their efficiency raised to a considerable extent. On these grounds I oppose the amendment most strongly and I trust that Mr. Renouf will see his way to withdraw it.

Sardar Gajjan Singh : As a representative of the great martial race of the Punjab, I think it is my duty to lay a few observations before this Honourable House, which I hope will enable them to form a correct opinion about the situation. We all know that the military occupation is an occupation which is full of dangers and full of difficulties. In battlefields you have to sacrifice your life. You have to maintain the tradition of your race, you have to maintain the tradition of your family. It is for that reason that I very strongly support this amendment. Now, Sir, of course at the outset I am quite prepared to admit that communal differentiation is a necessary evil, but it must be admitted that we are not yet ripe to free ourselves from it. Suppose, Sir, there is a Sikh regiment which is officered by a non-Sikh. There is no community of interest except duty only. If a Sikh were to lead them they will say, 'Oh, the honour of the race is at stake! There is a leader and we have to follow him'. To many of them he will be related. To many of them he will be friendly. To many of them he will be very dear and near. It is for that reason that even now the formation of the Indian Army is based upon national considerations, upon communal considerations. As far as I know, there is not a single Indian regiment, except perhaps a few exclusively Sikh regiments, which is not maintained on a communal basis and which is not officered by its own men. So I want to push this point to its logical end, and for the King's Commission too, and I say to my Bengal friends and to my friends from other presidencies who have no military traditions, that it is not our fault if for a long time they did not care for careers which were not lucrative. For a long time we have taken to the profession of arms not because it was lucrative, but because it was thought to be more honourable. We have proved our worth on many a battlefield, and this fact I am sure will be admitted. We do not grudge the various commissions which are open to my Bengal friends and to my friends from the other presidencies, to hold which I must admit we are not yet sufficiently qualified. I see no reason why in this particular branch in which we have got admittedly more experienced military traditions, we should not be encouraged. During the great German war, I am free to state, that many new communities began to send recruits which previously did not contribute to recruiting, and I think it is a fact that many new sources of recruiting entirely failed. So, even from the Government point of view, from the national point of view, it is absolutely necessary that we should draw these military officers from the classes which have already

proved their worth. Now, it will not be to the good of India if any Lieutenant is recruited from a class which has not furnished a single recruit to the Army. In the military class, whether they are Hindus or Muhammadans or whether they are Bengalis, Madrasis or Punjabis, I make no distinction. I am sure they would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in the battlefield to maintain the traditions of the service and to maintain the traditions of the country. The same, I am afraid, cannot be true of those persons who have never seen military service, who have never seen the danger ahead. I will therefore humbly beg the House not to enter into spheres which are untried for the present at least. Let the experiment, as the Government of India has told us, be tried and tried successfully. Then, I assure you, there will be no objection, at least so far as we are concerned, if those persons who are otherwise qualified and fit to serve as Lieutenants and so on are freely admitted, but in the interests of India, in the interests of the success of the experiment, it is absolutely necessary that only tried classes are taken. That is in the interests of each and everybody. There is absolutely no doubt that, if this suggestion, is not followed, there will be great disappointment, there will be great resentment in the Army. Everybody will say, as my learned friend Bhai Man Singh has pointed out, that, when the time for promotion and higher aspirations came, we were left behind and another gentleman was taken in simply for the reason that he was an M. A. or a B. A. I beg the House not to consider that I am not in favour of English qualifications. I am strongly of opinion that even from the military classes only those men should be selected who are otherwise fitted, and I am sure that the Military Department will take pretty good care not to select anybody who does not fulfil the test of efficiency. I beg to inform the House that in the great war for 4½ years I devoted almost all my time to recruiting. I raised from my district some 18,000 strong, and the House will be glad to learn that the men of my district won the largest number of distinctions on the battlefield, the largest in the Punjab, the largest in India. We could beat even Rawalpindi and Jhelum whose recruiting strength was double ours. I can speak with personal experience when I say that nothing will appeal to the military classes, nothing will encourage the military classes, more than their admission, which is offered now after a great deal of hesitation by Government, to King's Commissions. I ask, where is the reason then that we from the Ludhiana district could win distinctions higher than any other district in India? Simply for the reason that we had military traditions behind us. Just in the same manner as Raja Ikramullah Khan has told you, I can say all my kith and kin not by hundreds, but by thousands, because I belong to a family which is proud to possess about 50 villages in one place, were in the Army. They sacrificed their lives very willingly and maintained the traditions of the Sikhs. My grandfather offered his services voluntarily in the Mutiny and was in Delhi under General Nicholson. Similarly, such instances can be multiplied. There is absolutely no doubt that I take a personal interest in these matters, but my personal interest is not based upon any selfish motives. It is based upon the motives which, in my opinion, go to make the experiment a success. There have been cases, as my friend Bhai Man Singh has pointed out, even in Sikh regiments where there were Mazhbi Sikhs and Jat Sikhs, there is trouble and two officers, who were personal friends of mine, very brave and gallant officers indeed, were shot dead by the Mazhbi Sikhs. So, communal ties and communal prejudices are very strong in the minds of military persons and you cannot ignore them. As I said, I am strongly for, as

[Sardar Gajjan Singh.]

strongly for, nationalism as anyone else. But we cannot ignore the existing facts. What does the constitution of this House say? Muhammadans all over India have got special communal representation. In the Punjab they have got communal representation. Something was said by my Honourable friend Mr. Shahani that, why don't we resent British officers? I say that all this military training and all this military tradition, which of course at one time we possessed, have been taught by the British military officers. They have organised the Army. Therefore, it is perfectly clear that nobody, none of us—I mean to say none of the military classes—resents that there should be British officers. I would remind the House that you want good leaders of men, and good leaders, from the military point of view, are leaders who are prepared to sacrifice everything in this world—their lives, if need be—in the interests of their country.

As the Army is at present constituted, I strongly support the amendment which has been proposed by an officer who has no personal interest himself in the matter. He has advanced the case of the military classes in a most sober, just and equitable manner, and I would beg the House to accord their support to the military classes who, up to this time, I most respectfully beg to bring to the notice of this House, have been defending their hearths and homes.

The Honourable the President: I think we have now reached a point where we can have a decision.

Mr. W. C. Renouf: I would like to reply, Sir.

The Honourable the President: There is no right of reply in the case of an amendment.

The question is, that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the amendment be made.

The Assembly divided as follows:

AYES—30.

Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Carter, Sir Frank.
Das, Babu Braja Sundar.
Dentith, Mr. A. W.
Gajjan Singh, Mr.
Gidney, Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Ikramullah Khan, Mr. Mirza Md.
Kabiraji, Mr. J. K. N.
Keith, Mr. W. J.
Latthe, Mr. A. B.
Majid, Sheikh Abdul.
Man Singh, Bhai.
Maw, Mr. W. N.

McCarthy, Mr. Frank.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Muhammad Ismail, Mr. S.
Nabi Hadi, Mr.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Pickford, Mr. A. D.
Rao, Mr. P. V. Srinivasa.
Reddiyar, Mr. M. K.
Renouf, Mr. W. C.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Shahab-ud-Din, Chaudhuri.
Singh, Mr. B. P.
Spry, Mr. H. E.
Subzposh, Mr. S. M. Zahid Ali.
Wild, Mr. C. E.

NOES—29.

Abul Kasem, Mr.
 Afsar-ul-Mulk Akram Hussain,
 Prince.
 Ahmed, Mr. Zahir-ud-din.
 Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
 Aiyer, Sir Sivaswamy.
 Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
 Bhargava, Mr. J.
 Bishambhar Nath, Mr.
 Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
 Dass, Pandit R. K.
 Dwarkadas, Mr. J.
 Faiyaz Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Gour, Dr. H. S.
 Habibullah, Mr. Muhammad.

Hussanally, Mr. W. M.
 Iswar Saran, Mr.
 Jatkari, Mr. B. H. R.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Lakshmi Narayan Lal, Mr.
 Mitter, Mr. D. K.
 Misra, Mr. Pyari Lal.
 Nag, Mr. Girish Chandra.
 Neogy, Babu K. C.
 Pyari Lal, Mr.
 Samarth, Mr. N. M.
 Shahani, Mr. S. C.
 Sircar, Mr. N. C.
 Sohan Lal, Mr.
 Vishandas, Mr. H.

The motion was adopted.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, I beg to move:

'that in clauses (b) for the concluding words 'to start with', the words 'in the first year and in increasing proportion in subsequent years' be substituted'.

Sir, what I submit is that the time has come when Government should make up its mind to grant commissions on a large and liberal scale. I do not for a moment wish to say to whom commissions should be granted, whether to the martial classes or to Indians in general. My object in moving this amendment is that, to whatever class these commissions might go, they should go in large and increasing numbers. Now, in answer to a question put in this Assembly, Sir Godfrey Fell told us that the total number of officers holding His Majesty's commission belonging both to the British and Indian services, and excluding the Royal Air Force and the Auxiliary Forces, was approximately 8,890. In answer to another question put in this Assembly Sir Godfrey Fell told us that altogether 25 cadetships have been awarded to Indian gentlemen in the past two years. Now, Sir, I submit that this is extremely unsatisfactory.

In the Resolution as put forward by Sir Sivaswamy it is said that not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions should be granted to Indians. I suggest that in the first year it should be 25 per cent. but in subsequent years it ought to be in increasing proportion. I do not say anything about the increase to be; I only ask the House to express its view that in the years subsequent to the first year the percentage ought to be increased. For, if in the past two years they have been able to give us only 25 cadetships, I submit the Assembly will be perfectly justified in getting an expression of opinion on behalf of this Assembly as to the proportion of the commissions that has to come to Indians. It will be said that there are difficulties in finding suitable men. In answer to a question this is what Sir Godfrey Fell told us. With the permission of the House, I shall read the answer:

'Examinations for admissions to the Royal Military College are held half-yearly in India and on each occasion 5 vacancies are allotted. Up to date five such examinations have been held; altogether 99 candidates have been nominated for these examinations. Of these 99, 19 have been accepted and proceeded to the Royal Military College, 29 were rejected on the ground that they were not educationally qualified, 19 were rejected as physically unfit, 5 were below or above the age-limit, 5 failed to pass the oral test and 8 were considered to be generally unsuitable'.

In this manner, out of 99 they got only 19. In addition to the 19 candidates selected in India, 6 were nominated by the Secretary of State from

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

among young Indian gentlemen attending public schools in England. So, if the Secretary of State for India had not made these 6 nominations, according to the test laid down by the Government of India, out of 99 we would have got only 19 cadetships in the past two years.

I submit, Sir, that this must change, and the Assembly must express its view strongly in favour of it. I shall say only a word or two more. Indians do feel that there should be larger association of Indians in the administration of the Army in India. Having regard to the declaration of August 1917, and having regard to the pronouncements made by His Most Gracious Majesty the King himself, it is necessary that the right of Indians to higher ranks in the Army should be recognised in a spirit of justice, and may I say also liberality. Sir, I do not wish to conceal from this House that there are not a few, on the contrary there are many, Indians who really dream of the day when the Army Department will be thoroughly Indianised as other departments are being Indianised. So I submit it is necessary for the fulfilment of our aspirations that the Army should be Indianised and its administration put on an Indian basis. I therefore move the amendment which stands in my name.

Sir Godfrey Fell : I much regret to find myself once more compelled to oppose an amendment proposed by my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran. I do not think there is really any very great difference of opinion between us in this matter. The actual words he uses in his amendment are 'in increasing proportion'. Now, the Assembly has already been informed that it is the policy of the Government of India to give more commissions to Indians, if and when the experiment has proved successful. What I do deprecate is attempting to decide this matter on a proportionate basis, or on a basis of percentage. As I said just now, when speaking on a previous amendment to this Resolution, this is a very great experiment, and the Government of India are anxious to make it a success. It is just because the Government of India are so anxious to make it a success that they wish to proceed prudently and cautiously in this matter. In the case of the Civil Services there is no very great risk about Indianising the administration. I wish at once to guard myself against the accusation that I am suggesting that an Indian in any civil department is in any way necessarily inferior to the Englishman. That is not my intention at all; but what I do mean is this that if you put Indians into a civil department, such as the Indian Civil Service or the Forest Department or the Education Department, and one of them fails, no very great harm is done. Now, it is a totally different matter when you come to deal with the Army. The first quality we require of our officers is the quality of leadership. The Honourable Member who has moved this amendment spoke of hoping to see large numbers of Indians engaged in the administration of the Army. The first function of a soldier is not the administration of the Army; his first function is to fight. It is only in the acid test of war that we can prove whether or not these young Indian officers are going to be a success. We have no reason to believe that they will not; we have every reason to hope that they will be a success. But any failure must react upon the whole. A battalion is part of a corporate whole of the brigade, a brigade is part of a division, a division of a corps, and a corps of an Army. Similarly, within the battalion, the platoon is an integral part of the corporate body, and so is the company. Now just as a bolt or a nut which breaks or gets loose may throw out of gear, or

out of use altogether, the delicate mechanism of a motor-car, so the failure of any one part of this corporate whole may lead to disaster overtaking the remainder. It is for that reason that we must be perfectly sure that every joint in our armour is tried, and that every individual officer is fully equal to the responsibility he has to bear.

War is a game played for very high stakes, and the counters are the lives of men. We can take no risks where the lives of men are concerned. We are all hoping that these young Indian officers will acquit themselves well, but we have yet to learn whether the Indian sepoy will readily respond to their leadership. We have yet to learn how that splendid class of men—our Indian officers—will care to serve under these young Indian King's commissioned officers—all beginners in the art of war, who will be placed in command over those veterans. We have yet to learn how, in Lord Kitchener's words, these young officers 'will bear the hard, dull work in peace, without which efficiency cannot be attained'. And, again in Lord Kitchener's words, we have yet to learn whether they are prepared to share in the drudgery as well as the rewards which fall to the lot of the British officer. The Government of India him, as I have already said, at giving more and more of these commissions to Indians, if and when the experiment proves a success; and I do earnestly beg the Assembly not to attempt to tie the hands of Government by laying down as a maxim that there must be an increasing proportion given every year.

With these words, Sir, I oppose this amendment.

The amendment was negatived.

The Resolution*, as amended, was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 8.

The Honourable the President: The Resolution moved is that:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council:

- (a) That adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.
- (b) That the desirability of establishing in India a Military College, such as Sandhurst, should be kept in view.'

Does Munshi Iswar Saran wish to move his amendment? I may suggest to Honourable Members who have amendments on the paper that it is very desirable that the complete judgment of the Assembly on these Resolutions should be had, and it can only be had by sitting late to-night and therefore the measure of their eloquence will have to be restricted.

*i.e., Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's motion No. 7, as amended:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council:'

- (a) That the King-Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval, and air forces in India and the ancillary services and the auxiliary forces, that every encouragement should be given to Indians—including the educated middle classes—subject to the prescribed standards of fitness, to enter the commissioned ranks of the Army and that, in nominating candidates for the entrance examination, unofficial Indians should be associated with the nominating authority, and in granting King's Commissions, after giving full regard to the claims to promotion of officers of the Indian Army who already hold the commission of His Excellency the Viceroy, the rest of the commissions granted should be given to cadets trained at Sandhurst. The general rule in selecting candidates for this training should be that the large majority of the selections should be from the communities which furnish recruits, and, as far as possible in proportion to the numbers in which they furnish such recruits.'
- (b) That not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, my amendment is as follows :

* That for clause (b) the following clause be substituted :

' (b) That as soon as funds be available, steps should be taken to establish in India a Military College, such as Sandhurst, and the desirability of establishing in India training and educational institutions for other branches of the Army should be steadily kept in view'.

Sir, after that gentle hint from the Chair, I shall be as brief as possible. In the Resolution itself as moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer there is a reference to the establishment in India of a Military College. I have only made it stronger in my amendment, and what I have said further is that the desirability of establishing other educational institutions for other branches of the Army ought to be kept in view. What I submit is that it is absolutely necessary that India should be able to give first-rate education to her sons in all departments, civil as well as military. The College at Sandhurst is a most excellent College, and it is possible that we may not be able for some time to approach its high standard, but that is no reason why an honest effort should not be made in India to make a beginning. I therefore move this amendment.

The Honourable the President : The original question was :

' This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

(a) That adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

(b) That the desirability of establishing in India a Military College, such as Sandhurst, should be kept in view.'

since which an amendment has been moved:

* That for clause (b) the following clause be substituted :

' (b) That as soon as funds be available, steps should be taken to establish in India a Military College, such as Sandhurst, and the desirability of establishing in India training and educational institutions for other branches of the Army should be steadily kept in view.'

The question I have to put is, that that amendment be made.

The amendment was adopted.

The Honourable the President : The question is, that the Resolution, as amended, be adopted.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief : Sir, I rise to say one or two brief words in reference to this Resolution particularly with regard to (a), namely, that adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. It is a proposal which has my entire sympathy. Only some few weeks ago I was going into the question, and I hope that before very long, in the neighbourhood of Dehra Dun, we shall be able to establish a college on the lines indicated. It is very desirable to give young Indians every possible facility to train themselves and to get their education, particularly the sons of those Indian officers in our Indian regiments who cannot afford the higher expensive education. We shall be able to afford them facilities for educating their sons and enabling them to compete for Sandhurst. And I hope that at no very distant date, funds can be made available—though at the present moment they are not very plentiful—and that we shall be able to establish a College on these lines as suggested in the Resolution. For that reason, we accept the Resolution.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the Resolution, as amended, be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 9.

The Honourable the President: Resolution moved—

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, in the interests of economy and in view of the likelihood of the growth of the Indian element in the commissioned ranks, it is essential that before vested interests arise, the pay of all commissioned ranks in all branches of the army should be fixed on an Indian basis with an overseas allowance in the case of British officers and with a similar allowance for Indian officers holding the King's Commission, when serving overseas'.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, I beg to say that Government are quite prepared to accept this Resolution.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 10.

The Honourable the President: Resolution moved—

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that, in view of the need for the preparation of India to undertake the burden of self-defence and in the interests of economy, it is essential that a serious effort should be made:

- (a) To organise and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force on attractive conditions.
- (b) To introduce in the Indian Army a system of short colour service followed by a few years in the reserve.
- (c) To carry out a gradual and prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops.'

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: As regards (a) and (b) we are prepared to accept the Resolution. But as regards (c), that is, 'to carry out a gradual and prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops', I do not think, the Honourable Members quite realise what the ratio really means. In former years, I think it was the year 1893 that the general ratio of average was fixed for the whole of the military forces of India, at 1 British to every 2.5 Indian Soldiers. Since those days, the whole organisation of the army has been changed, and as I told some Members who did me the honour of coming to tea with me some weeks ago, the Army to-day is divided into *First*, the Field Army which we look to to cross the Frontier in case of necessity and to assume the offensive, defensive on our North-West Frontier, and *secondly*, it is composed of the Covering Troops, which we maintain on the Frontier to keep in order the turbulent tribes which unfortunately live there, and *thirdly*, of troops for internal security, that is to say, for the maintenance of peace and good order within the boundaries of India. The proportion as between British and Indian troops varies in each of these three categories as my Honourable friends can well understand. That is to say, for those troops which are required for Field Army, we have the experience of the great war to tell us what is the most efficient proportion between Indian and British troops required for field operations against an enemy less formidable than a first class European Power, and that proportion based on the experience of war is 1 British soldier to every 2.7 Indian soldiers, and that is the proportion that now exists in our Field Army. For the Covering Forces which has only to deal with the Frontier tribes, tribes which are not yet furnished either with artillery

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

or machine guns, the proportion, can be very greatly reduced, and for the 124 brigades of Covering Troops, the proportion between British and Indian soldier is 1 to 6.7. It has a very much higher proportion of Indian troops. When we come to internal security, on the other hand, where troops are required to deal with, religious differences, with riots as they are taking place at the present moment unfortunately in Lahore area, it is most necessary to have a higher proportion of British troops, because it is recognised, particularly by the civil authorities, that troops other than Indian troops are the more reliable and the trustworthy to intervene in questions like religious troubles and internal disorders. Therefore, the proportion in the Internal Security Troops is much higher but the whole thing works out in the general average on the whole—as not very different from that which was originally laid down in 1893. The broad proportion, exclusive of the Reserves which we now have, comes to 1 British to 2.42 Indians, and if the Reserves are included, it comes to 2.56 Indians. Therefore, there has not been very much change, taking the thing broadly as a whole, since 1893.

In these few remarks I hope I have explained to the House more or less what the present situation is.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 11.

The Honourable the President: The question is :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that officers in the Indian Territorial force should have the rank of 2nd-Lieutenant, Lieutenant, or higher rank, as the case may be, and that no distinction should be made between the Indian territorial force and Indian auxiliary force in respect of the authority which signs the Commissions, and that officers in these two forces should take rank *inter se* according to dates of appointment.'

Sir Godfrey Fell: The Government of India are prepared to accept this Resolution.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 12.

The Honourable the President: The question is :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that no proposals for interchange of officers between the British and Indian Services should be carried out unless the following conditions are satisfied :

- (a) That the cost to Indian revenues should not be thereby appreciably increased.
- (b) That such proposal should not be allowed to interfere with a steady expansion in the proportion of King's Commission thrown open to Indians in the Indian Army.
- (c) That the interchange of British officers should, in no way, affect the control of the Government of India over the entire Army in India.'

Sir Godfrey Fell: The Government of India are also prepared to accept this Resolution.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 13.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

' This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that having regard to the creation of two additional Commands in India the Government of India do consider the expediency of reducing the size of the administrative staff at Army Headquarters. '

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief : This subject has already been engaging my very serious attention and already a certain number of reductions have been made in this direction. But it must be remembered that we have not yet really assumed the normal times of peace. Honourable Members must recollect that we are still clothing, feeding and supplying a very considerable number of troops abroad. Though we are not paying for them in Mesopotamia, more than 200,000 men, not all of them fighting soldiers of course, are being fed by us by our organisation, in Mesopotamia, to-day. For that purpose you will recognise that it is necessary to maintain a larger proportion of administrative services in this country than would otherwise be the case. The House may feel perfectly certain that, as soon as conditions will permit it, I shall do everything that I can to reduce the number of officers now engaged in the administrative machinery of the Army and especially at headquarters. I would point out that in comparison with the officers that were engaged in Army Headquarters before the war, the rise in numbers has not been as great at Army Headquarters in India as it has been at the War Office in England, and one of the lessons of the war is that it is economical, when war comes, to have a really efficient administrative system and not to have to make improvisations which are of all things the most expensive when war commences.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 14.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

' This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, as soon as the external and internal conditions of India permit, the Governor General in Council should, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, appoint a Committee adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion for the purpose of examining and reporting upon :

- (a) The best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country and prepare the country for the attainment of full responsible government which has been declared to be the goal of British policy.
- (b) The financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure.
- (c) Her claim to equality of status and treatment with the Self-Governing Dominions, and
- (d) The methods of recruitment to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army.'

Rao Bahadur Srinivasa Rao Garu : I beg leave, Sir, to move the amendment* which stands in my name. I regret very much that I have to move the amendment at this late hour when the House is much thinner

* (1) That for the words " as soon as the external and internal conditions of India permit " the word " immediately " be substituted ; and

(2) That for clause (b) the following be substituted, namely :

' (b) the steps to be taken for gradual reduction of the military expenditure to 20 per cent. of the public expenditure as recommended by the League of Nations. '

[Rao Bahadur Srinivasa Rao Guru.]

than when we met this morning and when the tendency seems to be more to disperse than to sit here. I shall therefore content myself with taking up a few minutes of your valuable time. Sir, you will see that my amendment relates to the Resolution No. 41. I suggest that for the words 'as soon as the external and internal conditions of India permit' the word 'immediately' be substituted. The Honourable Mover of this Resolution has told us that these important subjects have not been considered by the Esher Committee. It is gratifying however that the Select Committee has realised the importance of these problems and has embodied them in this Resolution. There can be no doubt, Sir, that these are problems of vital importance to this country, and I may venture to say that upon the bold and fearless, proper and just solution, of these problems, depends not only the material and moral prosperity of the people but the contentment and happiness of the people, which constitute the best security for British rule in India and the best strength to fight out the Bolshevist forces referred to by the Honourable Mover of this Resolution. I shall but refer to the problems involved in clause (a) and clause (b). There is, so far as I know, no country on the face of the earth which has not a militia of its own in some form or other. India is the only unfortunate country that has none. The natural right of citizenship, soldiership, has been denied to the people of this country. It was said and it is said that this is due to the fact that there is no trust on the part of the Government in the people of the land. Whatever might have been the view of the Government in the past, there is absolutely no justification for any kind of mistrust after the war which has afforded ample proof that India can be trusted with any responsibility and after India has rightly received the admiration of the whole civilised world. Can such a question affecting the very national honour of the people of this land be shelved indefinitely in the manner in which the Resolution proposes?

The second subject which I refer to it is the question of the Military expenditure. It was felt in the past and it is still felt to-day that there is no knowing when this abnormal growth of military expenditure by leaps and bounds will stop or whether it will ever stop at all.

The Honourable the President : I think we had better take these two amendments separately ; they raise quite different points.

Amendment moved :

'That for the words 'as soon as the external and internal conditions of India permit' the word 'immediately' be substituted.'

Sir Godfrey Fell : Sir, I rise to oppose this amendment. I think I need only refer the Assembly to the very wise remarks, if I may say so, which were made upon this subject by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his opening speech this morning. He pointed out what a peculiarly inopportune time the present is for the examination of this problem. If you were to appoint this Committee to examine the problem immediately, the probability is that the real issues would be obscured by what we all hope to be temporary causes, namely, the unsettled state of the world outside India, and, unfortunately, the unsettled state of internal India, I think, therefore, that the Committee which examined the Esher Committee's Report were very wise in inserting this provision 'as soon as the external and internal conditions of India permit'.

For this reason I strongly oppose the amendment. I would refer to one other point which fell from the Honourable Member. He complained that India has no militia of its own. Well Sir, the Government of India are doing everything in their power to remove this grievance. Rules for the creation of an Indian Territorial Force were published for criticism a fortnight ago, and as soon as they have been taken into consideration, the Territorial Force, we all hope, will become a living reality.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : Sir, the Honourable the Mover of the amendment in the speech that he made said that there was an attempt on the part of the Mover of the Resolution to shelve the whole question of the appointment of a Committee. Now, if I may be permitted to do so, I may at once say to the House that it seems to me that there is nothing further from the intention of the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution than that this question of vital importance should be shelved at all. But I think I may draw the attention of the Honourable Mover of the amendment to the remarks that fell from my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer when he moved the Resolution. Unfortunately my Honourable friend Mr. Seshagiri Aiyer—who I see is not here unfortunately and for whom I may say in passing I have the greatest regard and respect—referred to the remarks made by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as inopportune and characterised them as a policy of nagging which in and out of season is pursued by some Members against non-cooperation. I take leave to differ from my friend Mr. Seshagiri Aiyer, and I take leave to submit that the remarks that he made were rather hasty and unnecessary.

Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer has very candidly told us that while he believes that the establishment of a Committee of this character would be of the greatest importance and would have far-reaching effect in quickening the achievement of self-government by India, he regretted and he regretted from the bottom of his heart that the present circumstances of the country did not permit of the appointment of this Committee immediately. One could feel that my Honourable friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, in pointing out the dangers of the non-cooperation movement, was feeling and feeling very keenly that the existence of this movement, should deprive us of the opportunity of taking measures immediately which would lead ultimately and lead very quickly to our progress; and to interpret those remarks as coming out of an intention to go on nagging at the non-cooperators is, I think, not a true representation of facts. With all the force that I can command, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.

The amendment was negatived.

(Cries of 'Withdraw'.)

Rao Bahadur Srinavasa Rao Garu : I withdraw the rest of my amendment as that is the sense of the House.

Amendment No. 42 was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, the amendment that stands in my name runs thus :

'That after clause (d) the following clauses be added : -

- (e) The present strength of the Army in India ;
- (f) The financial relation between England and India in regard to military matters ;
- (g) The pay and the method of recruitment of the British and Indian soldiers.'

I submit, Sir, that whenever such a Committee is appointed by Government which will be adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion for the purpose not of coming to any decision, but only of examining and reporting,—these subjects which I have now mentioned in my amendment should be included among the subjects that will be examined and reported upon.

I think, Sir, having regard to the lateness of the hour it is not necessary for me to say much about my amendment. That there is a strong feeling on the subjects that I have mentioned there is no doubt about. Whether the feeling is right or wrong is another matter. But there is a strong feeling that the present strength of the army has to be reduced and must be reduced. Whether it is right or not is a matter, I think, that this Committee will be in a good position to examine and report upon. It is no valid objection to my position to say 'Oh; this is an army affair, and non-officials are not the proper persons to pronounce an opinion upon.' I quite realise that in matters of this kind the final word must be with the Army; but surely, responsible men, men of position, men who are thoroughly reliable and trustworthy might certainly be trusted to form a committee which would examine and report upon this question whether the present strength of the Army in India is sufficient or otherwise. In the same way, I submit that the financial relations between England and India in regard to military matters also require over-hauling; and it may be that after the examination of the subject this committee might be in a position to recommend that some other arrangement should be made. So also with regard to the last item, *viz.*, the pay and the method of recruitment of the British and Indian soldiers. I realise that British soldiers are recruited in England and that the Government of India has got nothing to do with it. But what I say is this, that in order to survey the whole situation and to have all the facts clearly before them, I submit no harm will be done if this committee on which non-official Indians will be represented goes into this question and makes a report upon it. It may be that after the report is received the Government of India may be inclined to move the authorities in England to make some other arrangement in regard to the pay and method of recruitment of British soldiers. I, therefore, submit that these are really matters which this committee, when appointed, should examine and report upon.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, I regret once more to be unable to accept an amendment of my Honourable friend's and for the following reasons. The first additional subject which he wishes this non-official committee, when appointed, to examine and report upon is the present strength of the Army in India. Now the Honourable Member is aware, and the whole Assembly is aware, this question is about to be examined, first of all by a sub-committee of the Executive Council, before whom unofficial Indian witnesses will be called, and by whom unofficial Indian gentlemen will be taken into consultation and secondly by a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence at Home at its meeting this summer. Therefore, I submit that the matter will have been thoroughly examined before this Committee, which the main Resolution deals with, is appointed.

With regard to clause (f), the financial relations between England and India, I do not know what my Honourable friend has in his mind.

I can assure the Assembly, and I trust they will believe me, that at present India pays only for such armed forces as are required for its own purposes.

This Assembly has turned down to-day, unhesitatingly turned down, a proposal that the United Kingdom should pay a share of our military expenditure. The Honourable the Finance Member has assured the Assembly that the very strictest account is kept, and that the War Office is debited with any expenditure which can fairly be debited to them and should not be debited to us. So I see no object whatever in this committee examining the financial relations between England and India in regard to military matters.

As regards part (g) the pay and the method of recruitment of the British and Indian soldiers, with great respect I very much question whether the contemplated committee will be in a position to tender any very valuable advice to the Government. The pay of the British soldier is a matter, as I have explained to this Assembly before, to be settled by His Majesty's Government, who recruit them and lend them to India, and therefore no committee out here can effectively control the rate of pay granted to the British soldier; nor can they offer advice of any value about the best method of recruiting British soldiers in their own country. As regards the Indian soldiers, one of the main questions which was considered by the Esher Committee was the question of the pay of the Indian soldier. They have submitted their recommendations to the Government, and certain of their recommendations have been given effect to. I do not think that the contemplated committee is likely to arrive at any more tangible results than the Esher Committee, who devoted several months to the consideration of this one subject.

The amendment was negatived.

The Resolution was then adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 5.

The Resolution that :

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

was adopted.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Sir, I beg to move that :

'This Assembly expresses no opinion on such of the recommendations of the Report of the Esher Committee as have not been dealt with in the foregoing Resolutions'.

An Honourable Member says 'It is a truism'. Yes; it is a truism, but we have to add that because without any such qualifying clause some are likely to say that what the Assembly has not reported on, it has acquiesced in.

Mr. K. G. Bagde: I rise to a point of order, Sir. The amendment that is proposed to be moved cannot be an amendment to item No. 45 in to-day's agenda.

The Honourable the President: It is not an amendment, but it comes as a final Resolution.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I do not think, Sir, I need add anything more to what I have said.

Sir Godfrey Fell: Sir, I earnestly trust that this Assembly will not pass this Resolution. I am indeed somewhat surprised that it has been moved. The Esher Committee's Report has been before the public since the beginning of October last. Every one in India has had the opportunity of studying it and forming an opinion on it. I am aware that many of its most virulent critics have not read it, in fact, one Honourable Member of this Assembly

was candid enough to inform me that he had freely criticized the Report for several months, without having read it and then, when he obtained a copy and read it, he found nothing in it to object to. I daresay there may be others in India in the same position as my Honourable friend. Not only has this Report been before the public, for several months, but the Government have been constantly pressed throughout this session to give this Assembly an opportunity of discussing it. Government have met the Assembly in every way possible. They telegraphed to the Secretary of State, and asked him to take no action on any of the recommendations of the Committee, until the Assembly had expressed their opinion on them. Then the Government permitted the Assembly to appoint a sub-committee to examine the Report. Now Sir, my Honourable friend the mover of this Resolution, was himself a member of that committee. If he had any criticisms to offer, in addition to the very numerous criticisms which were brought forward in the Committee in the form of Resolutions, many of which were still-born, he had ample opportunity for doing so then.

I ask this Assembly, is it generous, having criticised, having damned this report in every way that the ingenuity of my honourable friends could suggest, that they should turn round now and say,—‘As for the rest, we can express no opinion on it, it is probably bad.’ That is really the gist of his remarks. It is not in accordance with the traditional generosity of the Indian to take this line. Does the Assembly wish to say that there is nothing good in that report, that there are no recommendations in it which should be accepted? If anybody has any further criticisms to offer, he has had ample opportunity of doing so; and I am rather surprised that no one has got up and recommended that the remaining recommendations of the Esher Committee be approved by this Assembly. I beg this Assembly not to pass this amendment.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I wish to make a personal explanation, Sir. The report was circulated here, and paragraph 3 of that report said, and Sir Godfrey Fell ought to know it:

‘The limited time at the disposal of the Committee has prevented them from going into the constitution of the medical services and the desirability or otherwise or the separation of the civil medical service from the Army medical service. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express any definite opinion on the proposals of the Esher Committee in this behalf.’

After this paragraph in express terms, surely I did not expect this outburst from Sir Godfrey Fell about generosity or anything of the kind and I will not imitate him in his language. I will only remind him of this paragraph which does not find a place in any of the Resolutions here. My Resolution asks that we do not express any opinion upon any matters which have not been dealt with in to-day’s Resolutions and I hope the House will pass my motion.

Sir Godfrey Fell: May I rise to explain, Sir? I was not talking about the period at the disposal of the Committee of the Assembly.

I am well aware of that paragraph in the Committee’s Report. I said that this Resolution deals with the opinion of this Assembly, and that the Esher Committee Report has been before the country since October last.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that that Resolution be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Tuesday, the 29th March 1921.