

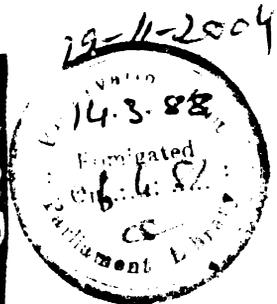
Wednesday, 13th March, 1935

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME I, 1935

(11th February to 17th April, 1935)

NINTH SESSION
OF THE
THIRD COUNCIL OF STATE, 1935



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Wednesday, 13th March, 1935.

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

MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Major-General C. A. Sprawson, C.I.E., K.H.P. (Government of India : Nominated Official).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RELEASE OF PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU AND OTHER CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PRISONERS ON THE OCCASION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS.

71. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Will Government be pleased to state whether they intend to release Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and other civil disobedience prisoners on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King Emperor ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT : Government have decided that grant of clemency to prisoners in the form of release and remissions of sentences should not form part of the celebrations in connection with the forthcoming Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King Emperor. The release of the prisoners referred to does not therefore arise.

13-UP EXPRESS, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

72. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH :
(a) Is it a fact that 13-Down East Indian Railway Express arrives at Hathras Junction at 3-33 A.M. ?

(b) Is it a fact that there is a Bombay, Baroda and Central India train leaving Hathras carrying passengers for Agra Fort, Muttra, Brindaban and other places of pilgrimage at 3-43 A.M. ?

(c) Have Government received and do they propose to take any action on representations that passengers arriving by the East Indian express and desiring to proceed by the Bombay, Baroda and Central India train often fail to catch the connection ?

THE HONOURABLE SIB GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a) Not 13-Down, but 13-Up.

(b) Yes, but the train terminates at Agra Fort.

(c) Government have not received any representation.

I am, however, sending a copy of the Honourable Member's question to the Agent, Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, for consideration.

**RESEARCHES MADE BY THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH
IN THE FIELD OF INDIAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.**

73. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH :

(a) Is it a fact that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have made several researches in the field of Indian agricultural produce? If so, will Government be pleased to lay on the table a list of such researches?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what steps they have taken so far to make the results of such researches known to the village agriculturists?

(c) Do Government propose to print the results of such researches in all the principal vernaculars of the country and distribute them free to all the villages in India through the agency of zemindars and other suitable Government agencies concerned?

(d) Have Government ever circulated to the villages the results of such researches printed in vernaculars? If not, why not?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was established solely for the purpose of educating the village agriculturists about producing better crops both in quantity and quality? If so, what measures have they adopted up till now since the creation of the Council in broadcasting the results of their researches?

||

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN :

(a) Yes. A list of the schemes for which grants have been made by the Council is available in the Library of the Legislature. Further details will be found in the annual reports of the Council, copies of which are regularly placed in the Library.

(b), (c) and (d). The results are published in the three journals issued by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Vernacular pamphlets describing the results of agricultural research are freely issued by provincial agricultural departments. The Council issued vernacular editions of its bulletin on locust control.

(e) No. The principal objects of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are defined in its memorandum of association, a copy of which is available in the Library. The results are made available in the English language by means of the Council's scientific monographs, journals and occasional bulletins on special subjects. Necessary steps are taken by local Governments to bring the practical application of successful research work to the cultivator.

**RESULT ON POSTAL REVENUES DUE TO REDUCED CHARGES ON LETTERS,
ETC., DURING 1934.**

74. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH :

(a) Will Government be pleased to state whether by the reduction of postal charges on letters during the year 1934 the postal revenues have increased? If so, what is the net increase in the revenue derived from this lowering of charges on letters?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the total revenue derived from

(i) the sale of one anna postage stamps including revenue and one anna envelopes from 1st April, 1934 to 31st December, 1934?

(ii) the sale of 5 pice postage stamps and 5 pice envelopes during the same period?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state the revenue derived from the sale of five pice envelopes from the 1st April to 31st December, 1933 ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL : (a) As no separate account of the sale proceeds of envelopes or of stamps used on letters is maintained, it is impossible to give accurately the information required by the Honourable Member. Enumerations taken in August, 1933 and in August, 1934, would point to an increase of about 9 per cent. in the total traffic, much of which probably occurred in the half tola letter. Part of the increase was probably due to the lower rate, but part must be ascribed to the general economic recovery. When the reduction in postal rates was announced last March it was expected to produce a loss of about Rs. 27 lakhs, as it was assumed that about 80 per cent. of letters would come within the initial half tola weight. Special enumerations taken last July and November showed that, up till then at least, this figure was much too high. The best answer I can give to the Honourable Member is that the introduction of the half tola letter for one anna has not caused any substantial loss or gain in the postal revenue of the current financial year.

(b) and (c). Government are unable to supply the information asked for as no separate account is maintained of such sales.

THROUGH TRAIN BETWEEN LUCKNOW AND DELHI *via* MORADABAD.

75. **THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** (a) Is it a fact that there is no through train between Lucknow and Delhi *via* Moradabad ?

(b) Have Government received complaints that the absence of a through train between the two places referred to in (a) causes much inconvenience to the third and inter class passengers ?

(c) If so, do Government propose to introduce a through train ? If not, why ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) Does not arise.

REMOVING OF INTER AND THIRD CLASS COMPARTMENTS BETWEEN LUCKNOW AND DELHI *via* MORADABAD.

76. **THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** (a) Is it a fact that till three or four years back some inter and third class compartments used to run direct between Lucknow and Delhi *via* Moradabad ?

(b) Why was this practice discontinued ?

(c) Do Government propose to reintroduce the practice ? If not, why ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a) A through service inter and third class bogie carriage was run between Lucknow and Delhi *via* Moradabad from September, 1928, and was extended to run to and from Cawnpore instead of Lucknow from September, 1929 to February, 1930.

(b) The running of the carriage was discontinued due to the traffic offering not being sufficient to justify its continuance.

(c) I am asking the Agent, East Indian Railway, to re-examine the position with a view to the re-introduction of the previous arrangement if the figures of traffic now offering justify it.

HOLDING OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION ON JUMMA-TUL-WIDA AND ID-UL-FITTAR HOLIDAYS.

77. THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Indian Civil Service examination in 1934 was held on the days of Jumma-tul-wida and Id-ul-Fittar which being important festivals of Muslims are gazetted holidays ?

(b) Is it a fact that a deputation of Muslims waited on a high Government official to protest against holding such examinations on holidays ? If so, was any assurance given by the said official to the deputationists ?

(c) Is it a fact that the last Civil Service examinations were also held on the same holidays, i.e., Jumma-tul-wida and Id-ul-Fittar ?

(d) Is it a fact that the Muslim press strongly protested against this practice and that several meetings were held and telegrams sent to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Members of the Executive Council requesting their intervention in the matter ? If so, why was no attention paid to this agitation ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: (a) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. Each of the two possible days on which the *Id* might have fallen was kept free until 2 o'clock in the afternoon. As regards the Jumma-tul-wida, it was not a "closed" holiday in the Government of India.

(b) A deputation waited on the Home Member in 1934 and he agreed to look into the matter.

(c) Yes, but arrangements were again made to leave the two days on which the *Id* might fall free until 2-30 P.M.

(d) I am prepared to accept the Honourable Member's statements as correct. Full consideration is always shown for the religious susceptibilities of candidates of all communities in fixing dates for the examinations conducted by the Public Service Commission, but it is not possible to change the dates at a late stage without dislocating the arrangements for long drawn out examinations like the one for the Indian Civil Service.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Why were these two days, for the Jumma-tul-wida and Id-ul-Fittar, declared as holidays by the Government ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: I cannot say what the exact reasons are but I presume they are observed as holidays following precedent.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Is it not because they are considered very sacred by Muhammadans that Government declared them as holidays ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: That is a mere expression of opinion.

NUMBER OF GLASS FACTORIES IN INDIA.

78. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: Will Government be pleased to state :

(i) The number of glass factories in India, where they are situated and in what provinces ?

(ii) Which of these glass factories are producing sheet glass ?

(iii) The number of glass factories in India which have closed down during the last five years, the kind of glass they used to manufacture and the causes which led to the closing down in each case ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART : (a) I lay on the table a statement showing details regarding glass factories in India which were reported to be in existence when the Tariff Board enquired into the question of protection to the glass industry in 1932.

(b) So far as the Government of India are aware there is only one factory in India, *viz.*, the United Provinces Glass Works, Limited, Bhajoi, which is manufacturing sheet glass. Another factory, *viz.*, the Allahabad Glass Works, Naini, is, however, also equipped with a machine for the manufacture of figured or ribbed sheet glass.

(c) The Government of India have no precise information on this point.

Statement showing the details of glass factories in India, which were reported to be in existence when the Tariff Board enquired into the question of protection to the Glass Industry in 1932.

Punjab—

The Upper India Glass Works, Ambala City.

United Provinces—

United Provinces Glass Works, Limited, Bahjoi, Moradabad.

Allahabad Glass Works, Naini, Allahabad.

The Indian Glass Works, Firozabad.

The Coronation Glass Works, Firozabad.

The P. M. J. P. Friends Glass Works, Firozabad.

The Bhanni Lal Glass Works, Firozabad.

The Hanuman Glass Works, Firozabad.

The Nizamuddin Glass Works, Firozabad.

Kadir Bux Sikander Bux Glass Works, Firozabad.

Sadulla Shahabuddin Glass Works, Firozabad.

Shahabuddin Riazuddin Glass Works, Firozabad.

Abdul Rahman Abdul Ghani Glass Works, Firozabad.

Ustad Karim Bux Glass Works, Firozabad.

Gauni Shanker Dau Dayal Glass Works, Firozabad.

The Lakshmi Glass Works, Firozabad.

Bhure Gulsher Glass Works, Firozabad.

Vidya Ram Ram Swarup Glass Works, Firozabad.

Bhajan Bihar Lal Magan Bihari Lal Glass Works, Firozabad.

Mool Chand Mahandra Singh Glass Works, Firozabad.

Ram Chand Roshan Lal Glass Works, Firozabad.

Asa Ram Rati Ram Glass Works, Firozabad.

Panna Lal Ram Prakash Glass Works, Firozabad.

The Ganga Glass Works, Limited, Balavli.

The Krishna Glass Works, Hathras Junction.

Ten other glass factories of which the details are not available.

Bengal—

Bengal Glass Works, Limited, Dum Dum Cantonment, Calcutta.
 Calcutta Glass and Silicate Works, Limited, Calcutta.
 M. N. Mehta Glass Factory, Calcutta.
 Bharat Glass Works, Calcutta.
 Hardeo Glass Works, Dacca.
 The Para Glass Works, Ramraj-talla.
 The Belighata Glass Works, Calcutta.
 Four other glass factories of which the details are not available.

Bombay—

Ogale Glass Works, Limited, Ogalevadi.
 Paisa Fund Glass Works, Poona.
 Kandivli Glass Bangle Factory, Bombay.
 Messrs. Joosub Peermahomed and Company, Bombay.
 The National Glass Works, Mazgaon.
 The Central Bettle Works, Kurla.
 The Bombay Glass Bevelling Company, Bombay.
 Gomptipur Glass Works, Ahmedabad.
 One other glass factory of which the details are not available.

Central Provinces—

Onama Glass Works, Gondia.
 The Nagpur Glass Works, Nagpur.

Bikanir—

One glass factory of which the details are not available.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions—

One glass factory of which the details are not available.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.
NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS MATCH FACTORIES IN INDIA.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. TALLENTS (Finance Secretary): Sir, I lay on the table the information promised on the 25th February, 1935, in reply to part (b) of the Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee's question No. 48.

(b) A list of indigenous match factories in British India, together with a statement showing the provincial shares of the total revenue (excluding licence fees) collected during the ten months ending January, 1935, is enclosed herewith.

List of indigenous match factories in India.

(Excluding those under the control of the Swedish Match Company.)

Bengal—

1. Jalpaiguri Industries, Ltd.
2. Chattal Match Factory.
3. Jagannath Match Factory.
4. Tajmahal Match Factory.

5. Prasanna Match Factory.
6. Murshidabad Match Factory.
7. Pioneer Match Factory.
8. Bangia Diasalai Karyalaya.
9. Esavi India Match Manufacturing Co.
10. Dharamsey Match Co.
11. Rampuria Match Works.
12. Calcutta Match Works.
13. Calcutta Match Industrial Works.
14. Wazir Ali & Sons Match Factory.
15. Mohanlal Ramchandra Match Factory.
16. Domestic Match Factory.
17. Hydari Match Co.
18. Haji Abdur Razzaq Match Factory.
19. Nikunja Behari Mukherjee Match Factory.
20. Dayamoiee Chemical Works.

Madras—

1. K. Narayana Pillai's Match Factory.
2. M. Ramaswamy Pillai's Match Factory.
3. C. B. Kottandaraman Match Factory.
4. Vijaya Match Factory.
5. Swarajya Lakshmi Indian Match Co.
6. Parbatipur Industries.
7. The Flower Match Works.
8. Shul.
- 8(a). Shunmuga Vilas Match Factory.
9. Krishnama Naidu's Match Factory.
10. Money Match Works.
11. Karunambikai Match Factory.
12. K. M. Arumuga Mudaliar's Factory.
13. Swan Match Factory.
14. K. A. Narayanaswami Mudaly Match Factory.
15. K. M. Balasundara Mudaliar and Sons Match Factory.
16. P. V. Parthasarathy Mudaly Match Factory.
17. Sarada Match Factory.
18. K. K. Doraiswamy Mudaliar Match Factory.
19. P. Natesa Pillai's (Valangiman) Match Factory.
20. Jailaniya Match Factory.
21. Ahmediya Match Factory.
22. Somasundaram & Co. Match Factory.
23. Danalakshmi Match Factory.
24. Chenbagam & Co. Match Factory.
25. Thangamari & Co. Match Factory.
26. Ratna Vilas Match Company.
27. The Indian Match Co.
28. Gloria Match Co.
29. Chocker Match Co.
30. Lokambikai Match Factory.
31. Dhanam Match Factory.

32. Clikam Match Factory.
33. Sinniah Nadar & Sons Match Factory.
34. Lakshmi Match Factory.
35. Mandiramurthi Match Factory.
36. Cunniah Co. Match Works.
37. The East India Match Co.
38. The Emperor Match Co.
39. The Perumal Match Works.
40. Nazareth Swadeshi Match Works.
41. Quadiria Match Works.
42. Bula Match Works.
43. Minakshi Match Works.
44. Siriapushpam Match Factory.
45. Muruganandam Match Factory.
46. Pope the King Match Factory.
47. Barathamatha Match Works.
48. Palraj Match Factory.
49. Muruganandam Match Factory.
50. Thannuthu Match Factory.
51. Industrial Home.
52. Sri Krishna Colour Matches.
53. Palghat Match Works.
54. Kerala Union Match Works.
55. The National Match Works.
56. Brilliant Match Works.
57. South Indian Match Co.
58. Vincent Match Co.
59. Ramiah Match Works.
60. Sivakashi Kaleswari Colour Matches.
61. Gnanier Match Works.
62. Bharathi Match Works.
63. Natarajan Match Factory.
64. Rajendran Match Factory.
65. West Coast Match Co.
66. Henry Match Factory.
67. Kamala Match Factory.

Bombay—

1. Gujarat Islam Match Mfg. Co.
2. Visnu Match Works.
3. Bombay Match Works.
4. Kurla Match Works.
5. Swadeshi Match Mfg. Co.
6. Santa Cruz Match Works.
7. Central India Match Co.
8. Thana Match Works.
9. Chalisingaon Match Works.
10. Hindustan Match Works.

Punjab—

1. The Starlight Match Factory.
2. The Mahalakshmi Match Factory.

Burma—

1. Adamjee Hajee Dawood and Co.
2. Eastern Asiatic Match Co.

Central Provinces—

1. The Amrit Match Factory.

United Provinces }

Assam

} Information not available.

Delhi

*List of match factories in India under the control of the Swedish Match Company.**Bengal—*

1. Western India Match Factory.

Madras—

1. Western India Match Co., Ltd.

Bombay—

1. Western India Match Co. (Ambernath Match Factory).

United Provinces—

1. Western India Match Co.

Burma—

1. Burma Match Co. (Kanaung Factory).
2. Burma Match Co. (Mandalay Factory).

Assam—

1. The Assam Match Co., Ltd.

Statement showing excise duty on matches (excluding licence fees) collected in each province during the period from April, 1934 to January, 1935.

| Province. | Excise duty collected. (Thousands of rupees.) |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Madras | 12,34 |
| Bombay | 24,81 |
| Bengal | 32,52 |
| United Provinces | 8,80 |
| Punjab | 1,91 |
| Burma | 23,98 |
| Central Provinces | 32 |
| Assam | 2,92 |
| Delhi | 7 |
| Total | <u>1,12,67</u> |

RESOLUTION RE UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take adequate and effective steps to relieve unemployment in the country".

[Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.]

Sir, it is an undisputed fact that unemployment is rampant in the country and the problem is assuming an acute form day by day. If there is any difference between the official and non-official viewpoints on this subject, it is, I believe, only about the extent to which unemployment prevails and not about its very existence. Even the Honourable Sir Frank Noyce, the Member of the Government of India for Industries and Labour, admitted the existence of this problem as lately as just a month ago in another place although the degree of unemployment might according to him vary with the different classes of people inhabiting the country. Sir, it is evident that this problem of unemployment is not only confined to our educated young men or to the middle classes but is also affecting the masses. In fact, we believe that it is even sapping the morale of the people and is becoming a source of danger to peaceful growth of the society. It is not unusual to hear of our young men putting an end to their very lives, than which there can be nothing more precious in this world, out of disgust and disappointment resulting from unemployment. It was only the other day that I read in the *Hindustan Times* of the 10th instant that, as a result of long unemployment, a Bengali youth who belonged to a respectable family of Lucknow in my province committed suicide by throwing himself before an engine which passed over him. This is only a recent instance of a young man driven to exasperation but such examples are by no means rare. A majority of our young men after finishing their school or college career are faced with the problem as to what they should do in order to earn a decent living. They are obliged to go from pillar to post and post to pillar in search of employment but no one is there to tell them a practical solution of their difficulty. Is it not a sad tale of woe with which we are all so familiar and is it not but natural that under such a condition of things the people should look up to the State for a solution of the problem which is assuming such gigantic proportions? In December, 1933 the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his Convocation Address at the Allahabad University, the Honourable Sir Shadi Lal in his address at the Convocation of the Punjab University and Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his address at the Lucknow University, all about the same time with almost one voice dwelt on the growing menace of unemployment among the graduates and observed that the Indian universities should try to divert the youthful energies of the increasing number of graduates into more useful channels by giving them vocational education and a practical outlook, and one of them advised the State to give serious consideration to the economic development of the country and to measures leading to the establishment of new industries which might provide employment for our graduates. In December last Dr. Paranjpye in the course of his address at the Convocation of the Nagpur University observed that :

“our educational system has grown up so far without any conscious planning”, and asked, “Does our education make its votaries unit for the practical side of life and fit them only for black-coated occupations where the openings are necessarily limited”.

Then, His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the opening ceremony of the Third Conference of the Inter-Universities Board held at Delhi last year spoke feelingly of the tragedy of unemployment among educated youths and referred to the fact as to how far technical, vocational and technological education could afford a solution to this distressing problem. All this goes to show that the problem of unemployment is being felt very keenly at the present day.

Now let us examine what the State is doing to tackle this problem. All that the Government of India seem to have done apparently is that they invited two economic and statistical experts, namely, Professor Bowley and Mr. Robertson from England to India in order to collect some statistical material on economic matters and these experts submitted their report to the Government last year. But what action the Government of India has taken on that report the public has yet to know. Secondly, Sir, the Government of India in January last circularised all local Governments and Administrations drawing their attention to two resolutions passed at the 3rd Conference of Indian Universities held in Delhi last year which recommended a revision of the present system of education with a view to render it more practical and useful so as to find a practical solution of the problem of unemployment, and inviting their opinions in the matter. But we have yet to know what practical steps the Government of India have taken to tackle the problem themselves as the custodian of the welfare of India's teeming millions. Of course, it must be acknowledged to the credit of the Government of my province that the United Provinces Government have appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to investigate the problem of unemployment among the educated classes in the province and to make proposals for its relief. This Committee is touring the province to ascertain both official and non-official public opinion on the subject. This action of the Government of the United Provinces is a step in the right direction. But that does not in any way minimise the obligation which the central Government owe in this matter to the country at large. Because, Sir, after all the resources and powers of provincial Governments are limited and a provincial Government cannot take all the steps that may be necessary to find a solution of the problem single-handed unless and until the measures taken by it are supplemented by a broader policy followed by the Government of India. For example, it may be suggested by some that the solution of the problem of unemployment lies in revising the present system of education so as to give it a vocational bias and make it less literary than what it at present is and in a rapid development of our agriculture and industries, and it may be said that all these are provincial subjects. This is the view which I fear is quite likely to be taken up also by the benches opposite in order to shift their responsibility to provincial Governments in the matter. But, Sir, I submit that it is very important that such measures as provincial Governments may think fit to adopt in this direction must be supplemented by the policy of the Government of India with the same end in view. Unless, for instance, the tariff and the currency and exchange policies of the Government are directed to safeguard national interests, there cannot be much hope of any appreciable relief in unemployment. For, the Government of India cannot escape the criticism that their tariff and economic policy is not often dictated by considerations other than the best interests of India, and yet these policies of a government are the determining factor in the fortunes of a country.

Sir, it is not for me to suggest to the Government ways and means to relieve unemployment, for it is the business of the State to find out such ways and means like the governments of other countries. But I can enunciate some general principles in this behalf which the Government can investigate and find out how far these suggestions could provide a workable solution of the problem. In my opinion, a big scheme should be evolved to form the basis of a five or seven-year plan of a sort of economic reconstruction which may raise commodity prices and increase the purchasing power of the people. What seems necessary is that there should be rapid development of our agriculture:

[Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.]

and industries and the salvation seems to lie specially in the industrialisation of the country. Cottage industries should be promoted which can be more within the means of the average classes. Facilities should be provided for the training of youths of the country in all kinds of industrial pursuits, and Indian capital and enterprise must receive all possible encouragement. The state and semi-state departments ought to make it a point to purchase, as far as possible, all their requirements from indigenous manufactures, and where they are not at present available in the country arrangements should be made by them for their manufacture here. And Indians should be recruited to all Government posts in a larger measure. The tariff and currency and exchange policies of the Government should be regulated solely in the interests of the country. Besides these, the Government should embark on a bold policy of capital expenditure on productive ventures which can find much needed employment for the unemployed in the country, for, no programme of economic relief on an organized basis can be adequate without well-thought-out schemes of capital expenditure, particularly at a time when the Government of India are in a position to borrow long term money on a comparatively cheaper basis than has been experienced for a generation past. Schemes can be prepared, as suggested by the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, for (a) agricultural land reclamation, including drainage and irrigation, etc., (b) slum clearance in certain cities, including subsidised housing schemes and (c) road development on a more extensive and wider basis. Sir, it may be asked how such a loan should be repaid. To that my answer is : reduce your expenses and spare money to pay up the loan.

These are only tentative suggestions and are by no means in the nature of any comprehensive proposals. It would perhaps be better if the Government of India investigated the possibilities of these suggestions along with some proposals of their own with a view to finding out an effective solution of the problem for themselves.

Sir, it may be interesting to know that the United States of America has adopted, like other countries, measures for the relief of unemployment, for the regulation of banking, of the investment market and of the stock exchange. Besides these it has adopted measures which are essentially new and have not been tried in other countries. There is, in the first place, an effort on a big scale to organise producers in industry and in agriculture so as to permit of some degree of economic self-government, having the control of labour standards and of prices and production among its principal aims. Then, there is the effort to revive business activity, to increase the volume of buying and to raise the commodity price level. In short, it is engaged in a mighty effort to solve what the report of the International Labour Office calls

“ the basic economic problem that now confronts mankind—the problem of developing an economic organisation that will enable the citizens of a modern state to buy from one another what modern industrial methods enable them to produce ”.

Outside the United States almost every important country has adopted comprehensive measures to deal with the economic crisis in the best national interest.

Is it too much to hope that the Government in India would consider it their duty to do in the way of relieving unemployment what any national government would have done under the present circumstances and what most national governments are doing in their countries to tackle this great problem ?

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved :

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take adequate and effective steps to relieve unemployment in the country ”.

To this Resolution the Honourable Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh has placed two amendments, but these two amendments are barred under the Standing Orders for not giving proper and timely notice. I am afraid, therefore, I cannot allow the Honourable Member to move the amendments unless the Member in charge agrees to waive notice ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: No, Sir, I do not waive notice, as the amendments entirely alter the character of the original Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am afraid I cannot allow the amendments to be moved.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President, I have listened with close attention to the speech made by the Honourable mover of this Resolution. The Honourable mover has said that it is an undisputed fact that there are many people without employment in this country and that that fact is admitted by all. The point, however, is, is unemployment in India any greater than it is in many other parts of the world which have been affected by the depression that has been prevailing for the last few years? We know that there is very considerable unemployment in England and still more so in the United States of America in spite of the efforts made by the Government of that country to relieve the situation as referred to by the Honourable mover himself. It seems to me that it is somewhat strange that in this country we always ask Government to do as much as they can for the public and the public themselves are not prepared to put their shoulder to the wheel. If we did more in that direction, perhaps because unemployment is less in India as compared with other countries, our unemployment problem if not altogether solved would be much better than it is today. The solution lies to a great extent in what the mover himself suggested by adopting the recommendations made in their university addresses by such distinguished Indians as were named by him, namely, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, Professor Paranjpye, and last but not least, His Excellency the Viceroy himself. Our system of education is to be blamed. The Honourable mover himself admits that. That ought to be changed and vocational training should be given to a larger extent than is the case today. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad referred to three or four convocation addresses. I believe we have about 18 or more universities in India. They go on producing—or may I use the word “ manufacturing ”—graduates, not at the rate of hundreds but by the thousands. What has been done to prevent this and divert our young men to vocational training and to businesses in which they might earn an honest living? To that the public, I am afraid, do not devote as much attention as they well might. Sir, we depend too much on Government. If Government cannot give clerkships to the hundreds and thousands of graduates who are turned out every year, that is bound to lead to discontent, as it has done, and perhaps in some cases even to terrorism, a fact to which the Honourable mover himself has referred. Then again, there are many social customs which, if they do not have a direct bearing, certainly have an indirect bearing on the question of unemployment. I refer in particular to the question of early marriages, very

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

large marriage expenses and funeral expenses. If all these were attended to, perhaps a great deal of good will be done. There is yet another problem which I think we shall have an opportunity of discussing some days later when we consider the Resolution to be moved by my Honourable friend on my right in regard to how best to check the growth of the population of this country. That also will help to a large extent.

What are the remedies which my friend has suggested ? He has enumerated several. First of all, he wants Government to copy the Soviet five-year plan. He wants the development of cottage industries, he wants the establishment of different industries. All this, however, to my mind, is not the duty of the Government of India but of the provincial Governments. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad observed that so far as his province was concerned, its Government is moving in that direction. If he makes enquiries in regard to the other provinces, he will find that they too are trying to do what best they can. But so much depends on funds. As we all know, funds are not easily available in these days and we will have to wait till normal times in order to permit of the undertaking of the different things which my Honourable friend has enumerated, including agricultural land reclamation, slum development, road development, etc. He thinks he has solved the problem to an extent by suggesting to Government that loans might be raised for the purpose. But loans cannot be raised for nothing. Even at the present low rate of interest, large sums will have to be provided for interest on these loans. Where is that money to come from ? It will come from the taxpayer. We complain in one breath that we are over-taxed. Our income-tax, as I observed the other day, is as high as in almost any other country barring a very few. On top of that, we have surcharges which have been reduced only by a third so far. Does my Honourable friend contend that a further loan should be raised and the interest thereon be paid by raising the income-tax and super-tax yet further ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD : No.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : If my Honourable friend says "No", let him give us a solution as to how to meet that expenditure.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD : Reduce your expenses, e.g., military expenses.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : My friend says, "Reduce your expenses". The military expenditure, in regard to which I am in agreement with him and with others, might well be reduced substantially by a few crores. But I do not know how you want the civil expenditure to be reduced. (An Honourable Member : "Reduce the pay of Government servants.") We have unfortunately not yet reached the days when according to Mr. Gandhi the Viceroy might be paid only Rs. 500 a month. We will not be able to get efficient men to serve on less than what they are being paid today. My friend doubts that statement. Does he think that a Government servant is paid today any more than what a large commercial firm pays its senior men in charge of large and important departments ? I say emphatically, "No." I can give you instances of commercial concerns which pay their officers even more than what the Government officers on the opposite benches get, and rightly so, because they prove their worth by the success of such concerns as the result of their efforts.

But, Sir, I must not digress. I started by saying that we must do the best we can ourselves, and I regret to say that we are not doing as much as we ought to. May I give you an instance of my own community? We are a very small community. Only about 15 or 20 years ago, it was the boast of the Parsis that there was not a single pauper amongst us. I am sorry to say that the case is very different today. There is very considerable poverty, and that poverty is due to the existing depression. But the community and its leaders are trying to meet the situation as best they can. Within the last few days, a book has been published—and when I say, in the last few days, I mean it was out from the press only last Saturday. I had occasion to read that book on my journey up here from Bombay. The book is called “Parsi Charity Relief and Communal Amelioration or a brief study of the prevalent system of Charity Relief among the Parsis, some proposals for its improvement, and some suggestions for Constructive Welfare Work and Employing the Unemployed”. We have in the author a great enthusiast in sociological work, who is a Doctor of Philosophy, by name Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsara. Because he happens to be the Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat, he is in a better position to collect figures which he has carefully tabulated under various heads to show how very much the position of the community has changed for the worse. I am however relying more on the latter part of his book in which he has made recommendations as to how best the existing situation should be met. He has made excellent suggestions to which I hope prompt attention will be given. Besides Dr. Bulsara there are others in the community who devote time and attention to such questions. This kind of thing ought to be done by leaders in every community. My Honourable friend, Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad, and my Honourable friend, Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh, who had given notice of some amendments but which have not been allowed, are both men blessed with plenty of funds, men who are political leaders in the part of the world they come from, men who command great respect. It is for them to take the lead in the manner in which in their own province the colony of Dayalbagh has been established and is flourishing. Dr. Bulsara refers to the good work done by Dayalbagh. What good work it has done, what it produces, was shown in the City of Delhi at the Exhibition which was declared open by the Honourable Sir Frank Noyce just the other day. At Dayalbagh there was a religious sect, the Radhaswami Satsung started in 1861. In 1915, they undertook the task of teaching people different trades, etc., and this work which started in January, 1915 with the purchase of four acres of almost desert land and an outlay of Rs. 7,000 has today come to occupy 2,600 acres of land at Agra, possess a teak forest at Rajborari, and has invested about Rs. 42 lakhs in various industries. This was up to two years ago and the figures by now must have very greatly increased. That is what should be done everywhere. Instead of one Dayalbagh in the United Provinces, we should have hundreds of Dayalbaghs in India. If that is done by leaders like my Honourable friend, the mover and others, I am sure the unemployment problem will be solved far better than if it is undertaken by Government, as is proposed in the Resolution.

I will now conclude, Sir, but with your permission, would quote a few sentences from the last paragraph in Dr. Bulsara's book, which are equally applicable to all communities, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others. He says :

“One need not subscribe to the alarmist or pessimistic creed that the community is going to the dogs or that it is doomed to gradual failure and fall. I fully believe, and valid sociological reasons can be adduced for such a belief, that the community has certain assets and characteristics that will, if properly marshalled and taken advantage of, lead to a future more brilliant than the past”.

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

I say, Sir, if that is applicable to the Parsis, it is equally applicable to the other communities. He goes on :

“ Let it be clearly understood that such achievements of civil advance and progress in civilisation cannot be had by mere wishing. The able and capable of the community must set their shoulders to the wheel and pay for the progress and well-being of the community in scientific study, deep thinking, wise planning and devoted execution, if they are to achieve anything ”.

I will conclude with his last sentence :

“ The leaders must possess sound knowledge, enlightened outlook, skill for scientific social planning and organisation, a deep social sense, a trenchant belief in the essence of all life, viz., happiness and progress not merely of their particular community but of the entire human race, which is getting more and more inter-related and inter-dependent and a balanced judgment and experience of the old, and the vigour, fervour, freshness and sincerity of youth to bring it about ”.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI (Burma : General) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution which has been moved by my friend Mr. Jagdish Prasad. Even before the trade depression and in its days of prosperity there was a good deal of unemployment in India. The depression has only deepened it with the result that it has now assumed gigantic proportions. One authority, Sir Visvesvar Ayyar, computed the extent of unemployment in this country at 40 millions. As Government has taken no steps to ascertain the extent of unemployment and we have no economic survey, that may be taken as an approximate figure ; at any rate I am not aware of any official figures of unemployment in India. In spite of the consistent demands of our economists and the leaders of the people the Government has been callous all along to the problem of unemployment. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna said that probably unemployment in India is not much greater than in other countries, but in the absence of any figures for India we cannot institute comparison with other countries. Apart from that, the fact staring us in the face is that the standard of living in India is very low and the margin of means of subsistence is very small indeed. So that in times of depression there is very little for the average Indian to fall back upon. My Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna has been waxing eloquent about the steps which the public ought to take and which his own community in particular has been taking in relieving unemployment. But he seems to forget that his community is a very small one and the average income and average capital per head at the disposal of his community would be a small fortune to the average Indian. What they have been able to achieve in ameliorating the condition of the less fortunately placed of their own community cannot apply to the average Indian. India is a huge country of paupers. The conditions obtaining in his small community differ greatly from those in others. The Indian problem requires to be tackled in a different way. It is all very well to say it is for the public to do all they can to ameliorate the condition of these unemployed. We are particularly handicapped in view of the fact that it has been the deliberate policy of the Government to regulate their industrial and financial policies with a view to relieving unemployment in Great Britain. The public, however earnest they may be in their efforts, cannot obtain any good results without the co-operation of the Government. My point is, the whole policy of the Government should be changed before we can expect any relief for unemployment in this country. In all western countries with Governments having a national outlook, keenly alive to the interests of their nationals, the financial and industrial policies are regulated so as to promote the best interests of their own countrymen.

Then it is possible for the public to come forward to assist in relieving unemployment in a large measure. But in present circumstances we cannot expect them to do so with any hope of success.

Before the depression, though we had unemployment amongst manual labourers, it was not acute so long as agricultural and raw produce fetched economic prices. But since the depression unemployment amongst manual labourers has assumed serious proportions. Added to that we have the problem of unemployment among the educated middle classes which had become serious indeed for a long time. The main reason for unemployment among the middle classes has been the educational policy of the Government. Our schools and universities have been turning out a plentiful supply of cheap and efficient clerks. There has been no system of vocational training, technical training or technological training to fit the students who come out of the schools and universities for any career apart from Government service. We all know that the Government cannot absorb even a small fraction of the people who are educated and sent out from schools and colleges. We are not blaming the Government for not taking more of these people into Government service. They are doing their best. In the higher ranks something can be done, but that is not likely to solve the problem of unemployment. I admit that, but if they change their policy of education and see to it that vocational training is given prominence and institutions of technology and various technical schools are started side by side with the development of various industries in this country, the problem of unemployment will be very greatly solved. The problem among the educated middle classes is not only an economic problem; it is fast becoming a political problem as well. Driven to despair by the failure in their constant attempts to find employment here and there, these young men are not looking with favour upon the present system of government or upon the present system of holding property. Naturally they become converts to revolutionary principles and communistic principles. We cannot blame these young men if they become imbued with communism day by day and begin to have faith unconsciously in other systems of holding property and other systems of government than the one which cannot find for them their ordinary means of livelihood. There is also one other aspect of this problem. These educated young men, though they are unemployed, have got a very large influence in the countryside; among the peasantry they can command considerable influence and respect. You cannot expect these young men to sit quiet with folded hands when they feel that the present system of holding property and the present system of government is not suited to the best interests of the people of India. Naturally ideas of communism, revolutionary ideas are likely to be propagated by these young men who day by day are becoming convinced that the present system of holding property and the present system of the distribution of property is so very wrong that no right-thinking person would submit to it meekly. Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of the Government to see that the foundations of ordered society and the foundations of systems of government prevailing all over the world except Russia are not undermined by this problem of unemployment. We are told that the problem is a problem for the provincial Governments. We all know that provincial Governments who have got charge of nation-building departments are starving them for want of funds. They have not got expanding sources of revenue. In fact their sources of revenue are shrinking. I am aware of the fact that several provincial Governments are keenly alive to the seriousness of this problem and they have been trying to tackle this problem in their own way. They have been able to produce very fine reports, but [for want of funds they could not carry out any of the recommendations contained

[Mr. P. C. D. Chari.]

in those reports. It is for the central Government to come forward with a scheme for the relief of unemployment throughout this country in view of the condition of the provincial Governments. You may well ask how is it possible for the central Government to do it. In the first place, it is the duty of the central Government to carry out an economic survey and they must adopt a system of planned economy. There is no use deriding a five-year plan or a ten-year plan. What is most important is that the Government of the day, the Government of India should seriously ponder over the question of having a national reconstruction programme. After carrying out the preliminary economic survey and after chalking out the programme, it is the duty of the Government to look for funds. Funds can be easily raised by floating a loan at a reasonable rate of interest. Money is cheap and if there is any necessity for taxing, the rich may be taxed more and more, so that the people who have been deprived of the very elementary needs of subsistence may be provided with something by means of a reconstruction plan. It is not socialism, pure and simple, but it is carrying out some of the principles of socialism with a view to meet the dire needs of the largest class of people in this country. Apart from that, if there is planned economy and a national reconstruction programme carried out by a system of loans the loans can be easily repaid because the outturn from this reconstruction policy in the shape of increased revenue for the Government would more than justify this programme; and if it does not yield enough, I would urge upon the Government to levy more taxation on the rich with a view to a more equal distribution of wealth and the necessities of life for the struggling unemployed in this country. Sir, I heartily support this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN (United Provinces : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, the Honourable mover of this Resolution has worded it in such a way that it covers a very wide field, but unfortunately, Sir, I find that he instead of speaking on his own Resolution confined himself mostly to the amendment which the Honourable Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh was going to move. He showed his concern only about the middle classes. He did not tackle the problem, which is really the problem of India, that is, of seven-eighths of the population of India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Whom you represent ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN : My Honourable friend will get his reply. He represents nobody ! If I give him the answer and tell him how many people he represents out of five crores of people he will be ashamed to call himself a representative !

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : At least he represents some ! You do not represent any !

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I am prepared to give my Honourable friend or anyone of his school a certain fight in my constituency. I say I represent my constituency. My Honourable friend represents none !

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. The Honourable Member has not given way.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN : If my Honourable friend or any member of his Party is so keenly anxious to know whom they represent, they do not represent one man out of one lakh in the province.

That is a side issue. I am sorry, Sir, I had to say this because I am receiving this kind of suggestion every day. Day in and day out this kind of remark comes in and I will have to give the figures about each and every Member.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. Will you please confine yourself strictly to the Resolution before the Council?

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN: Now, Sir, the point is that seven-eighths of the population of India is nowadays engaged in agriculture and they live in the villages and they are all agriculturists or are dependent entirely upon agriculture; and

12 NOON. when we have to tackle the real problem of India, that problem ought to be that about the villages and the population that lives in the villages. Here, Sir, we find that, if we do not have one monsoon, a single failure of the monsoon will bring a whole lot of people to unemployment, and if we have a favourable monsoon then the people can find some kind of employment in the fields and in the villages. But if there is no monsoon, then seven-eighths of the population of India, the majority of the people, remain without any work and they cannot get any food whatsoever. That is really the problem which I thought my Honourable friend had in view and was going to tackle. But he did not say a word about this huge population which is migrating to the towns—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: Did not I suggest the promotion of cottage industries?

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN: But cottage industries might mean anything and he did not make it clear whether he wanted cottage industries to be set up in the villages or whether he intended these cottage industries to be set up for the benefit of the middle classes in the towns. (*An Honourable Member:* "Where are the present cottage industries? Are they not in the rural areas?") Well, if he did have this intention, then I am sorry that I did him an injustice. But what I expected, Sir, was that he would draw attention to the real situation which we have to take into consideration, the unemployment of the masses of the people which is creating all the agitation in the country. Not only from the Government point of view but from the economic point of view it is desirable that there should be an alleviation of these conditions. The whole problem of unemployment is due to one factor and that is that the village population is migrating to the towns because they cannot find sufficient employment in the villages and the prices are so low that they cannot get any profit by engaging in agriculture. It is natural enough that a man who cannot get Rs. 5 a month in the village should want to shift to the town in the hope of getting some higher remuneration, and when he comes to the town he finds he is nowhere and nobody looks after him. My Honourable friend must know for he comes from the zemindar class, every village *patwari* has got a son or relation who is not only a graduate but also a graduate in law. There are thousands of people who after being educated in public schools or in English schools do not like to stick to their profession of cultivation but want some kind of employment under the Government. Their only agitation is because they cannot get such employment. And that is what we want to find out—how to stop this thing. (*An Honourable Member:* "What remedy do you suggest?") I am coming to the remedy, Sir. The remedy is that the prices of agricultural produce should be brought to a level where people can find sufficient employment in the villages. (*An Honourable Member:* "Who can do that?") If the Honourable Member will refrain from interrupting—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: Did I not suggest that the prices of commodities should be raised ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN: The whole trend of the Honourable Member's speech was about the unemployment of the educated middle class and prices were only mentioned as a side issue.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I would advise the Honourable Member not to criticise the Honourable mover's speech but to proceed with his own.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN: I want, Sir, that the problem of unemployment in the villages should be taken up by the Government. But that is a question which, as the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna pointed out, can be more easily tackled by the provincial Governments and their attention should be drawn to this fact, if it has not already been drawn by the provincial Legislatures. The provincial Legislatures must come forward and draw the attention of their provincial Governments to the facts of the case. As far as the middle classes are concerned, I would say one word, and that is that this problem is not going to die easily. Because India formerly was divided into castes and each caste pursued its own profession or vocation. The Brahmins devoted themselves to learning, the Kshatriyas took to the profession of arms, the Vaishyas looked after their business. Now, Sir, we find that instead of this, all classes are encroaching upon other people's work and when this is done, and it is going to continue, it is rather difficult for those classes who used to look to government service only as their profession to find room there. For them the only remedy lies that they must also go into the professions of the other classes. If that is done then it will relieve the question of unemployment in the middle classes. But for the Government of India to take up any policy that will stop educating anyone who is willing to pay for his education, would be suicidal for the progress of India. It may be a very alluring prospect to stop educating the masses, but would any Honourable Member have the courage to go to the country and put this proposition, that the only remedy for unemployment is to stop educating the people ? Because Government cannot raise factories by asking people to subscribe, Government has no right to ask private persons to create some kind of employment for these persons, so it is action which Government alone can take by providing employment for them all. I think that what the Resolution asks Government to do is entirely beyond the power of the Government to do under present circumstances and the only remedy is that the people must themselves come forward and make some kind of provision for this purpose. All that I wish to draw attention to is the question of unemployment in the rural areas which I hope Government will take seriously into consideration.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution which has been so ably moved by my Honourable friend, Lala Jagdish Prasad. Sir, I would like to analyse the present situation. How has this unemployment arisen ? In the villages, Sir, people have got very small holdings—I am speaking of the rural areas—and their holdings are not sufficient to maintain the family, with the result that certain members of the family go out from rural areas to urban areas and seek employment there in order to make their family live. In urban areas, owing to grave economic depression, things are not bright. The result is that all labour cannot find employment. In my province, fortunately, colonisation has been afoot, on a fairly large scale, and some of the

rural population have found work in colonising their new lands. But that colonisation work is now practically coming to an end and the difficulty of employment is being much felt equally in rural as well as in urban areas. Unless the condition of the rural classes is ameliorated, the question of unemployment will be materially solved—I should say, substantially solved, because it is more the rural people who are out of employment. I now come to the urban areas. In urban areas, as far as the educated classes are concerned, they are in great difficulty. In my province, things have gone so bad that an M.A., LL.B., sought employment as a head constable in the police. Graduates are also accepting small salaries to keep themselves going. This has added to the unrest in the country, because these people who are unemployed and who cannot make both ends meet get discontented and then they get misguided in any direction they are led to. Sir, I would suggest that out of this rural uplift grant which Government has been pleased to provide in the budget this year, the unemployment question should be first tackled. Employment should be found for such people by employing them in small or cottage industries. Another way in which this question can be solved is by reducing taxation, whether in the form of land revenue or canal rates or in other taxes. Taxation is so heavy that the people practically get nothing left to sustain themselves on. Sir, my friend the Honourable Mr. Yamin Khan has made some unfair observations, and knowing that he does not represent any constituency, he has been throwing mud on others.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN: I obtained signatures on my manifesto which even three members combined in your Party, who are representatives in this House, did not get!

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I know nothing about that.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Signatures on your application to be nominated? (Laughter.)

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I must tell my Honourable friend that in case he was so popular, he would not have sought for nomination.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN: If my Honourable friend advises his Party members not to indulge in these remarks, they will hear nothing from my side. That is the best advice he can give them.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Two wrongs cannot put things right! Well, Sir, the chief method of solving the unemployment problem is by starting capital works. In these days, money is very cheap, and Government can very well afford to start capital works of public utility. The flight of gold from India means that these villagers, who are in distress, are parting with the capital which they possess. In the Punjab, the capital of the masses is invested either in silver or in gold, and when the capital disappears and when conditions continue to be what they are at present, I do not know what will be the fate of these poor people.

Sir, unfortunately, the high birth rate is another factor in this unemployment problem. Our population is swelling up, and our economic condition is going down. So, poverty is swelling up. The low price of the agricultural produce for the last six or seven years is another factor in forcing people to seek employment. Fortunately, the prices are now rising. In case Government change their policy of currency and exchange, I think conditions will

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

improve. Sir, in England also, which is far more educated and far more resourceful, there is unemployment. It is felt so strongly that Government is being censured for not finding a suitable solution for relief of unemployment. If I rightly understand, on that issue the present Government is going to be dissolved. When things are being considered so seriously in a country like England, where of course the average income of a person is much more than that of our Parsi friends here, I think it is opportune for the Government here to seriously launch a scheme to solve the unemployment question. Various committees have sat in various provinces on this very question and have reported, but the reports, as usual, have been shelved. I think it is the duty of the Government, particularly in times of grave economic depression and at a time when money is very cheap, to come forward and help the poor. With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I had no intention of intervening in this debate, but certain observations of my esteemed friend the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna have induced me to do so. Sir, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna is a believer in undiluted competition. He is a believer in a system of undiluted individual economy. I am not. I believe in what Sir Arthur Salter would call an ordered society. Therefore, the viewpoint from which I approach this question is necessarily very different from the viewpoint from which the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna has approached the matter. If we examine the position in western countries, what do we find? The phenomenon that has got to be explained is that we have unemployment in an age of plenty. It is not on the productive side that our system has failed. It is on the distributive side that our system of undiluted competition has failed. So far as India is concerned, we are not suffering from excess of production. We are suffering from under production and under consumption, and these have been intensified by the economic depression. If we believe in an ordered society, if we believe in a planned society, it follows that the State must, in the years to come, play a larger part in our life than it has done so far. I will stress the point. Between the individual and the community there is a very close relationship. You cannot consider the individual apart from the society and you cannot consider society apart from the individual. Therefore, the State must play a much larger part than it has done. My Honourable friend Lala Jagdish Prasad is a believer in the State playing its part, and therefore he has laid stress upon planned economy. If you are going to have planned economy, it follows that you can only have planned economy if the central Government comes to the aid of the provincial Governments. You cannot have planned economy without the support and the help of the central Government. After all, let us consider the questions with which the central Government concerns itself in this country. Take currency and exchange. If you want to have planned economy then you must raise the price level of commodities in this country. It means that you must have an inflationary currency policy. Before anything can be done there must be a revision of your present policy so far as the exchange ratio is concerned. Take tariffs. You enter at once here into the question of preferential and differential tariff arrangements. Trade and commercial agreement with various countries; defence expenditure; railways; communications; all these are matters which are within the purview and control of the central Government. Therefore, for planned economy the help of the central Government is absolutely necessary. Therefore, if we believe, as my Honourable friend and I believe, in

planned economy, we have necessarily to ask the central Government to intervene. That is why Sir Phiroze Sethna and we cannot agree on this matter.

Then, Sir, there are just a few observations that I should like to make on middle class unemployment. Universities are blamed for multiplying graduates. You do not hear that complaint, that there is too much education in any other country than India. I think, Sir, literary education has still a very useful function to perform. The cultural level of the country has to be raised. Leaders have to be trained for the wider opportunities that public life will hereafter offer in this country; and you can not have all these without a sound system of university education. By merely multiplying technical and vocational schools you will not be able to solve the unemployment problem. If you were to attempt to solve the problem by that method, you would create a class of specialised unemployed in place of the unspecialised unemployed today. I was for many years the Secretary of the Students Advisory Committee in my province, and what did I find? A number of young men used to go to Europe for technical education and after a three to five years stay there when they came back their experience was that no jobs were available for them in our province. Then we have in our University a Commerce Degree. A number of students take this Commerce Degree, and after taking it I have known some of them join the Law classes because there are no industrial careers open to them. Therefore, Sir, you will not be able to solve this problem by restricting higher education or by merely giving it a technical direction. You can only solve it by encouraging industrial expansion, by developing the country economically, by providing new careers for your young men. If you were to provide new careers and new opportunities, the congestion in some of the professions will automatically disappear. Nobody wants to become a lawyer if he can help it. We know that a number of our young men join the law without any prospect of success in the profession and they swell the ranks of the unemployed. They would be only too glad to take up some other line if it were possible for them to do so. But it is not possible for them to take to any other profession and so they swell the ranks of the legal profession. You cannot solve this problem by merely restricting university education or by attacking university education. By all means have a more diversified system of education in this country, but also remember that you want increased industrial and economic development at the same time and that you will be able to solve this problem only when you have that industrial and economic development.

Sir Phiroze Sethna referred to some of our social customs which stand in the way of our progress. Well, Sir, I am no believer in our present social fabric. I have a horror, if I may say so, of our social system, and I would demolish it if I could tomorrow. I do not believe in the Hindu social system as it is today. But I also believe in what I may call the relativity of State functions. In a community in which the sense of individual responsibility is not so great as in more highly developed States, it is necessary for the State to play a larger part. In India where the sense of individual and social responsibility is not very great the State ought to play a larger part, and my chief grievance is that the State does not play a large enough part in our life in this country. I wish it to play a large part and I wish it to come forward and help our industrialists; and help us all to develop those qualities in which we are lacking, owing it may be to our inheritance or it may be to our bad social customs. It is for that reason that I think the Resolution of the Honourable Lala Jagdish Prasad needs support.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna said, where are you going to get the money to finance a five or seven year economic plan? It is no

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

use saying that planned economy has not succeeded. Planned economy has within limits succeeded and modern countries which have adopted planned economy have made a great contribution to the world, and it is a contribution which we ought to welcome and study with intelligent care. Now, where are you going to find the money for all these developments? That is the argument. Well, my Honourable friend has said, practise economy. There is the army. You can reduce your expenditure on the army and you can obtain so many crores which you can give to the provinces. Then there are the services. Now it is not our suggestion that the salaries of the present incumbents should be reduced. That would be absolutely and grossly unfair. But certainly it is not necessary in the future to recruit your men at the very high salaries that you are paying today. And there are various other directions in which you can retrench. Then, if even after retrenchment you feel you must have more money, money is cheap in these days, borrow in the money market, and when you have done all these things we shall consider other possible methods of raising further revenues. Therefore, I say the Government ought to show a sympathetic attitude towards this Resolution. After all, consider what our Government has done compared with other Governments so far as the question of unemployment is concerned. The fate of ministries in western countries depends upon the manner in which they tackle this problem of unemployment. Here of course you are an irremovable executive and even if we passed a vote of censure on you because you have not done enough to tackle this problem you would remain unaffected. But I mention it to show that other Governments are trying to tackle this problem with courage, and there is no reason why you who profess to act as a National Government ought not also to try and tackle this problem with courage. These are the observations I have to make in support of the Resolution of my friend the Honourable Lala Jagdish Prasad.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL (Industries and Labour Secretary): Sir, the Honourable the mover of this Resolution played a much happier part than I am called upon to play. He chose for himself the role of the advocate of the poor and distressed and he has placed upon me the role of the unsympathetic, unimaginative and inert official. I regret, Sir, that the roles could not have been changed. I do not mean that my Honourable friend is cut out for the case-hardened bureaucrat. I am sure, on the contrary, that his comfortable appearance, and the benevolent gleam behind his glasses equip him admirably for repelling those charges which the opposite benches are making against Government. I, on the other hand, would have discharged the part of the fiery demagogue somewhat better than my Honourable friend. I would not have been content with trotting out once again the various unproved experiments of Europe and America; I would not have made the same old criticisms of Government—criticisms made so often and so often rebutted. I think I would have endeavoured to have made a few new suggestions of my own, perhaps of great brilliancy, but I am afraid perhaps of no greater soundness than the ones which my Honourable friend made!

To begin with, in the role which my friend has placed upon me, I must at the very outset repel the charge so frequently made and repeated again today that Government shows a lack of sympathy with regard to the present economic condition of India. That is quite flatly not true. Government is perfectly well aware of the great distress in the villages and in the towns and of the acute state of unemployment among the educated middle classes. But, Sir, what are the circumstances under which Government has been operating in

these last few years? We all know of this sudden hurricane which has swept over the world, this unexpected maladjustment of the economic machinery which is described as the slump, the economic blizzard, and various other terms. The world in the last few years appears to have gone off its head and is now engaged in a wild jazz dance, of inflation and deflation and currency rigging, of prohibitions of imports and quotas, and of tariff walls, which are more like the walls of a prison. I do not presume to criticise the Governments of other countries in this matter. They resemble a boat load of passengers, all hitherto friendly,—more or less,—who have been suddenly tipped into the cold water. Most of them have proceeded to clutch at imaginary straws; some, I fear, have even clutched at their fellow swimmers and endeavoured to shove their heads under the water. Now, Sir, I have been asked several times what in these circumstances has the Government of India done. The one thing which it has done has been to keep its head; and to keep it above water. It has balanced its budget; it has even achieved this year a surplus budget. It has maintained the credit of Government at a remarkably high level. As a result it has maintained the credit of banks which have behind them the credit of Government, and behind them again the whole credit machinery of the country. That is, it has kept India fit to take the fullest advantage at the very earliest opportunity of such economic recovery as may occur. That is a very remarkable achievement and one which has been done by very few countries in the world indeed. In addition, to come down to more specific matters, Government has maintained its policy of discriminating protection. Some of my Honourable friends think that is a very small matter, but just look at several of the measures which have been passed during these recent slump years. They have continued the protection on Indian textiles and on steel. I am not able to speak with full authority on the present condition of the cotton textile industry, but I understand it is very far from suffering from acute depression. On the contrary many mills in some areas are working double shifts.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Japan is still dumping its goods.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: That does not avoid the fact that in many cotton textile areas mills are working at full pressure and are working double shifts. There is no question of acute depression in the cotton textile industry in India at the present moment. About steel, Messrs. Tatas and other iron producers are working at full pressure. In addition, Government has undertaken a policy of the protection of sugar, which has met with an immediate response in the creation of a large new industry in India. Government has also protected the tea industry by its restriction scheme and kept alive a very important industry of Eastern India, which was on the point of collapse. Again, in its legislative measures, Government has passed a Factories Bill and is now in process of passing a Mines Bill. Both of these have the effect of restricting the hours of labour and therefore incidentally of spreading labour over a larger number of labourers and to that extent reducing unemployment. As regards executive measures, Government has been very careful in regard to capital expenditure. It has not launched out on any very large scale, but there are a few important measures which are now in process of execution. As you know, up till recently the Government of India has been spending roughly a crore of rupees on roads in the provinces. Provinces have now come up in some instances for the capitalisation of parts of their provincial shares in the Road account. In addition, Government is prepared to anticipate the revenues to a certain extent, and in the next few years the programme of road building in India will be very largely stimulated.

[Mr. D. G. Mitchell.]

Again, the capital project was re-opened in Delhi with a consequent expenditure of between Rs. 80 to Rs. 90 lakhs. Civil aviation, which had been starved in the past years, has received a grant for capital expenditure of nearly a crore of rupees. Again, Government is now actively engaged in expanding an industry which may become one of the first magnitude—that of broadcasting. These schemes, each in themselves, are considerable. They may seem small in relation to the great straits in which India now lies, but they have one very great advantage, and that is, they have all been carried out within India's means and without the slightest damage to her credit.

Now, Sir, I would ask what the Government of India has not done? As I have said before, the Government of India has not lost its head. It has not gone in for wild cat schemes. It looks with no particular favour on your five-year plans. It does not quite understand what many people mean by economic planning. It doubts very gravely if anybody in fact does know what economic planning does mean. As I have said, it has carried out none of these wild cat schemes, as to the dimensions of which the case put forward by my friend, the Honourable Mr. Chari, is an illustration. In dealing with this case, I will treat my Honourable friend with strict unfairness, by taking his own figures of unemployment. He estimates them at 40 millions and he would ask Government—and in this he is supported by some other Honourable Members—to get ahead with the scheme to employ these people. Forty million is four crores. I presume my Honourable friend would allow Rs. 20 a month as being a reasonable wage. That means Rs. 80 crores a month. Government has, according to my Honourable friend, to formulate schemes and find a Wage Bill of Rs. 80 crores a month.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI: Not exactly a Wage Bill but a reconstruction programme to absorb these energies which are being wasted otherwise.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: Government thinks it has the best programme in what it is doing at present. A similar remark applies though in a lesser degree to the long string of suggestions which have come from the opposite side—large schemes of construction of roads, reclamation of agricultural lands, housing schemes, slum clearances, and so forth. These all require money. And that is the whole moral of my story. The money is the villain of the piece. It is the money that is unsympathetic, unimaginative, and at present, I am sorry to say, very inert.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Money can be cheaply borrowed at present.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: I would say again, if my Honourable friend desires Government to go in for a large scheme of borrowing, then I would ask him to point out to me any country in the world which has successfully promoted a large scheme of borrowing and thereby relieved unemployment. Up to the present moment it has not been done in America. I only saw in the papers yesterday morning, I think, that America's latest scheme involves the raising of 5,000 million dollars. These are astronomical figures which it is rather difficult to carry in one's head, but I think on a rough calculation at the present exchange, it means Rs. 1,300 crores. What is the good of talking in terms of these figures? The money may be there—I do not know—but it is certainly not available to any Government! It is not available in the form of immediate taxation. If it were made available in the form of extravagant borrowing, it would mean the raising of loans

which would cripple India for the next two generations. My Honourable friend must see that. Even if India raised the modest sum of Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 crores, if you calculate the interest and redemption charges on that at 6 per cent. it means a sum between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 crores a year with which the taxpayer in India will be saddled for the next two generations. The net result would be the retardation of the very recovery that my Honourable friend desires. It will be a weight round India's neck from which India will never be able to free herself. Now, the policy of the Government of India, as I have said, has been to keep its head and to give industries generally such pushes as it could afford to do without destroying its credit. Let us see what the results of that policy have been.

As you know, all over the world, where there have been so many schemes, five-year plans, new deals, and so forth, there are hardly any substantial signs of improvement. What about India? I regret to say that I have no figures of unemployment. Unemployment, as my Honourable friend must know, is a term which in India is extremely difficult to define. But I have figures of employment in the three main industries—that is, factories, mines, and railways. The peak figure was in 1929, when in all factories and in all mines and in all railways in India there were just over 2½ million people employed. I would ask Mr. Chari to ponder on that figure of 2½ million employed in relation to the wild guess he gives of 40 million unemployed. Since then there have been successive drops, of 64,000, 166,000, 52,000 and 18,000, till in 1933 the employment figures have dropped to 2,200,000. Now, in the first place, that is a diminution of only about 3 per cent. a year, a figure which pales into insignificance compared to the figures obtaining in the industrial areas of other countries. It is a figure which Lancashire would welcome with joy. I would also point out that the drop has become less acute in the last two years. From 166,000 in 1931 it fell to 18,000 in 1933. I regret I have no figures for 1934 but many Honourable Members of the House will know that there are signs that the economic recovery has now begun. Railway receipts are up; customs receipts are up, and postal receipts are up. And I understand that the business in the clearing houses has increased very rapidly in the last year. I have therefore a very confident anticipation that the figures of 1934 will show that the drop in employment in these major classes of industry has not only been arrested, but that the trend may now be in an upward direction.

To sum up, Sir, the Government of India have indulged in no wild schemes. It has kept its head. It has balanced its budget. It has carried out various sound measures of economic reconstruction, and it has kept India in such a position that it is now better equipped than almost any country in the world to take the fullest advantage of economic recovery when it occurs. Sir, I regret that I must oppose the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend. It is so framed and it has been so supported that it would seek to force Government to depart from its present sound policy. To that, Sir, Government cannot agree, and I must resist the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: Sir, I am sorry that the Government have thought fit to oppose this modest Resolution of mine. In fact, Sir, we on these benches are accustomed to this sort of thing. When we move any Resolution, we never expect that the Government will support it. So, the attitude of the Government on my Resolution has not come to me as a surprise. But, Sir, I have not been convinced by the speech of the Honourable Mr. Mitchell that the Government of India have so far done all that they should have done to relieve unemployment in the country. The Government might have, as he said, secured a balanced budget, they might

[Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.]

have maintained the credit of India, and they might have kept their head above water. But, Sir, what is of interest to the public is what has been the net result of their policy, whether the people are on the whole more prosperous than they were before the economic depression started, or whether unemployment among the educated classes and the masses is growing day by day. If unemployment is growing less acute, then I would say that the policy of the Government of India has really achieved something. But if our graduates have still to go about without any employment, then I must say that the policy of the Government of India in this matter has failed to achieve anything worth the name. Sir, my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna thinks that we in this country depend too much on the Government. That is true to some extent. But in a country where capital is shy, where the spirit of enterprise is at a low ebb, is it not the duty of the State to come forward with a bold policy to supplement the activities of the public? Is it the duty of the Government of India to sit with folded hands and to depend on the public doing every thing? I maintain that it is the duty of the Government of India to devise means of relieving unemployment like the Governments of other countries of the world.

Then, it has been said that the problem of relieving unemployment concerns the provincial Governments. But, Sir, as I said in my first speech, it is very necessary that the efforts of the provincial Governments in this matter should be supplemented by the policy of the Government of India because, after all, the currency and exchange and the tariff policy of the Government of India play a great part in making or marring the fortunes of the country. I therefore maintain that the Government of India should do more in the way of finding a solution of this problem than they have done so far.

I am sorry, Sir, that in view of my Honourable friend Mr. Mitchell opposing the Resolution, and of the fact that I am not convinced that the Government of India are doing all that they should in this matter, I do not see my way to withdraw the Resolution. I do not mind if, situated as we are in this House, my Resolution is defeated.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take adequate and effective steps to relieve unemployment in the country".

The Question is:

"That this Resolution be adopted."

The Council divided:

AYES—18.

Banerjee, The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Chandra.
Barua, The Honourable Srijut Heramba Prasad.
Bita Singh, The Honourable Sardar.
Chari, The Honourable Mr. P. C. D.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.
Ghosh Maulik, The Honourable Mr. Satyendra Chandra.
Halim, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Haiz Muhammad.
Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Rai Bahadur, Lala.

Kaliker, The Honourable Mr. V. V.
Khanjarde, The Honourable Mr. G. S.
Naidu, The Honourable Mr. Y. Ranganayakalu.
Padshih Sahib Bahadur, The Honourable Saiyed Mohamed.
Raghunandan Prasad Singh, The Honourable Raja.
Ran. Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Sarku, The Honourable Mr. P. N.
Sinha, The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan.
Suhrawardy, The Honourable Mr. Mahmood.

NOES—34.

Akbar Khan, The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Nawab Sir Mahmud.
 Askaran, The Honourable Mr. Shanti-das.
 Basu, The Honourable Mr. Bijay Kumar.
 Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Raja.
 Chetty, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur G. Narayanaewani.
 Choksy, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvajji.
 Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the Devadass, The Honourable Sir David.
 Fazli-Husain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir.
 Ghosal, The Honourable Mr. Jyotsnanath.
 Gladstone, The Honourable Mr. S. D.
 Glass, The Honourable Mr. J. B.
 Habibullah of Dacca, The Honourable Nawab Khwaja.
 Hafeez, The Honourable Mhan Bahadur Syed Abdul.
 Hallett, The Honourable Mr. M. G.
 Jalan, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna.
 Johnson, The Honourable Mr. J. N. G.
 Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir.

Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.
 Mitchell, The Honourable Mr. D. G.
 Muhammad Hussain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Ali Paksch.
 Noon, The Honourable Nawab Malik Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan.
 Pandit, The Honourable Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj.
 Philip, The Honourable Mr. C. L.
 Ray of Dinajpur, The Honourable Maharaja Jagadieh Nath.
 Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie.
 Sethna, The Honourable Sir Phiroze.
 Spence, The Honourable Mr. G. H.
 Sprawson, The Honourable Major-General C. A.
 Stewart, The Honourable Mr. F. W.
 Stewart, The Honourable Mr. T. A.
 Tallents, The Honourable Mr. P. C.
 Ugra, The Honourable Rai Sahib Pandit Gokaran Nath.
 Yamin Khan, The Honourable Mr. Moham-mad.

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* RECRUITMENT OF ALL CLASSES TO THE INDIAN ARMY.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to move :

“That this Council recommend to the Governor General in Council that recruitment to the Indian Army should not be confined as at present to certain classes only, but should be thrown open to all castes, creeds and classes”.

Sir, I wish to put my Resolution in a non-controversial form as far as possible. I will therefore deliberately not go into the history of the present policy of recruitment and the reason for its continuance. I want a change in policy and it will serve no useful purpose to review the past. Now I should like in putting my Resolution first to say that the declared policy of Britain now is responsible government. The connection between responsible government and defence is obvious enough. The country, before it can be truly and fully self-governing, must be in a position to defend itself. Differences in regard to the policy of Indianisation relate to the pace and not to the actual goal. But it is quite clear that it is not enough to Indianise the officer ranks only. It is also necessary to go further and make the army a truly national army. That is to say, the army must not be allowed to remain the close preserve of certain classes or certain provinces. It must be thrown open to all classes and all provinces. The army must not be allowed to remain a purely professional or mercenary army, but should be recruited from all classes who satisfy the tests of efficiency and character. Sir, our future self-government—and I would like the question to be approached from this point of view—must not be dependent for its functioning upon a military class recruited largely from certain areas and classes only. A system like that might very easily prove

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

to be a menace to the civil power. Sir, the Statutory Commission has itself pointed out the possible dangers of the present system to the civil power in India. At page 167 of volume 2 of the report they say :

“ The rank and file of the Indian Army are not drawn from all over India but from certain martial classes who themselves largely represent former masters of parts of India, so that the problem of providing them with a non-British command is quite peculiarly difficult ”.

They say that the present system cannot be changed except perhaps very very slowly and they use that as an argument for the retention of the British personnel and the British troops in this country. But I would say that the lesson to be drawn from their observation is that, if you shut out certain peoples and provinces from enlistment in the army, you make it possible for certain classes and provinces to dominate other classes and other provinces. Therefore it is necessary to have a wider basis of recruitment, wider areas both territorially and racially. My main ground is that we want to avoid the establishment of a military class upon which the civil power will have eventually to be dependent when India attains self-government. Democracy can never function in this country satisfactorily unless the basis of recruitment for the army is radically changed.

Then, Sir, I come to another point. It is not unnatural that federating units or federating provinces which contribute towards defence expenditure should wish to have a share in the defence personnel of their country. Sir, why should Assam or why should Bengal contribute to the defence expenditure of this country when Bengalis and Assamese cannot get admission to the rank and file of the army ? It is not fair to the people of these provinces that they should be denied the opportunity of serving their country in the army of their own country.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON : Have they ever offered themselves ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : The old ideas of professional armies have given place in the modern world to national armies and in order that the army must be a national one it is necessary that it should be open to all. The best fighting material, Sir, I would venture to submit in all humility, can be supplied only by a national army imbued with a national spirit and dominated by a national outlook. A professional army can never have the fire and the zeal of a truly national army. Sir, it is also necessary to develop a martial spirit in the people in this country. If you shut out peoples of certain provinces from enlistment in the army, then you dry up the martial spirit in those peoples altogether. You kill that spirit. You cannot kill that spirit and then invoke that spirit at a time of national crisis as in the Great War. Therefore, Sir, it is a reflection on the manhood of India that peoples of certain provinces find no place in the army of their own country. There is, I would submit, plenty of good material all over India. At one time the various kingdoms in India used to have their own armies recruited largely from their own areas. We had, for example, the Telugu and Tamil kingdoms in the south, from which my Honourable friend Mr. Chari hails. Then, Sir, we had the Maharashtra power in Bombay and it had its own Mahratta armies. The Nawabs of Bengal had their own armies. Sir, there are traditions of military glory among the people of these various provinces. I would respectfully say that there is not much force in the contention that the races in India are of different military capacity and that therefore recruitment has

to be confined to particular areas and communities only. Sir, this argument ignores the fundamental fact that the present policy dates from the time of the Mutiny or the Indian War of Independence, as we prefer to call it, and that it is a deliberate policy pursued for reasons not very difficult to understand. Further, I do not believe in what is called heredity. You may transmit certain diseases, but you do not transmit moral qualities. You do not transmit character and in any case human nature is not a constant quantity. Environment has a greater influence over a man's life, over a man's character than what is called heredity. Deliberate, conscious, effort by organised community can work wonders and we know by actual experience that in the modern world there are countries which have shown that you can, if you want to, change the fundamentals of human nature. Sir, it is to me inconceivable that there should be whole areas in this country without men who have a genius or capacity for military leadership or military work and therefore I would urge that the rank and file of the army should not be closed to those who desire to serve their country in the army. You ought not to shut out men from enlisting themselves as soldiers simply on the ground that they belong to certain castes or that they belong to certain classes or certain areas. Sir, I am not a believer in the social fabric of present-day Hindu society, but I would say that though there are certain difficulties which I recognise, those difficulties are not of such a character that they cannot be overcome. You can build your tradition. Traditions can grow provided there is the desire and there is the will to build up a military tradition. Healthy and sturdy men are to be found in all classes and in all provinces, including the province from which my Honourable friend Mr. Suhrawardy hails. Sir, it is necessary to remove this slur on the manhood of India.

Now, Sir, these general considerations lead me to examine the present position. The present position is explained at page 97 of the first volume of the Statutory Commission's Report. Now, Sir, they attach a map and there you will find the present figures for recruitment. The total strength of the Indian Army is given as 158,200. Now, Sir, what are the figures? The North-West Frontier Province contributes 5,600, Kashmir 6,500, Punjab 86,000, Baluchistan 300. Nepal, which is not a part of India, contributes 19,000. Gurkhas can only be looked upon as professional soldiers who have no direct interest in this country. The United Provinces contribute 16,500, Rajputana 7,000, Central India 200. Central India has great traditions of military glory. Bombay 7,000. At one time Bombay was a competitor, at any rate the Mahrattas were competitors, for supremacy in this country. They contribute only 7,000, Central Provinces 100, Bihar and Orissa 300. It is the most thickly populated province in India and I do not think it can be said that all the 40 or 42 millions in Bihar are incapable of becoming soldiers. Bengal contributes not a single soldier, Assam not a single soldier. Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Barua will be able to press the claim of Assam. Burma contributes 3,000, Hyderabad 700, Mysore 100, Madras 4,000 and miscellaneous 19,000. Therefore the position is that there are communities and areas in India which do not furnish a single man for the regular army. Sir, the Punjab supplies 54 or 55 per cent. of the total combatants in the Indian Army. I think, Sir, this is not fair to the other provinces. If you want to confine recruitment to the North-West Frontier and the Punjab, then, let them pay for this army. That is my offer to them. But the present arrangement, I say, is not fair to the federated units who have as much right to serve in the army as the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. (*An Honourable Member* : Then you would demand conscription ?)

[Mr. P. N. Saprū.]

Then, Sir, I would invite your attention to the castes and classes from which the army is drawn. According to the Indian Army List, these are :

Mussalmans—

1. Mussalmans (who include Pathans, Punjabi Mussalmans and Meos).
2. Punjabi Mussalmans (who preponderate in the Indian Signal Corps).
3. Hindustani Mussalmans.
4. Rajputana Mussalmans.
5. Mussalman Rajputs (Ranghars).

Pathans—

1. Niazi.
2. Khattaks.
3. Yusufzais.
4. Orakzais.
5. Bangash.
6. Mahsuds.
7. Adam Khel.
8. Afridis.

*Kaimkhanis—*recruited for the cavalry alone.

*Kanets—*not mentioned in the cavalry.

Sikhs—(Jat Sikhs are mentioned in the 2nd Punjab Regiment by way of exclusion).

*Hindus—*mentioned as such only in the sapper and miner regiments.

*Brahmans—*mentioned only in the Escort to the British Envoy to Nepal.

Rajputs—

1. Rajputs.
2. Rajputs (United Provinces and Eastern Punjab).
3. Rajputana Rajputs.
4. Kumaoni Rajputs—mentioned in the infantry alone.
- *5. Garhwali Rajputs.

Jats—

1. Jats—mentioned as such in the cavalry alone.
2. Jats (United Provinces and Punjab).
3. Jats (Punjab and Delhi).
4. Rajputana Jats—mentioned as such in the infantry alone.

Dogras—

*Gujars—*in the infantry alone.

Ahirs—(Punjab, Delhi and Rajputana).

Garhwalis—

1. Garhwalis.
- *2. Garhwali Rajputs.—The name occurs in the printing section of a sapper and miner regiment where it is mentioned that of the Hindus, one-third may be Garhwalis other than Garhwali Rajputs.

*Mahrattas—*in the infantry and sapper and miner regiments alone.

*Madrasis—*in the sapper and miner regiment only—photo-litho section.

Kachins

Chins

Karens

Gurkha Regiments—

Indian Cavalry Composition—

1. Punjabi Mussalmans.
2. Hindustani Mussalmans.
3. Mussalman Rajputs.
4. Rajputs (United Provinces and Eastern Punjab).
5. Rajputana Rajputs.
6. Sikhs.
7. Jats.
8. Dogras.
9. Pathans.
10. Kaimkhanis.

Indian Signal Corps—

1. Punjabi Mussalmans.
2. Sikhs.
3. Dogras.
4. Madrasis.

Sappers and Miners—

1. Mussalmans.
2. Hindus.
3. Sikhs.
4. Mahrattas (printing section).
5. Madrasis (photo litho-section).

Well, Sir, I was examining the recruiting manual and I find that there are no recruiting centres for the army in large parts of India. You have in the North-West Frontier Province a recruiting office at Peshawar, then in the Punjab there are offices at Rawalpindi and Jullundur, then in Delhi, then for the United Provinces at Meerut, Agra and Lucknow and for Bombay you have a recruiting officer's headquarters at Poona, and in Gorakhpur in my own province for Nepal, and at Maymyo in Burma, but there are no recruiting officers' headquarters in Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, Sind, and several other provinces and large areas of the country. Now, Sir, so far of course the system has worked because your object was different and you were relying more or less on British personnel and British officers. But now, your object has changed and with this change of object there ought to be a change of policy also in regard to recruitment.

Sir, I could quote from many books and many reports to show that there are races and classes and castes in these excluded areas which have glorious military traditions but I refrain from going into all these quotations and I will wind up by saying once again that this is a matter which ought not to be looked at from a merely provincial point of view. I would ask my Honourable friends from the Punjab to be generous in this matter. They have vested interests in the Punjab and it is possible that on account of these vested interests they cannot view the problem in its proper proportions. I would ask them, I would beg them, to rise above this provincial feeling, to rise above this class or caste feeling, to approach this problem not from the point of view of what is good for the Punjab or for the North-West Frontier Province, but from the point of view of what is good for the country in which we live. (*An Honourable Member* : "Self interest".) Sir, I say again it is a very right desire on the part of the other provinces, it is, I say, a very just desire, a very natural desire, on the part of other provinces that their men should be allowed an opportunity to serve their country and their King in the army and if you deny them this privilege then you are denying them one of their basic birthrights.

Sir, with these words, I move.

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

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I have the greatest pleasure in supporting the Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. It is really an invidious and a galling distinction that has been observed in the selection of the

[Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha.]

different units for the Indian armies. Why some sections of the people have been tabooed as non-martial is more than I can comprehend except it be due to incomprehensible political reasons. As a man from Bengal I have always felt it as a matter of great shame, regret and reproach that the Bengalis are not taken into the active military ranks. In any scheme of self-government military training is an essential factor for all the peoples of the country irrespective of creed, caste, colour or province. It is in fact a necessary preliminary to political advance. It is really unthinkable that an intelligent and resourceful race of 50 millions could not be made to produce at least 10,000 soldiers to live and die for the defence of their motherland. It cannot be said that the Bengali youths are bereft of the virtues of disciplined service and co-ordinated action. It is trust that begets trust and I am sure the youths of my province would gratefully respect any trust that will be reposed in them. Military training and service would infuse fresh courage, instil new hopes in their minds and inspire them with the spirit of service to their country. Given the opportunities and the necessary training the Bengali is sure to achieve success on the field of battle. This has been amply proved by the conduct of the 49th Bengalis in Mesopotamia during the Great War. While besieged at Kut-el-Amara they cheerfully shared with their comrades-in-arms all the privations and sufferings incidental to such a long and fateful siege.

(At this stage, the Honourable Nawab Khwaja Habibullah of Dacca and the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan rose to interrupt.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Two Honourable Members cannot speak at one and the same time.

(Thereupon the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan resumed his seat.)

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB KHAWAJA HABIBULLAH OF DACCA (Bengal; Nominated Non-Official): On a point of information, Sir, I wish to know whether the 49th Bengalis were at Kut-el-Amara during the siege of that place?

THE HONOURABLE KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: Yes, I think so.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB KHAWAJA HABIBULLAH OF DACCA: I do not think so. I was one of the 49th Bengali Regiment myself.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: What was your experience?

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB KHAWAJA HABIBULLAH OF DACCA: I shall give it later on. We were not in the siege of Kut-el-Amara.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SATYENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH MAULIK (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Perhaps it was the Bengali Ambulance Corps?

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: With your permission, Sir, may I ask the Honourable Member why the battalion was disbanded? If it had rendered distinguished services, why was it disbanded?

THE HONOURABLE KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA : The authorities must know it. The wonderful discipline exhibited by them in the war zone led us naturally to expect that the 49th Bengali Regiment would be allowed to continue to serve in the Indian Army as a permanent unit but unfortunately for reasons best known to the authorities they were disbanded as soon as the war was over. This was felt as a great disappointment to us. This meant in a way that the Government did not fully trust the Bengali but if you trust them I am sure it will be reciprocated a thousand times. Autonomous Bengal will be meaningless if the doors for entrance into the army are not thrown open to the children of the province to enable them to protect their country from foreign invasion and their hearths and homes from internal commotion.

Sir, if I am permitted to refer to historical facts I can give instance after instance where the Bengalis formed units in the armies of Hindu and Mussalman kings of Bengal. I know from a study of the history of Bengal that Bengali Namosudras composed the rank and file of the last heroes of Bengal, Protapaditya of Jessore and Raja Sitaram Rai of Harihar Nagar. The famous Mainahati was the general of Raja Sitaram Ray's army and was a Namosudra by caste. Several other men belonging to caste Hindu community were the generals of Protapaditya of Jessore. Again, it is matter of history that these Bengali Namosudra people with the force of arms defeated the big Moghul army during the reign of the great Akbar, and Pratapaditya conquered the area up to Raj Mahal within six months with the help of these Namosudras and other Bengali people, who had the courage and boldness to fight the Moghul army under the great Akbar. These people, the Namosudras, took to cultivation after they were disbanded when the Bengali rajas lost their kingdoms.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN : When was that? Could you quote?

THE HONOURABLE KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA : It was something like 350 years ago.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN : I will give you instances. That is my subject—history.

THE HONOURABLE KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA : Now, all these facts go to show that the Bengalis, if trained, would become very good soldiers and great soldiers. Again, it is also history, furnished by an Englishman, whose veracity has never been questioned. This is what James Stuart in his report to W. B. Bayley, the Registrar Nizamat Adalat, dated the 5th February, 1818, says about the Bengalis forming units of military battalions :

“ Those who think so meanly of the Bengali surely forget that in an early period of our military history, they almost entirely formed several of our battalions and distinguished themselves as brave and active soldiers ”.

The reference is to the fifth report, paragraph 37 of the Appendix. I need also hardly repeat because it is a very well known fact that but for the uncommon valour at the moment of the Bengali and the Telangi soldiers who composed his army, Lord Clive would never have been victorious on the field of Plassey.

It will perhaps be said that as the Bengali youths have not shown sufficient enthusiasm to join the University Training Corps the question of enlisting them in military service cannot arise. But what is intended by this

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Resolution is not to raise a volunteer corps but to recruit people to form a regular part of the army which is not yet open to the Bengalis. Volunteering is quite different from taking to military service in the real sense; as a profession volunteering does not in any way affect unemployment which is one of the reasons why Bengalis have now become anxious for military service. After all that I have urged, if recruitment of Bengalis to the active ranks in the army is further delayed it means nothing but doing them a grave injustice. Nobody is born in this world with military instincts, and courage is not the monopoly of any particular class or community. It is the training and environment that makes a man take to militarism. What I have said about the Bengali can also be applied with equal if not greater force to other provincials who have been characterised, I may almost say slandered as belonging to the non-martial group.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I had no idea of participating in the debate on this Resolution, but when my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru repeatedly came out with the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab, he forced my hands to say something on the subject.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: The North-West Frontier comes in only fifth on the list.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: But how many are there in the Militia? How many are there in the other military services? If you take their numbers as a whole, they will come to as big a total in the Militia guarding the frontier, such as the Khassadars, as the number of Punjabis, so I cannot leave the question undefended.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Khassadars are not included in this Resolution!

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: They are included in the forces coming under the army.

My friend said something about environment. I agree with him there. The environment in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab is such that it makes the people hardy, capable of enduring any hardship, and makes them very good material for the army. Both the climate and the life contributes to that end. Then, Sir, I have my doubts as to whether the meagre pay which the sepoy gets will appeal to the peace-loving people of Bengal and the United Provinces and induce them to serve and risk their lives. I think that even if recruitment were thrown open, not many would take advantage of it. Because, during the Great War, everybody was wanted, but did they come forward? No. Of course if they want to bring in conscription or compulsory universal army service system on the Continental system here, that might make them soldiers, but if it is a voluntary system, I do not think the people of Bengal and Assam and many of those of the United Provinces would care to accept the meagre pay which the soldier gets. Why are the men of the North-West Frontier Province and of the Punjab spread all over the world? Why are they more enterprising? Because they have not the resources of comfortable living in their own provinces. If they had the

means and they could live comfortably, they would not care to leave their homes and go to China, to Australia and other parts of the world. They go simply because they have not got sufficient resources in their own provinces. It is this which has made them hardy soldiers and enterprising men. (*An Honourable Member* : "What about the raids?") Raids help to give him experience in the art of defending himself. He is ever on the alert against surprise. He cannot be surprised like the Hindus were by Mahmud of Ghazni. The raids keep them fit for military service.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Sapru said something about the national armies of India in ancient days. Well, I know my history very well. I did not hear him, but perhaps he was referring to the armies of Magadha and the armies in the Deccan before the Muhammadans came. There is no doubt that national armies existed in India even before the invasion of Alexander, but let me remind him that when Alexander the Great came at the head of his Macedonian troops he found the national armies of India an easy prey. The same was the experience of the Arabs. Muhammad bin Kasim at the head of 10,000 troops found it quite easy to conquer the whole of Sind. He was recalled by the Khalif owing to certain disputes between them and so he could not proceed further with his conquests. But Mahmud of Ghazni early in the eleventh century again found the same thing. Mahmud invaded India at least 17 times, and every time he surprised and defeated the national armies of India through the rapidity of his movements and hardihood of his soldiers. They could march 20 to 30 miles a day, which was impossible for the peace-loving national armies of India. Again the same thing occurred when Muhammad Ghori invaded India. He had also national armies to cope with, and he came with a force which was a mere handful in comparison. Yet he defeated the national armies of India because his troops were better and more disciplined, animated with one idea, the will to conquer, which he had infused into their minds.

Now, my worthy friend who spoke last was saying something of the exploits of Bengal. Let me remind him of one historical fact. After Muhammad Ghori had defeated Raja Jai Chand of Kanauj in 1195 he sent Bakhtiyar Khilji with 100 men as a sort of reconnoitring patrol towards Bengal. Bakhtiyar Khilji was away two months while the King was engaged in details of administration with his viceroy Qutb-ud-din-Aibak. In the meantime news came that Bakhtiyar had conquered the whole of Bengal and Assam and that the Maharajadhiraj named Maharaja Lakhsmaniya had been brought in chains together with 20 crores of cash and several thousands of elephants and other booty. The King said to Bakhtiyar Khilji :

"You have entirely thwarted my plans. It was my intention to invade Bengal, so that some credit should come to me in history for conquering Bengal". But Bakhtiyar said, "Your Majesty, I could do it with a hundred men and I did not want to worry Your Majesty".

That is a historical fact which anybody can verify. Also the same Bakhtiyar Khilji, not satisfied with conquering Bengal, crossed the river Brahmaputra and went into Tibet. He came across Ghengiz Khan, and of course Ghengiz Khan had an even finer army than that of Bakhtiyar, and the latter was defeated. He was defeated as soon as he met a better and more disciplined force. So that Bakhtiyar Khilji was not invincible; he was an ordinary mortal. (*An Honourable Member* : "He had very long arms".) He may have had long arms but he was an ordinary mortal. He was defeated by Ghengiz Khan, but where the conquest of Bengal and Assam was concerned it did

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not want more than a hundred men and with that force he brought in the Maharaja Lakshmaniya in chains. Therefore, Sir, I do not think these old national armies of India can be said to have been of very good fighting material. When the British Government began to conquer India, I think at first Lord Clive was the first man who brought in forces from Madras and he conquered Bengal with Madras soldiers. Lord Clive found out later on that the Bengali was better fighting material than the Madras and that is why he began to recruit the Bengal army. I will give you the history of the whole thing.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have got only one minute more!

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: After the battle of Bukar the British authorities found out that the Purbiya people from the United Provinces were better material than Bengalis; so they began to take Purbias and that remained so till 1857, the Mutiny, but when Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough fought the Sikhs they found out in the Sikh War that the Sikh and the Punjabi soldiers were still better than Purbias and that is why after the Mutiny of 1857 they discontinued the recruitment of Purbias to a great extent and began to recruit from the Punjab. Well, Sir, the Great War too proved that the Punjab and the North-West Frontier men were better material as a fighting unit than the rest of India, because they came in great numbers and the experience that we gained after the war proved that they were better material. Now, Sir,—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Will you please conclude your speech now?

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: I will just ask my friend, the Honourable Mr. Sapru, if he was going to employ a certain servant, will he try to get an efficient servant or an inefficient servant? The Government of India and all the provinces would like to have the best material for their money. They are the pay-masters and pay-masters will always have the better material. When they can find better material, why should they be asked to recruit deficient soldiers who after a very long training will still remain deficient. Why should they? Why should they not have the better material? That is another argument of mine, Sir. And the last argument that I was going to use—I do not know if I have already used it—was that it is simply the hard living and the climate that has made the Punjab and North-West Frontier men fit for the army, because they have not got the resources that the rest of India have.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru may sound quite all right theoretically, but I beg to submit, Sir, that when put in practice it will not prove a success. My Honourable friend was pleased to call the present army a mercenary army and still he wants that additions should be made to this mercenary army from his province and other provinces. I cannot understand that, because when he proposed that recruits should come from Eastern and Southern India he never said that these recruits would not expect any pay and so need not be paid—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Is any army unpaid ?

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON : He said "mercenary army". These are words that I take exception to. I do not doubt the pluck and courage of my brethren from the south or the east of India, but the question is, as my Honourable friend Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan has said, one of environment. For us, Punjabis, a military career is one of necessity. We had for the past several centuries to defend our hearths and homes and have therefore had to adopt this career. Even now if there is any invasion the danger is from that corner, and we in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier cannot wait till our brethren from Assam and Bengal come to our rescue. Then, Sir, the soldier has to be a very hardy human being. The climate of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province is extremely cold in the winter and extremely hot in summer and that is why the soldier from Northern India can stand any climate. As far as I can gather, Sir, there has not been any genuine demand for military employment by the people of those provinces to which reference is made in my Honourable friend's Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : How is it judged ?

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON : I will tell you, Sir, if you wait. I believe a few years back it was proposed to raise some territorial battalions in the capital of Eastern India, and if I am not wrongly informed, the quotas were never completed. The scheme proved a failure while the very scheme proved a success in Northern India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : When was that ?

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON : On the last occasion that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief spoke he said they could not complete the battalion in Calcutta. Then, Sir, military employment is not a very lucrative one—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Then why stick to it ?

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON : I will tell you. The pay is very small and I doubt if on that small pay my friends from the south and east of India would like to come and serve on the Frontier.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated : Indian Christians) : They are willing.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON : The military authorities might or might not make some distinction. But I know and you all know that in the Great War there was a great demand for recruits and I do not believe that any big offer from any of those parts of the country was refused.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Were the conditions the same ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member should not interrupt.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON: I do not mind it, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I do not think you should mind it, but it is too much.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON: I do not remember there was any such big offer. Even now, Sir, if my Honourable friend comes forward with an offer to produce 500 men of the same tribe from the same tract, the military authorities may be pleased to try them, I would beg His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to take those people and send them to Razmak for training, because the best field for military training is the Frontier, and I doubt whether my brethren from those parts of the country will either find the climate of the Frontier very congenial or the living there very comfortable.

With these remarks, Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, it is with feelings of great pleasure that I am taking part in this most important discussion. It is a matter of great pleasure, Sir, because I find that every day the opportunities when an elected Member can vote with the Government are becoming very rare and I am glad that this Resolution has provided me an opportunity where I can certainly vote with the Government and while doing so, I shall be representing the wishes of my constituency.

I congratulate my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru on the moderation of his tone in his speech. Except for one word to which reference has already been made by my Honourable friend, Nawab Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan Noon, I think his speech set a very good example for the discussion. He called the present army professional and mercenary.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Sir, I called it professional—I do not know if I called it mercenary also. If that word

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hurts my Honourable friend, I have no particular desire to use it.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I thank you very much. I am very glad, Sir, my Honourable friend has withdrawn that word. So far as "professional" is concerned, I am not ashamed of it, because after all there are respectable professions and it is not always necessary to disown that one belongs to a particular profession. This army profession was started as early as probably history can take us. It was at the time when the original caste system was formed that a division was made and this profession of fighting was really set apart for one class of people who were called Kshatriyas. So, in other words you can say that the Kshatriyas according to the old Hindu caste system were the professional warriors. Therefore, if the Army Department say that a certain class provides the largest number of recruits and calls it "professional", we should feel rather proud of it.

My Honourable friend Mr. Sapru said that it is the environment which makes a soldier. Now, Sir, looking at this country, we all know that this large army is kept mainly because whenever there is any danger of India

being attacked, it is from the north. Now, Sir, the climatic conditions between Madras, Assam, Bengal and the Frontier Province are so different that it would be hardly fair to expect a Madrasi to stand the climate of the North-West Frontier in the month of June or July.

Sir, when I oppose this Resolution, I may assure my Honourable friend that I do so not from any communal, racial or territorial bias, but merely from considerations of common sense and necessity. Suppose the Government of India decided to raise a navy, and I found on the list that a larger number of recruits were derived from those places which are situated just on the seaside, I would not come forward here and say: "No. Although my part of the country may not be able to supply efficient men for the navy, you must recruit them from the Punjab". That is not the right spirit in which my Honourable friend referred to responsible government. Are we not here to prove to the world that India is one nation? And if that is so, are not those classes from which the recruits are obtained sufficiently national to give a national army to the country? It is a matter of necessity, Sir. As far as I know, in Calcutta, in Bombay, almost everywhere, these big merchants and millionaires have durwans to guard their houses and property, and everybody knows that the class of people who work as durwans and guards to protect these people from thieves and robbers are either Pathans from the North-West Frontier or Bhayas. There are only two particular classes from which those people get the men to guard their own homes. So, when we talk about the army we must talk with a sense of responsibility and see that we do not do anything which would adversely affect the efficiency of the army. As a matter of fact, the whole misunderstanding seems to have arisen from this so-called difference between martial and non-martial classes. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as a martial or a non-martial class. For instance, Sir, here I have a list which gives 32 classes from which the present army in India is recruited. You will see that they are neither confined to Hindus nor to Muhammadans nor to Sikhs nor to any particular religion nor to any particular part of the country. (*An Honourable Member*: "What about Sayyids?") The number of Sayyids now in the army is over a thousand. (*An Honourable Member*: "What about future recruitment: are they eligible?") I think we are discussing that Resolution tomorrow and my Honourable friend would not like me to speak on it today.

This list, Sir, includes Pathans, Baluchis, Baltis, Punjabi Mussalmans, Mussalman Rajputs (Ranghars), Meos, Hindustani Mussalmans, Rajputana and Central India Mussalmans, Dekhani Mussalmans, Madrasi Mussalmans, Sikhs, Dogras, Gurkhas, Garhwalis, Kumaonis, Rajputs, Jats, Brahmans, Mahrattas, Ahirs, Gujars, Christians (Madrasi), Adi-Dravidas, Tamils, Telegus, Burmans, Chins, Kachins, Karens, Shans, Mers, Christians (Punjab). Now, Sir, after hearing this list, is there any Honourable Member in this House who will consider that the Army Department have tried to exclude any particular community or class from their recruitment? (*An Honourable Member*: "What about the Vaishya community?") As the term itself shows, these men are traders who should not expect to be asked to deal in military matters as well. (*An Honourable Member*: "But Brahmans are taken?") (*Another Honourable Member*: "Are not sweepers and dongas taken?") They are, Sir. I was talking about the Punjab. You will find that in the Punjab the number of Mussalmans in the regiments is about 50,000. Now there are hundreds of castes and sub-castes in the Punjab but the recruitment is confined just to about 15 classes. I would not like to take the time of the House by reading them out but I will tell them that there will be found a great difference. For instance, the number of Rajputs is 16,000, while there are equally important

[RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN.]

communities who only provide 300 or 400 recruits. Then, Sir, another thing we must bear in mind is that it was after the Mutiny of 1857 that this so-called distinction between martial and non-martial classes was made. As a matter of fact, nobody has so far explained what connection there is between the Mutiny and the classification of the army after it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: If my Honourable friend wants to know the connection between the Mutiny and the present policy, he had better read the reports of 1859, 1879, 1912 and 1913.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, I never mentioned the word "policy". What I said was, "What has the Mutiny of 1858 to do with the classes which are supplying recruits now?" It is not a question of policy. The real thing is that, if the implication is that the Government, after having experienced that there are certain classes which are not amenable to military discipline and who cannot be always relied upon for standing by their officers and standing by the Government they are employed by, if the Government have then excluded certain classes, I think they are wise in having done that and the Members should support that. (*An Honourable Member*: "What about the rebellion in the Punjab?") The Punjab was only recently annexed. Till then, the Government did not know what sort of material the Punjab would provide for the army and after having that experience, Sir, now they realise that it is really the Punjab people who are the best soldiers. At the same time, my friend said that there is no such thing as hereditary. I do not agree with him there. Even in animals, even in racehorses, we ask, "Where is the pedigree?" What is that? Is it not heredity? I can assure him that even amongst human beings there is such a thing as heredity. In our part of the country, some people have for generations been enlisted in the army and I can assure him that they will make much better soldiers than any other community which has not supplied any soldiers hitherto. At the same time, I do not agree with my Honourable friend Nawab Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan Noon that it is a matter of necessity in the Punjab. The Honourable Nawab Sir Akbar Khan said that we have no money and it is only for the sake of Rs. 20 that we are prepared to join the army. That is entirely wrong. During the Great War, I remember instances where from villages widows came with their young sons and got them enlisted in the army knowing fully well that after drawing Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per mensem for one year, or six months, there was a chance of their being shot.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: Because they had no money. I was a recruiting officer.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Because they had no money?

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: Yes; it was purely a question of money.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I am certain that my Honourable friend is making a reference to his own wonderful province where they are accustomed to shoot down a man when he is carrying a loaf of bread! Punjab is different from the Frontier Province, and that is why the number of soldiers from the Frontier Province is so small.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED-AKBAR KHAN: With your permission, Sir, may I tell the Honourable Member that in his own place, in Jhelum, they are starving for bread! There is starvation all over. They take up employment on Rs. 4 a month.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I would be glad to know if everybody in the Frontier Province is paying super-tax like my friend the Honourable Nawab Sir Akbar Khan?

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED-AKBAR KHAN: Mine is an individual case.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I can assure you that such people are very rare. I have never heard that there are many in that wonderful country where he comes from!

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON: I never used the word "necessity" as necessity for money. I said "necessity for defending our home and hearth".

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I referred to my Honourable friend the Colonel Sahib from the Frontier Province.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED-AKBAR KHAN: You are a starving people!

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: The most important thing is whether it is practicable for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to give an undertaking that the recruitment in the future will be from all classes. Suppose there is a regiment which wants 20 recruits. There are 33 crores of people in India. Would you desire the recruiting officer to go all over the country, to every nook and corner of India, to pick out who are the best 20 men? (*An Honourable Member:* "No".) If that is not your desire, then why not leave the military to pick out the best men from those classes, from those areas, from those parts of the country, where people have already been tried?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Your time is up.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I have said, Sir, all I wanted to say.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Mr. President, the Resolution which my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru has moved is a natural evolution of the future changes which are contemplated. As long as India was considered a minor who had no responsibility, our guardians were empowered to do what they liked with us. But when it is assumed that we are able to take care of ourselves, and that defence is going to be more and more the concern of India, then we require that we should be consulted. Great exception was taken by the vested interests of the Punjab to the fact that others are now trying to stop the army being the preserve of the Punjabis. They came out with patriotic motives that they want to defend India. That is exactly the same thing which England is stating here today. They also say they are here to defend us. It is exactly in the same manner

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

that the Punjab wants to defend us in order to enrich itself. There is no difference between the Punjab and Britain in this respect. The cry of efficiency has been taken up from the Britishers, and there is no other reason for it. Is it not a historical fact, Sir, that the Punjab itself was conquered by an eastern army? Is that not sufficient in itself? Is it not a fact that the Sikhs were able to conquer the Mussalmans and Hindus of the Punjab? Can that be denied?

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK SIR MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON: They were also Punjabis.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: 14 per cent. conquered the 86 per cent. 56 per cent. of the Punjab are Mussalmans. The whole of these combined were conquered by the British Army with the Eastern Telangis and the sepoys of old. That is my reply to the inefficiency bogey which is raised up whenever we want to have the preserve of vested interests disturbed.

Now, Sir, I come to the merits of the Resolution. It does not say in so many words that Punjabis should not be recruited. It does not mean that those who are in the army already should be turned out. What it says is that those people who have not been given a chance to prove their merit, those about whom your opinion is one-sided in view of their exclusion, should also be given a trial. We used the word "experiment". We in India have two kinds of armies of occupation. One is the British Army which is well-known to be here to safeguard the interests of Great Britain. The other is the army which is recruited outside British India. I refer to the 19,000 men who are recruited from Nepal. If the Punjabis are so keen on not having their preserve disturbed, they can join hands with us and ask that these 19,000 men who are recruited from outside the Kingdom, who can in every sense of the word be called "mercenary" because they are not defending their home or hearth—they are not here for that purpose—could be replaced by an eastern army. Would it be too much to ask for this?

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: We have no objection to that.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Ask your Leader. We have no objection.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: It is a wrong policy on the part of those who have vested interests to attribute motives to every demand for reform. This is what they are doing at the present moment. This is the very thing which is rankling in the minds of the Punjabis. My Honourable colleague from the Frontier Province asked why the men did not join during the Great War. That is a pertinent question, I admit. But do you realise the difference between recruitment now and recruitment during the Great War? There is this difference that the prospect of military life was not there. Here, you can train them up, inculcating in their brains, in their minds, the military spirit. (*An Honourable Member*: "Inject!")

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR-KHAN: May I put a question? During peace time they should serve, and when war comes, they should not! That is what it comes to.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Do you expect a child, who is not able to stand up, to stand up and run at once ? You do not allow him to do that. You cannot blame him because he does not run. It is the same thing. We have been disarmed, we have been kept away from the army, we have been demilitarised, and you turn round on us and say we have not the military spirit. Is it not the Punjabis who have to be condemned for taking away this spirit from us ? Can India continue to remain dependent on the strength of one part of it ? And that part, too, which is open to all sorts of ravages by the northern bears. Always it is the Punjab which has fallen first and we have come last. (*An Honourable Member* : " Why do you say the Punjab took away your spirit ? ") If it had been able to defend itself well then India would not have been invaded through all these centuries from time immemorial. The Punjab stands the brunt, Sir, but it is never able to stop the advance of the invading hosts which have swept like an avalanche over the whole of India. And when the avalanche came from the eastern side, even then the Punjab was not able to safeguard itself and keep its own integrity intact. (*An Honourable Member* : " But you did ? ") We were the last to fall on most occasions. But in that respect Burma has precedence over the Punjab. Burma fell to the British even after the Punjab. Yet from that province the Commander-in-Chief recruits less than 3,000 men while he recruits 86,000 from the Punjab ! On the score of being the last to fall, Burma ought to have the palm and not the Punjab !

Sir, I was referring to the fact that at present the Indian Army is recruited on two bases, one is the cast basis and the other is the territorial basis. For each regiment a district or division or part of a district is assigned as a recruiting area, and then in that area the castes eligible for recruitment are set down. Our point is, Sir, that while you cannot do without specific recruiting areas for individual regiments, it is not necessary to restrict the recruitment of certain castes. That is one way by which, directly or indirectly, the British Government is trying to perpetuate all the vagaries of the caste system and the segregation of the depressed and other classes, and is helping to set up a bar against a man merely by reason of his birth from entry into the army. Is that in keeping with the pronouncement of Queen Victoria, which forms the basis of the connection of the Indian people with the British Crown ? Is it not stated there that caste and creed will not stand in the way of entry into the Government services ? You are by your actions repudiating what Indians regard as their Charter.

Then, Sir, what is our demand ? Our demand is very simple. We do not ask for any leniency or whittling down of the standard and physique required. We say, get the very best possible person you can, but, for goodness sake, do not refuse them on grounds of caste. Let only the best man be taken. And the greatest strength to our case is added by the action of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief himself. If a man outside the military caste is fit to be an officer in the army, I wonder who can say he is not fit to be mere fodder for cannon ? Government by its own action has admitted that a military oligarchy cannot be maintained in the leadership of the army. We want them to go one step further and declare that there ought not to be a military oligarchy in the ranks.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, my friend the Honourable Mr. Sapru has carefully avoided the words martial classes and non-martial classes in his Resolution and

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

he has asked that recruitment for the Indian Army should not be confined as at present to certain classes only. While however, he has used the words "certain classes" one naturally infers that he means thereby the so-called martial classes. It was only yesterday in the other place that an Honourable Member took up the question of recruitment from the non-martial classes, and the Army Secretary informed him that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was going to make an important statement in this House today and that it would be preferable if the speaker avoided the subject, and he did so. I need not assure His Excellency that we await that interesting statement which we hope he will make today. We trust that in that statement he will give us hope that hereafter, whatever may be the case now, the doors of the army will be open to those communities and those classes to which evidently they are at present closed.

Mr. President, the question of the martial and non-martial classes was discussed threadbare in the different military committees. The evidence before the Skeen Committee was predominantly in favour of including in the officer ranks men who may not be said to belong to the martial classes. I may be allowed here to mention that we do not know who actually form the martial classes and who do not, and if in his reply His Excellency will tell us who in the opinion of Government are the martial classes, whether they are people living above a certain latitude or otherwise, we should be very glad to have the information. Sir, in the Skeen Committee, as I have said, evidence was offered by many people and the majority were in favour of opening the officer ranks to the so-called non-martial classes. I would like to quote a few sentences from the evidence of no less a person than Sir Malcolm Hailey. He said :

" It may be asked whether it is advisable to continue to show any such preference to the military and land-owning classes as would seem to imply a desire to exclude men whose families are mainly engaged in commerce or industry or literary pursuits".

Again,

" If the further question were asked whether it is advisable to make this preference a fixed item in our policy, I would myself answer in the negative. I have seen very many men amongst the professional classes who would in my opinion make good officers".

Further,

" From my point therefore, so far as I am concerned in the selection of candidates for Sandhurst, I shall always be prepared to admit a proportion of men from the professional classes, provided that candidates come forward with the necessary physical qualifications and with the appearance of having the temperament to make good officers".

These are quotations from the evidence of Sir Malcolm Hailey. On the strength of that evidence and of other witnesses, the Skeen Committee recommended as follows :

" We therefore recommend that suitable boys from the professional and other classes should have exactly the same chance as any others. We too have heard the view expressed, it may be regarded to some extent as the natural view of vested interests, that Indian officers should be drawn from the so-called martial classes alone. But on the other hand there are some Indian officers in the army already who belong to the professional classes, and these have so far proved to be not only efficient but also, we are told, acceptable to the men".

Now, Sir, as my friend Mr. Hossain Imam pointed out a few minutes back, what applies to the officer ranks applies also to the rank and file. Therefore, if the door is opened to those communities from whom no recruits are received

at present I think it will be a very good thing. My friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan said this is a case of common sense against necessity. I suppose it is common sense to have strong and able men, and that is the necessity. In the same breath he said, "You must not forget we are making India one nation". How can you make it one nation if you leave out certain classes and do not open the army to them? Therefore, according to himself it is very necessary that the door should be open to all, provided of course they are of the requisite quality and efficiency that is required by the military authorities. Now this question was taken up by the Defence Committee of the first Round Table Conference. I took there the occasion to quote a sentence from the Simon Commission's Report which said:

"Whereas the most virile of the so-called martial races provide fine fighting material, other communities and areas in India do not furnish a single man for the regular army".

This was a very sweeping statement to make, as I pointed out to the Defence Committee, and surely the authors of the report must have clearly forgotten that before the Indian Mutiny the army consisted not only of Punjabis and Sikhs but was recruited from other parts of the country and who were able to render a very good account of themselves. Before the Mutiny they were drawn from all classes of people.

My friend Mr. Sapru gave the total number of Indian soldiers in the Indian Army according to the Simon Commission's Report and I think he gave the figure as 158,200. He gave a detailed list of provinces and communities they came from and so far as Bombay and Madras were concerned, he gave the numbers as 7,000 and 4,000, respectively. I drew the attention of the Defence Committee to the opinions in regard to the Madras Army and in regard to the Bombay Army—not of private individuals but of men who held the important position of Commanders-in-Chief. Let me quote here the opinion of General Warre, Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, which was given 25 years after the date of the Mutiny. He said:

"History has proved that the whole of the western coast is a military country producing a warlike population. The southern Mahrattas have proved themselves in former days and are still equal to any other race in India as a fighting people. Their power has been broken and their military ardour wrenched by almost total disarmament but they are still a hardy people, in a mountainous district, inured to toil, and especially good in tracing their steps over the rough and impracticable ghats. What more can you require of make soldiers?"

I now turn to the Madras soldiers and quote the opinion of another Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Haines. He said:

"I cannot admit for one moment that anything has occurred to disclose the fact that the Madras sepoy is inferior as a fighting man. The facts of history warrant us in assuming the contrary. In drill, training and discipline the Madras sepoy is inferior to none, while in point of health, as exhibited by returns, he compares favourably with his neighbours".

These, Sir, are the opinions of Commanders-in-Chief. According to the figures read out by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru and which I just now quoted, only 7,000 are from Bombay and 4,000 from Madras. Take again the Mahratta army. It is true the Punjabis, Sikhs and Ghurkas have done uncommonly well, but I have good authority to show that during the Great War amongst the Indian soldiers the Mahratta soldier was considered the equal of any other in the Indian Army. I hope His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will confirm what I have stated.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: It is a doubtful element.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : That is for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to say, not for you. Then my Honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan questioned the wisdom of the change in policy. That is again for His Excellency to tell us, if he is willing to, but it is a patent fact that for reasons known to Government after the Mutiny, the majority of the soldiers were not taken from the provinces from where they were taken previously and Punjabis and Sikhs were preferred, so that there was a distinct change of policy. That is what I want to point out.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : Because they were loyal. Is loyalty a crime ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI (Burma : General) : Do you mean to say others were disloyal ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Now, Sir,—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You have got one minute left.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : I just want to quote one or two more opinions, Sir. What I wanted to say was that the Indian soldier has been kept out from the different branches of the army, which also is a great hardship.

“According to the Peel Commission, the Indian section of the army should be composed of different nationalities and castes which should, as a general rule, be mixed promiscuously in each regiment ; and Europeans alone should, as far as possible, be employed in the scientific branch of the services”.

Again, Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, said :

“I agree with those who think that it is not judicious to train any natives of India to the use of guns. They make excellent artillerymen, and they attach great value and importance to guns, but these very circumstances make it dangerous to place them in their hands”.

Lord Ellenborough concurred with this view and said :

“It appears to be the concurrent opinion of all men that we should keep the artillery wholly in our hands.

“The natives have a genius for casting and working guns, and we should not afford them means of enjoying it”.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Will you please conclude ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Yes, Sir.

“The natives die at their guns. Their practice in this war”—namely, the Mutiny—“is allowed to have been at least as good as our own”.

I will not take up any more time. I think this is a very reasonable proposal which is by no means compulsory, and I trust the Commander-in-Chief will agree to the experiment and try and recruit men from other communities also.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH (Punjab: Sikh) : Sir, I am sorry that I have to oppose the Resolution moved by my friend the Honourable Mr. Sapru. I share with him the desire that recruitment to the Indian Army should be open to all the provinces in India. I am at the same time aware

that the Indian Army has been greatly reduced and to keep it effective it is necessary that recruitment should continue from the martial classes. A hazardous experiment has been made by constituting mixed regiments. Personally I feel it will prove a source of weakness, as the unity which animated members of a single community in a regiment is now diffused, and will at a time of crisis fail to prove its value. In any case I think that the present is not the moment to fling wide open the doors of recruitment to all classes but later it may be possible to have a provincial militia to give training to all classes in the art of soldiering.

THE HONOURABLE SERJUT HERAMBA PROSAD BARUA (Assam : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. It was disclosed by the Honourable the mover of the Resolution that Assam and Bengal were the only two provinces which were not represented in the Indian Army. Much has been said about Bengal by the Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha and all that I want to say is about my own province of Assam. Sir, the Honourable the mover referred to the question of heredity with regard to the selection of soldiers and he said that the question of heredity does not come in. I do not know whether it does not ; I think it does a great deal and one thing I can say and that is that Assam has got glorious traditions in the past with regard to her military prowess. As a matter of fact, it was the Honourable Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan who said that Assam was conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji. I do not know how he can make such a statement. It might be a question of opinion or wrong notion but it is not a matter of history. All that I can say about Assam, Sir, is that it remained unconquered till 1826 when owing to internal dissensions it fell into the hands of the Burmese and it was ceded by the Treaty of Yandabu to the British : it was not conquered by the British people even. As a matter of fact, even in the time of the Mahabarata, we find Assamese soldiers figuring in the battle of Kurukshetra. The kingdom of Kamarupa and later the kingdom of Assam was all along an independent kingdom. Several attacks were made upon it by the Moghuls but they were all gloriously repulsed. The last attack was made under the generalship of Mir Jumla at the time of King Aurangzeb which was gloriously repulsed by the Assamese soldiers. It is a matter of history ; Sir, and even in the elements of history this fact may be found.

Then, Sir, as I said, the question of heredity does count a great deal, and as it does count a great deal, I think that the door should be open to the Assamese people also who have got such a glorious martial tradition in the past, to join the Indian Army.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN (United Provinces : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I was very glad to hear the very moderate speech made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sapru. He gave a very elaborate and detailed account of how the military is composed at present, and he gave out the provinces which have been recruiting a number in the past and as they stand in different proportions in the present army. It was a pleasure to know that this is the situation. Here what my Honourable friend wants by his Resolution is that the recruitment should be thrown open to all the classes and castes and creeds living in India. My Honourable friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, has given out the list of the communities to whom recruitment is thrown open and I think, Sir, it is clear from this that there are very few classes that are not allowed to send recruits into the army : it is thrown open

[Mr. Mohammad Yamin Khan.]

to anybody and everybody that wants to become a soldier. The only difficulty that I have known—and I have been dealing with this matter for many years—I can assure the Honourable Members that the difficulty is not that the military authorities are not allowing the people to come but the real difficulty is that the people are not willing to come. It is very difficult to find a recruit for the army from among all the classes and many of the castes because those people find it much more remunerative to go into their professions rather than join the army and run the risk of losing their lives. I have heard many tales and it will not be out of place to mention one, that a man during the war intended to join the army and his mother started weeping. He said : “ Why are you weeping ? ” She said : “ As soon as you are recruited, you might be sent to the war and you might be killed ”. So this fellow said : “ Is it likely that I will be sent to the war in the near future ? ” She said : “ Better go and find out ”. And when he was told this was the condition, he said : “ I will be much better off at home ”. (*An Honourable Member* : “ In which province did this happen ? ”) I need not mention the province. If the Honourable Member likes, he may take it that it applies to his own province equally well ! But it is really the spirit of the man who wants to join the army that he must be ready in the first instance to give his life up in the defence of his country. He must not join the army with an idea that he will make about Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 a month. But the whole idea in his action must be that he is going to serve his country and he is prepared to lay down his life in its defence whenever he is called out. (*An Honourable Member* : “ Not only defence but attack ! ”) Certainly. Both entail the same risk. I find, Sir, that I have got no provincial bias. I do not come from the Punjab, therefore nobody can say that I am speaking on behalf of the Punjab simply because I belong to that province. If anybody goes into the Punjab he will find that most of the people who send recruits to the army are horse-breeders, they are people who take delight in tent-pegging, they are people who take part in all kinds of sports, who are good shots, who have got rifles, whose children from the very beginning of their career purchase rifles and are taught how to shoot and hit the bulls-eye. In the other classes who were not mentioned in the list my Honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan gave us, it will be found that hardly anybody is there who uses even a gun in his whole lifetime. If a man is not accustomed to handle a gun, if he is afraid, as the proverb goes, to touch a gun even when unloaded because even when unloaded it might go off, it is not right to recruit this class of people who are afraid even of handling an unloaded gun. What does the army stand for ? Mostly for the defence of the country, and if we want our army for the defence of our country we must employ the best people whom we have got to defend our country. It should not be the question whether they come from the Punjab or whether they come from Assam or from Madras. The question is, who can defend India best ? The question is of India, not of the provinces. Certainly, Sir, I agree with Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan that the Punjab and the North-West Frontier have both for a long time borne a great hardship and their provinces were attacked by outsiders every now and then, and that has meant that the population of that part of India has had to oppose all the people who invaded this country from time to time. Some of these people settled in the Punjab, some travelled lower down. Then other conquering races followed and settled in the same way.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : No, Sir, the Honourable Member is wrong. Most of them are Rajputs, who belong to India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN : My friend may say what he likes, but I am not going to take it as correct. The Punjab people consist of people mostly who have been attacking India from time to time and even the Rajputs were the people who came up and attacked India some time ago, only in remoter times. But all the people are not Rajputs. There are the Jats and others. Nobody is an outsider now who is living in India and was born in India, but in former times there was an influx of the people of other countries who settled in India. That is why they have been fighting. They belong to the fighting class. Mostly the population in the Punjab consists of fighting people. If we can find good recruits for the Indian Army from the Punjab, we should not grudge it. My friend Mr. Sapru says that we should approach this question from a patriotic point of view and not a provincial point of view. I wholeheartedly agree with him. But he himself has proceeded from a provincial point of view. He gave a detailed account of how each province is represented by how many, and how other provinces are not represented. I was wondering whether he was pleading against himself. He was saying that he does not want to provincialise ; but still, he was pointing out that the Punjab should not be the only province which should be favoured. He even went so far as to say that if Punjabis are willing to send their people to the army and keep it as a preserve for themselves, then let them pay for it. My Honourable friend Mr. Sapru goes so far and yet he says that he is not provincial. I wonder what he is ? His whole speech was one of provincialism, and yet he says that he is not provincial in his outlook. I think, Sir, the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab consist of a very brave race. The Sikhs and the Punjabi Mussalmans have shown good mettle. They have brought great credit to India in the past. They have proved themselves worthy of the name of India on many battle-fields outside India. They have proved that the Indian soldier is second to none in the world in the battle-fields of France, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Iraq, China, South Africa and other places. To whom was this due ? This credit is due to the present army. I would deprecate any word that may be disparaging to our army as it stands today. The Indian Army is composed of the best material available in this country. They have done well, and they have proved themselves worthy of the name of this great country. Anything in the nature of calling them mercenary—I am glad that my friend Mr. Sapru has taken back that word "mercenary" which he used, because he said that we do not want this mercenary army ; we want a national army. I do not know what he means by a national army. Does he mean by a national army that the army should be composed of all castes and creeds in proportion to their strength or population ? Does he mean that the Vaishyas, to whom my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad referred, should come in in proportion ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD : I want that there should be no bar against them or against any other community.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN : I am very glad to find that some of my Vaishya friends have started taking to wrestling. I am delighted to find, when I get up in the morning in my town, Vaishyas taking to wrestling and *patta*. It gives me great pleasure to find this, because they are making progress at present and they are a rising people. I do not think, Sir, that my friend is serious enough in thinking that an army of soldiers could be recruited from the Vaishyas. They make a lot of money in their profession of money-lending. I do not think that they would come round and walk 20 miles a day. Anybody who saw the army manœuvres in Delhi will have

[Mr. Mohammad Yamin Khan.]

realised how many miles every soldier has to walk in a day. This is not a job for people who make a lot of money out of business.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Will you please conclude your speech ? Your time is up.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN : Nobody joins the army for the sake of a few rupees.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Then why insist on it ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN : I am not insisting on it. I make no money, and nobody else makes money. I insist on what my primary motive is that my country should be properly defended. My countrymen, the soldiers throughout India, must bring the same name to our country as any soldiers of any other country would bring. Sir, I think it will be doing a great injustice to the present army if any words are used against them in this manner as have been used, and I would ask Honourable Members who may follow me not to speak any word disparaging to the army by calling them mercenaries or any such catchword.

Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : Mr. President, may I, before I begin my speech answering the debate of today, correct one or two rather loose statements that have been made during the debate ? The word "mercenary" has been corrected already and I should like to emphasise that correction. The word "mercenary" with regard to an army means a hired army from another country, which comes to fight for a country which it does not belong to itself. Therefore, it is very unjust and wrong to allude to Punjabis or north countrymen, who happen to get a larger proportion of their men into the army in that way.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI : Will the term apply to the Gurkha regiments ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : Yes, the Gurkhas are distinctly mercenary. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna said that my Army Secretary promised in another place that I would make an important statement about what he was talking about. My Army Secretary said very clearly that the statement he referred to was the question of the enlistment of Sayyids, which is coming on tomorrow. He also read out extracts from the opinions of certain Commanders-in-Chief who used to command the troops in Bombay and Madras. He omitted to mention the fact that Lord Kitchener, whom nobody could call a stupid man or a man who did not have the good of the country at heart was the very man who did most towards removing the troops from those southern provinces, doing away with a large amount of enlistment there and bringing them up north.

Now, Sir, I should like no one to think that I do not approach this Motion and try to answer it without feeling very considerable sympathy towards it. Nobody can say that the wish that every man in a country should be liable to serve that country if the necessity arose is not an absolutely unanswerable argument. It is absolutely unanswerable. But that does not mean that people who have to do with the forming of the best army they can get at the

moment should be able to fulfil those aspirations. You might just as well say that when I was at one time responsible for the recruiting of the army in England if I took a man from Leicester who was fit in every way, I should therefore take a man from Manchester who was not fit. The argument does not hold.

It is quite clear that India would not stand for what we call conscription or, to use a much better expression, compulsory service. Nor indeed does it want it. I am given to understand that men of a military age in India total something like 120 millions, and our requirements at present under the reduced scale of military preparation which we have now adopted are about 120,000. That means that one man out of every thousand in India is required for military purposes, and, in spite of what Honourable Members opposite, and I am sorry to say a considerable number of Honourable Members on my side of the House have always said, that the army is much too big, I think you must admit that that is a very minute fraction of the population. And how on earth we are to choose one man in a thousand from all over India entirely defeats my comprehension? If India was a country like England or Germany or France, where the inhabitants are all of one race and practically of one religion, where their physical development is very similar one to the other from one end of the country to the other, it would be a different thing. But I think we must admit that India does not resemble that sort of situation at all. In fact it is exactly the contrary, and I think you will admit, Sir, that the imagination almost boggles at the task of fitting together such a jigsaw puzzle as an attempt to recruit people from all over a Continent like India for the army and make it into a homogeneous working proposition would be.

This Motion to which I am replying today can almost be described as a hardy annual, and I feel the mover will say that it is a hardy annual because of the immense importance which he and his friends attach to it. And that is a very fair argument for him to use. But I would reply to him that no amount of assertion on his part that such a thing is desirable can get over the hard facts of the almost impossible administrative difficulties of carrying out such a proposition. If I were to reply to the exact words in which this Resolution is moved, that is to say that recruitment should be thrown open to all castes, creeds and classes, I could reply as another speaker did that to all intents and purposes we do enlist all creeds and classes. We naturally cannot enlist all castes, because they are numbered I believe by hundreds. A great many figures were quoted by the mover and other speakers to show, as far as I could make out, that recruitment was almost entirely confined to the Punjab, and I think I saw through that a suggestion that there were rather too many Muslims?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: No one has made any suggestion like that. Certainly not I.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Very well, I stand corrected. Perhaps the only figures I might quote are in regard to the proportion of creeds. There are roughly 38,532 Muslims, or 36 per cent. in the army. There are roughly 85,261 Hindus, including Gurkhas, or roughly 48 per cent. of the army; and there are 16 per cent. of Sikhs. Certainly among these I admit those we recruit from the north predominate, but we naturally do not and cannot enlist people whom we consider are either no use or of small value, and I would ask the Honourable mover and the House, why should we? Honourable Members are always grumbling at me because they say the cost of defence is too much in this country. Suppose I came to them and said, "Very

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

well, it is too much and I will economise by buying inferior material, inferior guns and propellants, inferior motor cars and so on". Would they say, "Go on"? No, they would say to me, "No, you must not do anything of the sort". And if I am not to buy inferior weapons and equipment, why should I then enlist in the army inferior material, men who have to handle the expensive modern equipment which we have to buy. That seems to me a poor argument. I am a little bit afraid, and indeed the Honourable mover I think admitted it in so many words, that there is a political reason behind his Motion. Can it be that the Honourable gentlemen who agree with the mover are thinking that when they get a larger measure of self-government in this country and are approaching full responsibility, an army recruited largely from a few classes and largely from one part of India may be politically awkward? Does it not really mean, Sir, that the Honourable mover and some of his friends have an uneasy feeling in their minds that they cannot depend on that army to be loyal to India and think that that army may become a political force? When I made a speech at the opening of your new Indian Sandhurst at Dehra Dun, I said to the cadets who were just entering upon their military life—I do not remember the exact words, but I said something like this: "I do wish to assure you that if you allow politics to enter into your lives in future you will fail". I said that politics can have no place in an army whatever, and that the moment a nation thinks or has cause to believe that politics have entered into the army it pays for, from that moment it must lose trust in that army and it is no longer worth the money paid for it. If that is the sort of thing you have at the back of your minds, this country would rapidly sink to the level of the Central American Republics or of Spain, where every general has a political backing and there is a series of revolutions one after the other. I will go so far as to say that if you think that in the future you could not trust your army to be absolutely loyal to India as India and absolutely loyal to the central Government in power, you may as well abandon the farce of seeking a further measure of self-government, for a farce it must be unless you can absolutely depend upon your army to be loyal. If, on the contrary, Sir, Indian politicians are sincere in a desire for efficiency in the army and that that army should be an instrument which they can depend on, I can see no other way to get that result than the one which we have adopted and are adopting now, and that is to get in every way the best value for money. I leave it at that. That is my main argument. I will say nothing of the almost hopeless practical difficulties and administrative difficulties of trying to weld small packets of men from all over India from different races, castes and creeds, into a homogeneous whole that will be a live army and will fight and live together as an army should do and not be a mere collection of men. I must oppose the Motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Sir, the Honourable Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan Noon and Sardar Buta Singh have all spoken as representatives of the vested interests in the Punjab who have benefited by the present policy and naturally they are anxious that the present system of recruitment should continue. It was not to be expected that they would agree to suicide and I am not therefore disposed to quarrel with them for their hesitation or inability to support this Resolution. If we examine their arguments, they really come to nothing. If you examine the position historically, you will find that before 1859, the basis of recruitment in this country was much wider. You had the Bengal army, you had the Madras army and you had the Bombay army and in

these armies you had representatives of these provinces. Now, Sir, these armies were very efficient armies and I can quote the opinions of a number of military authorities and Governors as regards these armies. For example Sir Richard Temple in 1878 giving evidence before the Eden Commission said :

“ In India under British rule, the former martial tendencies of the native population gradually become lessened till they almost disappeared and this circumstance is considered to be one of the safeguards of our rule ”.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to observe that perhaps one of the objects of this Resolution is political. I did not disguise that object myself in my first speech. I said that the future of Indian self-government cannot be safe if we have a military autocracy in the north controlling our army. But is the present army policy not dictated by political considerations, although of a different character ? Has the policy that has been pursued since 1859 not been dictated by political considerations ? Sir, speaking of the Bengal army, Lord Ellenborough said :

“ It is distressing to think that we must abandon the hope of ever seeing a native army composed like that we have lost. It was an army which under a general it loved and trusted would have marched victorious to the Dardanelles ”.

Why were these armies given up ? For the obvious reason that after the Mutiny you felt you could not trust them and it is that reason which has dictated your army policy since that date. Therefore we are not wrong in saying that there is really not much substance in the argument that it is considerations of efficiency which influence the army policy today. His Excellency was pleased to observe that there are certain administrative difficulties. I do not understand those administrative difficulties. His Excellency was not pleased to explain to us what those difficulties are. You have recruiting officers in the Punjab and in certain other areas in which you recruit. Where is the difficulty in having recruiting officers in certain centres in Bengal, where is the difficulty in having recruiting officers in certain centres in Bihar, where is the difficulty in having recruiting officers in certain centres in Assam, provinces which are not contributing a single soldier to the Indian Army ? If you want to multiply difficulties, you can multiply them. The difficulties that we have to contend with are great in all conscience and we have not been helped to overcome those difficulties. Therefore, Sir, I feel that I must press this Resolution to a division. Sir, the Honourable Mr. Yamin Khan accused me of provincialism. I am an Indian nationalist who wants freedom for his country and I would make any sacrifice for that purpose, but I do not see that there is any provincialism in asking that the basis of recruitment should be wider than it is. Is my Honourable friend not a communalist when he asks for communal privileges for himself and yet he would say he is a nationalist and he would repudiate the insinuation or suggestion that he was a communalist. His Excellency said that some of us had raised some objection to the present proportions in the present army—Hindu-Muslim proportions in the present army. So far as I am concerned, I never said anything of that kind. To me it is immaterial, absolutely immaterial, whether it is composed of Hindus or composed of Mussalmans, because I do not think in Hindu and Muslim terms. I only think in Indian terms. To me India is everything ; the communities are nothing.

With these words, Sir, I would press my Resolution to a division.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Resolution moved :

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that recruitment to the Indian Army should not be confined as at present to certain classes only, but should be thrown open to all castes, creeds and classes ”.

(Mr. President.)

The Question is :

“ That this Resolution be adopted ”.

The Council divided :

AYES—18.

Banerjee, The Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra.
Askuran, The Honourable Mr. Shantidas.
Barua, The Honourable Srijiut Heramba Prasad.
Chari, The Honourable Mr. P. C. D.
Chetty, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami.
Devadoss, The Honourable Sir David.
Ghosh Maulik, The Honourable Mr. Satyendra Chandra.
Habibullah of Dacca, The Honourable Nawab Khwaja.
Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.

Khaparde, The Honourable Mr. G. S.
Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.
Naidu, The Honourable Mr. Y. Ranganayakalu.
Pandit, The Honourable Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj.
Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Sapru, The Honourable Mr. P. N.
Sethna, The Honourable Sir Phiroze.
Sinha, The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan.

NOES—26.

Akbar Khan, The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Nawab Sir Mahomed.
Buta Singh, The Honourable Sardar.
Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Raja.
Choksy, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji.
Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the Ghazanfar Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.
Ghosal, The Honourable Mr. Jyotsnanath.
Gladstone, The Honourable Mr. S. D.
Glass, The Honourable Mr. J. B.
Hafeez, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul.
Hallett, The Honourable Mr. M. G.
Johnson, The Honourable Mr. J. N. G.
Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Siri.
Mitchell, The Honourable Mr. D. G.

Muhammad Hussain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Ali Bakshi.
Noon, The Honourable Nawab Malik Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan.
Phillip, The Honourable Mr. C. L.
Ray of Dinajpur, The Honourable Maharaja Jagadish Nath.
Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie.
Spence, The Honourable Mr. G. H.
Sprawson, The Honourable Major General C. A.
Stewart, The Honourable Mr. F. W.
Stewart, The Honourable Mr. T. A.
Tallents, The Honourable Mr. P. C.
Ugra, The Honourable Rai Sahib Pandit Gokaran Nath.
Yamin Khan, The Honourable Mr. Muhammad.

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to move the Resolution which stands in my name and which runs as follows :

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to establish as soon as possible a ministry of communications by including all functions relating to transport and posts and Telegraphs within the portfolio of a single member of the Governor General's Executive Council ”.

Sir, I approached you yesterday about making a slight amendment in my Resolution, substituting the words “ as soon as possible ” for the word “ forthwith ”, and I hope there will be no objection to this.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL : I have no objection, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Then I will allow the substitution.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab : Muhammadan) : Sir, we have amendments on the Resolution and would request you, before allowing the Honourable Member to amend his Resolution, to give us permission to move our amendments.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Both your amendments are for the omission of the word "forthwith", and that purpose is served by the substitution of the words "as soon as possible" for it.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SYED ABDUL HAFEEZ (East Bengal : Muhammadan) : Had we known you would allow the substitution, we would have objected to that too.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : It is in the power of the Chair to allow any amendment or alteration and I have allowed it.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Sir, I need not take up much time of the Council over my Resolution as I understand from the reply that was given to my question in this House the other day by the Honourable Mr. Mitchell,

"that Government have accepted the principle that there should be a portfolio of communications in the Governor General's Executive Council, though the question when effect should be given to it is still under consideration".

The other day, Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member, while speaking on this question in the other House, observed that Government agree to the formation of this ministry of communications and that the ministry will be brought into existence some time before the end of this calendar year. Sir, this question was started in 1897, and the Honourable Sir George Schuster, while making a statement in the other House, on the 8th March, 1934, quoted the following extract from a letter which the Department of Industries and Labour addressed to various provincial Governments :

"It appears to the Government of India that it is most desirable both at the centre and in the provinces to have all subjects dealing with transport and communications placed under the control of one member of Government. Not only would this arrangement facilitate the formation and deliberations of the Central Transport Advisory Council but it would make for a more coherent policy of control and development. It is the intention of the Government of India to investigate the possibility of such a redistribution of subjects among the portfolios of the members of the Government of India as soon as a convenient opportunity presents itself and they would strongly commend a similar investigation to the local Government and the adoption of the proposal as far as circumstances and the constitutional position permit".

Sir, this request has been made by the various Chambers of Commerce and by various other public institutions. Even, Sir, the Rail-Road Conference which met in 1933 passed a Resolution to this effect :

"This Conference considers that suitable machinery should be established at the centre and in the provinces to ensure adequate co-ordination between road and rail transport and their future development".

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

Sir, as the Honourable the Finance Member has practically agreed to the principle underlying my Resolution, I hope the Honourable Secretary, Mr. Mitchell, will accept my Resolution. I need not at this late hour dwell upon the merits of my case as the Government being convinced of its necessity has accepted the principle underlying my Resolution and has made a promise to establish a ministry before the end of the year. With these words, I commend my Resolution for the favourable consideration of the House. The time is now opportune and the sooner the thing is done the better.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Honourable Mr. Padshah, you have given notice of an amendment by which you want to substitute the words "at a suitable opportunity", but there is no difference between the words which you propose to put in and "as soon as possible". There is no difference. That is a distinction without a difference, to my mind. I presume you will not press your amendment ?

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : I will not press it, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL (Industries and Labour Secretary) : Sir, I would open my remarks by giving a solemn warning to my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad and I would ask him to brace himself to receive a shock. I am prepared to accept this Resolution in spite of my Honourable friend's remarks regarding my lack of sympathy and invariable rejection of the recommendations of the House.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Such examples are very rare, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: This, I think is the third occasion on which I have done so myself in this very House. As the Honourable mover has pointed out, the principle underlying this Resolution has been accepted several times in the last year by Government. I need not repeat again the substance of those various acceptances. But I would refer to the statement made the other day in another place by the Honourable the Finance Member and will give you his exact words. He said :

"But the principle is there and Government have accepted it ; and we hope, moreover, that it may be possible to put the new arrangements into operation before the end of the current calendar year".

With that short explanation of Government's idea of the term "as soon as possible" I accept the Honourable Member's Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Can we have an assurance, Sir, that the portfolio will be transferred to an Indian Member ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: That is a matter entirely in His Excellency's prerogative.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, the object in sending the amendment was—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You need not refer to that amendment. I have already given my ruling on the subject, and it is inopportune for you to speak any further on that ruling at this stage.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I accept your ruling, Sir. I would only submit this much that the question of allotment of portfolios is entirely in the hands of the Governor General and I do not think that we can interfere in the matter. But as the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, by moving this Resolution, has given us an opportunity to say something about it, and the Government have rightly accepted this proposition, I would like to make just one observation. Sir Joseph Bore was the first Indian who was put in charge of Railways which is a very important portfolio. Everbody admits that he has discharged his duties with great credit and has won the admiration of every section of the House, both in the Council of State and in the Legislative Assembly. It is understood that the gentleman who has been appointed in his place is also an Indian. I hope that whatever arrangements Government might make with regard to the transfers of portfolios, they will please see that this important portfolio of Railways remains in charge of an Indian Member.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to establish as soon as possible a ministry of communications by including all functions relating to transport and posts and telegraphs within the portfolio of a single member of the Governor General's Executive Council".

The Question is:

"That this Resolution be adopted."

The Motion was adopted.

**RESOLUTION RE DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE SALT RANGE AND
KHEWRA SALT MINES TO CULTURABLE LANDS.**

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Honourable Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, I will allow you to move your Resolution in order that you may not lose your priority, but the discussion will take place on the next non-official day.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab : Muhammadan) : Thank you, Sir. The Resolution which stands in my name runs thus :

“This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint a committee to inquire how much damage has been caused by the Salt Range in general and by the Khewra mines in particular to neighbouring lands and villages in Jhelum and Shahpore districts and to report what compensation should be granted to zemindars and cultivators who have suffered on this account and what steps should be taken to stop further damage to cultivable lands and villages”.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 14th March, 1935.