

2nd September 1938

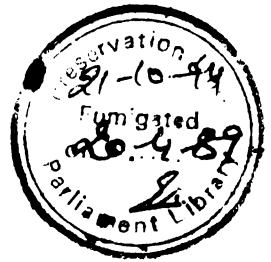
# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

Volume V, 1938

*(26th August to 9th September, 1938)*

## EIGHTH SESSION OF THE FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1938



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1938

# Legislative Assembly.

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# CONTENTS.

VOLUME V.—26th August to 9th September, 1938.

PAGES.	PAGES.
<b>FRIDAY, 26TH AUGUST 1938—</b>	
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1053—90	<b>WEDNESDAY, 31ST AUGUST, 1938—contd.</b>
Statements laid on the Table . . . . . 1090	Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1338—42
The Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill—Discussion on the motion to refer to Select Committee not concluded . . . . . 1090—1124	Statements laid on the Table . . . . . 1342—47
<b>MONDAY, 29TH AUGUST, 1938—</b>	
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1125—65	Motion for Adjournment re Demolished Siva Temple in the Queen's Gardens of Delhi—Ruled out of order . . . . . 1347—52
Unstarred Question and Answer . . . . . 1165—66	The Motor Vehicles Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses not concluded . . . . . 1352—92
The Commercial Documents Evidence Bill—Appointment of Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar to the Select Committee . . . . . 1166	<b>THURSDAY, 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1938—</b>
The Destructive Insects and Pests (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . . 1166	Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1393—1417
The Motor Vehicles Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded . . . . . 1166—1205	The Motor Vehicles Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses not concluded . . . . . 1417—70
<b>TUESDAY, 30TH AUGUST, 1938—</b>	
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1207—48	<b>FRIDAY, 2ND SEPTEMBER, 1938—</b>
Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1248—51	Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1471—91
Election of Members to the Standing Committee on Pilgrimage to the Hedjaz . . . . . 1251	Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1491—92
The Motor Vehicles Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded . . . . . 1251—96	Resolution re—
<b>WEDNESDAY, 31ST AUGUST, 1938—</b>	
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1297—1338	Implementing the Recommendation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee—Adopted as Amended . . . . . 1493—1534
	Financial control of Military Expenditure—Discussion not concluded . . . . . 1535—40
	<b>MONDAY, 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1938—</b>
	Members Sworn . . . . . 1541
	Starred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1541—80
	Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . . 1580—82

MONDAY, 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1938— <i>contd.</i>	PAGES.	WEDNESDAY, 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1938—	PAGES.
Motions for Adjournment re—		Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1745—71
Rate war between Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company and Messrs. Scindia Navigation Com- pany in the Haj Traffic— Ruled out of order . . . .	1582—83	Motion for adjournment re Alleged sacrilege com- mitted by the Police in a Simla Mosque—Ruled out of order . . . . .	1771—72
Condition of Indians in Burma—Adopted . . . .	1583, 1618—42	The Motor Vehicles Bill—Dis- cussion on the considera- tion of clauses not con- cluded . . . . .	1772— 1819
Remarks by Mr. President on the Point of Order whether an Honourable Member, who is on the Panel of Chairman, can take the Chair while the Deputy President is in the House . .	1583—86	THURSDAY, 8TH SEPTEMBER, 1938—	
The Repealing and Amending Bill—Introduced . . . .	1586	Member Sworn . . . .	1821
The Motor Vehicles Bill—Dis- cussion on the considera- tion of clauses not con- cluded . . . . .	1586— 1618	Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1821—63
TUESDAY, 6TH SEPTEMBER, 1938—		Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1863—65
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1643—93	Statement re preparation of summaries of opinions on Bills . . . . .	1665—66
Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1694—95	Statement re criticism of Presi- dent's Rulings . . . .	1866—67
Statements laid on the Table . .	1696—98	The Motor Vehicles Bill—Dis- cussion on the considera- tion of clauses not con- cluded . . . . .	1867— 1910
The Motor Vehicles Bill—Dis- cussion on the considera- tion of clauses not con- cluded . . . . .	1698— 1743	FRIDAY, 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1938—	
		Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1911—48
		Statements laid on the Table . .	1948—51
		Message from the Council of State . . . . .	1951
		The Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill—Discussion on the motion to refer to Select Committee not con- cluded . . . . .	1951—88



# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Friday, 2nd September, 1938.*

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### CONTROL OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, PESHAWAR.

688. **Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Cantonment General Hospital at Peshawar Cantonment, situated in Bazar area, was placed by the Board in the jurisdiction of the Bazar Committee of that Cantonment ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Deputy Director of Northern Command overruled this decision of the Board and ordered that the Cantonment General Hospital cannot remain in the control of the Bazar Committee ? If so, why ?

(c) Is it not a fact that the Deputy Director in Command cannot interfere in these matters ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a) Yes.

(b) No. The Deputy Director on behalf of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief requested the Cantonment Board to reconsider the decision of the Bazar Committee, because the Cantonment General Hospital is maintained for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the cantonment and its administration thus does not come within the competence of the Bazar Committee.

(c) Yes, but the orders of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the Command are conveyed to the Board by the Deputy Director.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** Was the Bazar Committee considered incompetent to hold charge of that hospital ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** There is no question of incompetence. The matter merely was not within the competence of the Bazar Committee.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** Was the hospital transferred by the Deputy Director of Northern Command himself or under the approval of the Defence Department ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Neither. The Deputy Director conveyed the instructions of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief to the Board.

( 1471 )

## INCLUSION OF CERTAIN VILLAGES IN THE FATEHGARH CANTONMENT.

689. **\*Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state whether the villages of Shishamgarh, Kashimbagh, Nangwa and Colonelgunj are included within the Cantonment of Fatehgarh in the United Provinces ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, for how many years past and for what purposes have those villages been included within the Cantonment of Fatehgarh ?

(c) Is it a fact that the villagers of these villages are required to pay all the taxes levied upon Cantonment residents ?

(d) Are Government aware that the villagers desire to get their villages separated from the Cantonment area ?

(e) If the answer to part (d) be in the affirmative, what steps do Government propose to take in the matter ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a) and (d). Yes.

(b) Precise information is not forthcoming, but the villages were certainly included in the cantonment area at some time between 1777 and 1860.

(c) Yes. They may, however get exemptions under section 100 of the Cantonments Act, 1924.

(e) The matter is under consideration.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi :** May I ask whether the villages which pay taxes to the Cantonment municipality or whatever you call it, get the benefit of some roads and other amenities of life ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Yes, they have the amenities of especially supervised sanitation and the amenities provided by the Cantonment generally.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** Is it a fact that the villagers have represented through their Provincial Government to the Government of India that they do not get any amenities of life, for instance, lighting, roads, medical aid or schools ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I have not heard of it.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I ask whether these roads are maintained only in the area where the armies are kept or whether similar roads are laid where the villagers are living ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I cannot tell the Honourable Member in this particular case whether the roads extend through the villages or not.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga :** May I ask whether any active steps are being taken to ascertain the wishes of these people whether their villages should be kept within the Cantonment area or outside it ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I stated that the matter was under the consideration of the Government.

**PROFESSIONAL TAX IMPOSED ON THE INHABITANTS OF THE DALHOUSIE CANTONMENT.**

690. \***Mr. Badri Dutt Pande** : (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a profession tax is proposed to be levied on the civilian inhabitants of Dalhousie Cantonment ?

(b) Is it a fact that the already Dalhousie Cantonment residents are paying house tax, frontage tax, servant tax, water tax and dog tax ?

(c) Is it a fact that there is no profession tax in the neighbouring Dalhousie Civil Municipality and that some of the taxes already in force in Cantonment also do not exist there ?

(d) Is it a fact that Cantonment residents have submitted objections to the levy of this new tax and urged for reduction of establishment to meet the deficit, if any ? If so, with what results ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : (a), (b) and (d). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given to starred question No. 602 asked by Mr. Sham Lal on the 30th August, 1938.

(c) Yes. The only other tax in force in the cantonment which is not in force in the municipality is hawkers tax, which the board propose to abolish. On the other hand wheel tax and horse tax are in force in the municipality but not in the cantonment.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : May I ask the Honourable Member if this professional tax also exists in other cantonments or whether it is going to be levied in the Dalhousie Municipality only ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : I think it does, but I shall require notice of it.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : May I ask which are those cantonments where this professional tax is already in existence ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : I shall require notice.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga** : With reference to part (b) of this question, there is a mention made here of the servant tax. May I have some more enlightenment about this ? Is it a tax levied upon the domestic servants that the people employ or any servant that may be engaged by any of these agriculturists in that particular area ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : It is a tax paid by people who keep servants within the cantonment.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : What is the incidence of this tax ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : I shall require notice, but it is very small.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga** : Is it a domestic servant or any servant ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : I think it means a domestic servant in practice.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande** : Is it a fact that taxation is being increased to give more pay to the staff which is already over-paid ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** : The taxation is not being increased to give more pay to the staff and the staff is not being over-paid.

**PROVISION OF MEDICAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE MUTTRA CANTONMENT.**

**691. \*Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there exists neither any arrangement for medical relief, nor a primary school for the civil population of Muttra Cantonment ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Muttra Cantonment Board spends a big proportion of its income on the maintenance of a costly staff, and neglects essential services ?

(c) What steps do Government propose to take to provide medical and educational facilities to civilians in that cantonment ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a) There is no hospital or dispensary in the cantonment. Patients from the cantonment are treated in the civil hospital. Educational facilities exist within easy reach of the cantonment at the Mission School, Government and Municipal Schools.

(b) No.

(c) The Board is already taking action to provide and maintain a dispensary and also has the question of education under consideration.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** Is it a fact that the civil hospital is about three miles away from the Muttra Cantonment ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Not that I know of.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I know whether the Cantonment is contributing anything towards the civil hospital and the schools in the civil area ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I shall require notice of that.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I ask whether it is not incumbent upon the Cantonment to maintain any of these facilities ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Yes, the Cantonment should maintain them.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** Then why are they not being maintained by them now ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The Cantonment naturally have to consider the amount of funds at their disposal, and the raising of taxation is, as the Honourable Member must be fully aware, extremely unpopular. Therefore, when reasonable facilities exist close at hand, the Cantonment may be tempted to take advantage of them.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I ask for how many years this Cantonment has been functioning ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** For over a hundred years.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** If it has been functioning for over a hundred years, why is it that the idea of establishing a hospital or a school or anything else of that sort has not arisen ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The fact is that some years ago the Sadar Bazar of this Cantonment was, I believe, excised. The present civil population of the Muttra Cantonment is extremely small.

**Mr. Lalchand Navaijai :** May I know if the medical aid is being given in other cantonments ? If so, why a distinction is made here ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** For the reason that I have given, medical aid is not given at present in the Muttra Cantonment, though it is shortly going to be. In other cantonments it is being given.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I know the income of this cantonment ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Rs. 18,221.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I know the items of expenditure ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The expenditure on the office establishment and the engineering staff is Rs. 2,215, the remainder is spent on ordinary amenities, such as, roads, lighting, sanitation, drainage, etc.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I ask whether the lighting has been extended to the civil population ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Surely, yes.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga :** Is the rate of taxation in the Muttra Cantonment less or more than what it is in other cantonments ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The rate is undoubtedly very low. I think the Honourable Member will find that in almost all the cantonments the rate of taxation is markedly less than that in municipalities.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga :** Out of this Rs. 18,000 odd, what is the amount contributed by the civil population ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I shall require notice of that, but the amount is very small.

#### COLLECTION AND MAINTENANCE OF LARGE RESERVES OF FOODSTUFFS IN ENGLAND.

692. **\*Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Defence Secretary please state :

- (a) whether it is a fact that large reserves of foodstuffs are being collected and maintained in England as part of its defence plan and the foodstuffs are being purchased in India ;
- (b) whether the Government of India were consulted in the matter and whether they agreed to it ; and
- (c) if so, why ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a) Government have no information.

(b) The reply to the first portion is in the negative ; the latter does not, therefore, arise.

(c) Does not arise.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know whether Government have made enquiries after receipt of this question from me and they could not get any information, or is it merely answered on the ground that before the question was received they had no information ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The answer is that Government have no information and they see no reason why they should make any enquiry to get that information.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** In view of the fact that the internal economy of the country and the external trade of the country largely depend upon wide purchases which may be made by the powerful British Government, may I know the reason why Government have not found out exactly the truth or otherwise of this statement, namely, that the Government in England are making large purchase of foodstuffs in this country ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Government have no reason to believe that any purchases which may have been made have had the slightest effect of any kind whatever upon the internal economic situation in India.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I ask whether the Honourable the Defence Secretary had the benefit of the advice of the Economic Adviser to the Government of India in this matter ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I have had the benefit of listening to the Honourable the Commerce Member's answer to a precisely similar question a week ago.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I have unfortunately to ask this question of the Defence Department, according to the distribution of subjects made by the Government. May I know how Government have come to the conclusion that, even if very large stocks of foodstuffs are purchased, it will not affect the economic well-being of this country at all one way or the other or the export trade one way or the other ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** If such large purchases had been made, Government would undoubtedly have heard about it.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Have they come to the conclusion that the purchases made are not large enough for them to make enquiries ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** If such large purchases had been made, it must have come to the notice of Government.

#### INDIANISATION OF THE INDIAN AIR FORCE.

693. **\*Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Defence Secretary please state :

- (a) the conditions under which the Indianisation of the Indian air force constituted in 1933 are being effected ;
- (b) whether there is any proposal for increasing the pace of Indianisation in the recently constituted Indian air force ;
- (c) the reasons why the same rules apply to the Indian air force as to other arms of the Indian Army ; and
- (d) whether there is any proposal to accelerate the pace of Indianisation in this force, and if not, why not ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a), (b) and (c). The squadron of the Indian Air Force is a purely Indian unit and the term 'Indianisation' is not strictly applicable. The present British officers and airmen attached as instructors and for supervision will be withdrawn as and when Indian personnel become sufficiently experienced.

(d) The completion of the establishment of this squadron of the Indian Air Force is being pressed forward with all possible speed consistent with ensuring the safety of flying and the efficiency of technical personnel.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** With reference to parts (a) to (c) to which my Honourable friend gave a very comprehensive answer, may I know what is the proportion or the number of British personnel as compared with Indian personnel under these two categories for instruction and supervision ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The whole personnel is Indian, but simply a certain number of trained ground staff is lent by the Royal Air Force and one Royal Air Force officer.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** How many are Europeans ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Of the Officers, one.

**Mr. Manu Subedar :** Is it a fact that the Indian Air Force is not equipped with the same arms as the Royal Air Force, they have not the same kind of guns or equipment ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** They have precisely the same type of equipment as the remainder of the air forces in India.

**Mr. Manu Subedar :** Is it a fact that they are not equipped with the same equipment as the Air Force in the United Kingdom ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Because the financial conditions have not yet enabled us to rearm the Air Force in India in accordance with the latest specifications.

**Mr. Manu Subedar :** Will the Honourable Member inform this House in what respect the equipment is different ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** It would be difficult to do so in answer to a supplementary question.

**Mr. K. Santhanam :** Will the Honourable Member say how many Indian officers are there in the so-called Indian Air Force ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The number of Indian officers is 15 at present, of whom 10 are actually serving, two are still under training and three are now on their way to England.

**Mr. K. Santhanam :** What is the number of officers of the Royal Air Force stationed in India ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** That does not arise.

#### DISPOSAL OF THE DEFENCE FORCES OF INDIA IN RESPECT OF FUTURE WARS.

694. **\*Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Defence Secretary please state :

(a) whether any negotiations are going on between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India with regard to the disposal of the defence forces in India in respect of future wars ;

(b) what those proposals are ; and

(c) whether Government will take the legislature into confidence before they accept the proposals ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a), (b) and (c). I refer the Honourable Member to the replies I gave to Seth Govind Das' starred question No. 589 of the 30th August, 1938, on the same subject, and the supplementary questions arising therefrom.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** My Honourable friend will correct me, if I am wrong. I remember that my Honourable friend then stated that these questions could not be answered in the public interest. May I know whether there are any plans, being discussed now between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, as regards the disposal of the defence forces in India in respect of future wars ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Plans are continuing to be discussed as I said clearly on the 30th August and the position now is that we hope to be shortly able to make an announcement.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know whether these plans include a fresh disposition of the defence forces in India, in order that they may become more effective units in Imperial defence forces ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I regret I cannot anticipate the announcement.

**Mr. Manu Subedar :** May I know whether the question of His Majesty's Government taking over the financial responsibility of the British troops in India is one of the proposals now under consideration ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I still regret that I am unable to anticipate the announcement.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know whether under these plans which are being discussed there are any fresh financial commitments to the Indian exchequer ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I must again repeat my answer to the previous two questions that I cannot anticipate the announcement.

#### AIR DEFENCE OF INDIA.

695. **\*Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Defence Secretary please state :

- (a) what action has been taken, or is being taken, in respect of the air defence of India ;
- (b) whether any fresh proposals are under consideration ; and
- (c) whether the legislature will be consulted by Government before those proposals are accepted by them ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a), (b) and (c). I refer the Honourable Member to the replies I gave on the 7th February, 1938, to Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh's starred question No. 156 on the same subject.

**Mr. Lalchand Navaijai :** Have any further steps been taken after the answer was given last ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I cannot add to the material then given.



**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** With reference to part (b), may I know what is the specific answer, whether there are any fresh proposals under consideration in respect of the air defence of India ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The details of the proposals fresh or otherwise—I do not quite understand what 'fresh' means—which are under consideration are as I stated in my answer to Mr. Govind Deshmukh's question not in the public interest to give.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** What are the financial commitments thereof ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** None at present.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Certain proposals are at present under consideration. May I know what, according to the calculation of the Government, is the effect of financial commitments of this proposal ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I am entirely unable to state that.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** With reference to part (c), may I know whether, before Government accepting or undertaking any fresh financial commitments, they will consult this House, in respect of these proposals ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The matter of air defence of India is one for the executive Government, and I cannot guarantee that the Legislature will be consulted before they are accepted.

#### PROPOSAL TO INCREASE THE INCOME-TAX STAFF.

196. **Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state :

- (a) whether there are any proposals under the contemplation of the Government of India for increasing the income-tax staff ;
- (b) whether it is proposed to appoint eleven Assistant Income-tax Officers and four Examiners of Accounts for Bengal, two Income-tax Officers and four Inspector-Accountants for Bihar and Orissa, five Assistant Income-tax Officers for Bombay City, five Assistant Income-tax Officers for Bombay mofussil, one Assistant Income-tax Officer for Sind and six first grade Inspectors for the Central Provinces and the United Provinces ;
- (c) what the cost of this increased staff will be ; and
- (d) whether Government have satisfied themselves that this increase of staff is necessary in the interests of India as a whole ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** (a) and (b). The additional staff mentioned in part (b) of the question has been sanctioned on a temporary basis upto 28th February, 1939.

(c) The additional expenditure involved during the current financial year, is about Rs. 1,50,000.

(d) Yes.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Was this staff sanctioned after the last budget was passed by this House ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** I do not remember the budget being passed by this House.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I accept the facetious comment ! I am asking whether provision for this extra staff was made in the original budget for this year, and if not how the money is proposed to be found for it.

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** A much larger provision was made in the budget which has been cut down because certain parts of the scheme have been deferred for consideration.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I ask the Honourable the Finance Member what were the extraordinary circumstances which were not foreseen or foreseeable at the time of the budget necessitating provision for this extra staff after the budget, out of certain savings, on expenditure on proposals which were already budgeted, but which have been put off ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** The Honourable Member who replied to the original question just now said that provision was made in the budget for the expansion of the staff, but this is rather a smaller expansion than that originally foreseen. The need for the expansion of the staff in the income-tax department is to tighten up collection and the administration of the tax so as to yield more revenue and to intercept the revenue which at present escapes.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know whether this expansion of staff was made, with a view to future management under the new Indian Income-tax Act or independently of that ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I cannot separate the needs of the legislative proposals of the Government and of the administrative proposals.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** Has this sanctioned project been given effect to ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** Yes, certainly.

**Mr. K. Santhanam :** May I know whether the 1½ lakhs mentioned by the Honourable Member is the permanent recurring cost or only the cost for this year ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** It is the cost for this year.

**Mr. K. Santhanam :** What will be the recurring cost ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** That is rather a difficult question to answer because the original scheme has for the current year been cut down.

**Seth Govind Das :** After cutting it down what would be the recurring expenditure per year ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** There can be no recurring expenditure when the sanction expires on the 28th February, 1939.

#### EXPORTS OF GOLD AND SOVEREIGNS FROM INDIA.

697. **\*Seth Govind Das :** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state :

- (a) whether it is a fact that gold sovereigns of the value of Rs. 44,43,360 were exported from the Bombay port to foreign countries by the s.s. " Camorin " on 1st July, 1938 :

- (b) the total quantity, or its value in rupees, of gold which left India since Great Britain went off the gold standard ;
- (c) the percentage of India's entire holdings exported so far ; and
- (d) what action, if any, Government propose taking in the matter of preventing further export of gold from this country ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** (a) Yes.

(b) 38,525,426 ounces, value approximately Rs. 326 crores.

(c) No accurate estimate is possible but, according to a tentative estimate given in the annual Report of the Bank of International Settlements for the year 1934-35, the gold hoarded in India from 1493 to 1930 amounted to a minimum of 14.54 crores of rupees. On this calculation only about one-fifth of India's gold holdings have been exported since 1931.

(d) I have nothing to add to my previous replies and statements on the subject.

**Seth Govind Das :** Is the Honourable Member still not satisfied that sufficient gold has been exported and now Government should take some steps in this direction ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I am still satisfied that for India to sell gold at a profit of 70 per cent. and to invest the proceeds in remunerative investments instead of burying it in the ground is extremely good business.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Have Government made any inquiries, or do they propose to make any inquiries, as to how much of this exported gold is what is called "distress gold", which my Honourable friend certainly understands, i.e., gold sold by people who have no other source of money and have got to sell it because they have got to pay their taxes to Government or to keep body and soul together ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I have made no specific inquiries but I have made orations on that question in this House on one or two occasions, if the Honourable Member will refer to them.

**Seth Govind Das :** What is the approximate percentage of this distress gold according to the Honourable Member's calculations ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I have no opinion or information on that point.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** In view of the fact that the Honourable Member made a statement today that the money realised from this sale of gold is being invested, has he any knowledge of what percentage of the money realised has been invested ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** No, of course not.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** If he does not know, on what grounds did he say that ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** That too the Honourable Member can see for himself if he will refer to some of my earlier speeches on this subject. One of the pieces of evidence is the low internal interest rates

which is a pretty good piece of evidence, and another piece of evidence is the very considerable growth, in spite of the reduction of interest rates, in the accumulations in the Post Office Savings Bank and the investments in postal cash certificates.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Have Government given up the idea of imposing an export duty on this gold specially, apart from other things, in view of the financial condition of the Government of India ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I never had any such idea.

#### INVESTMENTS OF ENGLAND AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN INDIA.

698. **\*Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury :** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state :

- (a) the total foreign investments in India ;
- (b) the total investment of Britain in India, and its yearly return ;
- (c) when these investments were made and what return, if any, it has already fetched ; and
- (d) whether Government are thinking of paying up these moneys of foreign investors so that India's earnings may not go out of the country ; if not, why not ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** (a), (b) and (c). Government have no information.

(d) It is not practicable to do this except gradually and as opportunity offers. As I have repeatedly stated Government lose no chance of repatriating sterling debt.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury :** Am I to understand that Government do not keep any account of the foreign investments ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** That is so.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury :** May I know why ?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** With reference to clauses (a) and (b), in view of the great importance to this country and its future of having some information, however approximate it may be, under these two categories, may I know whether Government will take steps to collect statistics under these two heads, and if not, why not ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I think the only practicable source or method of providing these statistics is to do it in connection with income-tax returns; but to do it in connection with income-tax returns will want very much better machinery than we have got now. And anyhow it would be necessary to amend the law which requires that information furnished to income-tax officers should be kept secret.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know whether Government will collect the information for their own purposes, and in view of the fact that, in regard to our electoral rolls, I think the law has already been amended so as to enable income-tax officers to supply information to returning officers in order to make up the electoral rolls of all income-tax assesses, and whether Government will take steps to amend the Act and increase the

staff once, which may be an *ad hoc* increment of staff? Will Government take steps to get this information under these categories, legislative and staff?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** There is a great deal of other information that I should like to collect in connection with our income-tax work, and the general question of income-tax statistics is under consideration. As regards the Honourable Member's suggestion that the Income-tax Act has already been amended to provide for disclosure of income-tax information in the particular respects mentioned, I think it is inaccurate.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad :** Is it not desirable in the interest of sound finance of the country that the Finance Member should know not only what the liabilities of Government are but also the liabilities of the country as a whole?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** Yes, and I would also like to know what the assets of the country are as a whole and the investments abroad.

**Mr. Mannu Subedar :** The Finance Member told us that he has no specific information of the volume of foreign investments in India. Have Government any general idea as to whether foreign investments in India are increasing or diminishing?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I should say they are quite definitely diminishing.

#### ALLEGED OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOUR OF THE INCOME-TAX OFFICER, MONTGOMERY.

699. \***Mr. Sham Lal :** Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state :

- (a) if it is a fact that the members of the Shop-keepers Association, Montgomery (Punjab), complained against the objectionable behaviour of the Income-tax Officer, Montgomery ;
- (b) whether they complained that the Income-tax Officer was in the habit of abusing the public and addressing respectable people as *Be-i-mān*, *Chor*, *Badmash*, and would keep them standing for hours without offering a seat and threatened them with criminal prosecution without rhyme and reason ;
- (c) whether the Commissioner of Income-tax, Punjab, made any enquiry into this complaint, and what action he took ;
- (d) whether the public also asked the Commissioner of Income-tax, Punjab, to allow them an interview, and whether he granted it ; and
- (e) whether Government are prepared to make any enquiry into this complaint and remove the grievances of the shop-keepers of Montgomery ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) The Assistant Commissioner of Income-tax made a thorough enquiry under the Commissioner's instructions and found the complaints to be baseless.

(d) The Proprietor of Azad Shoe Company asked for an interview on behalf of the public and the Commissioner granted it.

(e) I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to part (c) above.

**Mr. Sham Lal :** May I know whether the shopkeepers were examined by the Assistant Income-tax Commissioner ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** The Shopkeepers' Association is practically confined to a very small number indeed and they were given a hearing.

**Mr. Mann Subedar :** May I know whether a general circular will be sent round to income-tax officials not to abuse members of the public and merchants in terms which are alleged to have been used ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** I do not see how that question can arise. I have replied that there is no evidence of that having happened.

#### INCREASE IN HOUSE TAX IN THE MULTAN CANTONMENT.

700. **\*Sardar Mangal Singh :** Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state :

(a) whether it is a fact that recently the Multan Cantonment Board has decided to increase the house tax from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and

(b) whether it is a fact that all the six elected members of the Board opposed the proposal, which was carried by the official majority and the official President ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a) and (b). Yes.

#### JUDGES OF THE FEDERAL COURT.

701. **\*Mr. Sri Prakasa :** Will the Honourable the Home Member state :

(a) the date on which the Judges of the Federal Court were appointed and the salaries of each ;

(b) the exact number of hours for which the Judges sat since their appointment to the end of July, 1938 ; and

(c) the conditions of their appointment and the duration for which they have been appointed ?

**The Honourable Mr. B. M. Maxwell :** (a) and (c). The Judges of the Federal Court were appointed with effect from the 1st October, 1937, and, as regards their salaries and conditions of service, etc., I refer the Honourable Member to the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Government of India (Federal Court) Order, 1936, made by His Majesty in Council under that Act.

(b) The Government of India have no information.

**Seth Govind Das :** How many cases have so far been decided by these Judges of the Federal Court ?

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell :** I have said that the Government of India have no information. The Federal Court is not under the administrative control of the Government of India and we receive no returns from the Federal Court.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande :** Is it a fact that they had only one sitting up till now for about 45 minutes ?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Government have said that they have no information.

**Mr. K. Santhanam :** May I know whether questions cannot be asked in this House about the Federal Court ?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : You can do so under the rules, that is all.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I point out that, in the list of subjects for which Departments of the Government are responsible to give answers in this House, the Federal Court is a subject under the Home Department, and, if that is so, why does the Honourable Member not answer the question ?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : He says it is not the responsibility of the Governor General in Council.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** What is then the purpose of including it in this list ?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Whatever information they can give, they will I suppose.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** We are told by your office, Sir, and we accept it—and I take it the Government also accept it—that the Federal Court is one of the subjects for which the Honourable the Home Member is responsible. No doubt, I cannot ask questions about the qualifications of the Judges or the quality of their work—that may be ruled out of order : but this is a plain question with regard to the hours of work. We want to know this as the taxpayers' representatives, because we think that our money is being wasted and there is no work, and, therefore, there should be some machinery by which we may get this information to judge whether the Court is justified in being kept in existence with such huge salaries and what work they are doing, in quantity, not in quality. We must have some answer.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I have already pointed out that I can only admit questions that I think are admissible under the rules. It is for the Government to give any answer they think proper to the questions so admitted. If the Government Member says "I refuse to answer the question", then the Honourable Member can appeal to me.

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell :** May I explain ? The Federal Court was put in the subjects allotted to the Home Department for purposes of question, because there are a limited number of matters, with which the Government of India are concerned—Honourable Members can find out what those matters are by referring to the Government of India Act, and the Government of India are in a position to answer questions in regard to such matters ; but in regard to the internal administra-

tion of the Federal Court and such like things, these are matters in which they are not under the administrative control of the Government of India at all. Nor was it contemplated in the scheme of the Act that the Federal Court should be subject to the control of the Government of India or the Legislature in these matters.

**Mr. K. Ahmed :** May I ask one question to the point ? In view of the fact that the Federal Court has got no business and the Judges are idling themselves....

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) :** The Honourable Member cannot make any reflection on the judges of the Court.

**Mr. K. Ahmed :** I was simply saying that under Order XVI of the Rules drafted by the Federal Court with the approval of His Excellency the Governor General "an appellant if he is in jail may present his petition of appeal and the accompanying documents to the officer in charge of the jail, who shall forward them to the Federal Court." This is with regard to jail appeals. In view of the fact that there is not a single appeal pending or filed or a petition forwarded by the jailors to this Court and the Judges have got no business, do Government propose to take steps for the benefit of the public as well as of those who are rightly or wrongly convicted and detained in jail, so that their petitions may be submitted or forwarded to the Registrar of this Federal Court by the jailors and the learned Judges including the Advocate General may find some occupation for the benefit of the public ? I want an answer, Sir.

(No answer.)

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know if the Honourable Member will be good enough to write to the Registrar of the Federal Court, and find out for how many hours the Court sat since 1938 July, and how many cases they have tried and how many cases are pending before them, how many cases they have disposed of, how many hours they sat on the whole, because it is a matter of first class public importance in which this House is interested.

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell :** I will consult the Federal Court as to whether they are willing to answer these questions, but I cannot compel them to do so.

#### APPOINTMENT OF AN ADDITIONAL SECRETARY FOR THE DEFENCE DEPARTMENT.

702. **\*Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** Will the Defence Secretary state :

- (a) whether an additional Secretary has been appointed for the Defence Department ;
- (b) the reasons for this fresh appointment ; and
- (c) whether it is temporary or permanent ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** (a) Yes.

(b) To take over work of an inter-departmental character, especially that connected with the problems of supply in peace and war.

(c) At present it is temporary.



**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I know who was doing that work till now ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Various persons including myself.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I know the special reasons which have necessitated this addition, if the work is the same as was done before.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I am afraid that the Honourable Member's assumption that the work is the same is unjustified. The work has very greatly increased.

**Seth Govind Das :** From when has this work increased ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I should think from last year, and it is rapidly growing.

**Seth Govind Das :** What is the reason for this increase in this one year ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The reason is the general situation.

**Seth Govind Das :** What is that general situation ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The Honourable Member can surely see that for himself.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** What is the financial effect of this appointment ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** It is very small.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** May I know what it is ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I suppose it would be somewhere between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 a month.

**Seth Govind Das :** Does the Honourable Member consider that Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 a month is a very small amount for this country ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Yes, considering the enormous nature of the problems concerned and their vital importance to this country.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** May I know whether, in view of this fact that the gentleman comes from the Legislative Department, his appointment has been created for the purpose of producing more Bills like the Army Recruitment Bill ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** No.

#### MUSLIM NEWSPAPERS ON THE LIST OF THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC INFORMATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF GIVING ADVERTISEMENTS.

†703. **\*Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha :** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state the minimum circulation of newspapers necessary for inclusion in the list prepared in the Bureau of Public Information in previous years for the guidance of the departments in the matter of advertisements ? Has that minimum been raised for the last list recently prepared ?

(b) How many Muslim papers have been excluded from the list by this method ?

† Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(c) Will Government be pleased to place on the table a list of such Muslim papers ?

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell :** (a) No definite minimum circulation figure was laid down for the preparation of the advertisement list in previous years. The list is now under its periodical revision and it is now proposed to take a minimum circulation figure of 2,000 as a guide. This, however, will be subject to variation in accordance with circumstances and special needs.

(b) The revision is expected to increase the number of eligible Urdu papers.

(c) The list is a confidential document, and I cannot undertake to lay it on the table.

#### QUALITY OF URDU TRANSLATION ISSUED FOR PUBLICITY BY THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC INFORMATION.

†704. **\*Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha :** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state whether Government are aware that the vernacular press, specially the Urdu Press, complains that the quality of the translation of the material issued for publicity from the Information Office has deteriorated and that it is not sent to them in that popular form in which it used to be done before ?

(b) Are Government aware that generally this material is being discarded for the above reasons and finds no adequate publicity in the press ?

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell :** (a) Government have received and are aware of no complaints about the quality of the translation or the form of the material issued. No change has been made in the form of material supplied to the Indian Languages Press and the work is done by the same experienced translators who have been in the Bureau for some years.

(b) The material supplied is often prominently displayed in the press and Government have reason to believe that it is appreciated.

#### TRADE BETWEEN CEYLON AND INDIA FROM POINT CALAMERE.

705. **\*Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** Will the Honourable the Finance Member state :

(a) whether Point Calamere is the nearest place to Ceylon, and whether there was a large trade going on between Ceylon and India from that place ;

(b) whether the trade has been prohibited within recent years ; and

(c) if so, for what reasons ?

**Mr. A. H. Lloyd :** (a) No.

(b) In 1931 the status of the port was changed from that of a customs-port to that of a port for the carrying on of coasting trade with the port of Topputturai. Consequently, it cannot carry on trade with Ceylon, except through the port of Topputturai.

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†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(c) The foreign trade of the port in the years preceding 1931 was so small that there was no justification for keeping it open for such trade.

# FAILURE OF THE CALICUT BANK.

706. **Mr. K. S. Gupta :** (a) Is the Honourable the Finance Member aware that there is another recent Bank (Calicut) crash in South India ? If so, what is the action taken, or proposed to be taken, to alleviate the distress and misery of thousands of persons affected in the Madras Presidency ?

(b) How many banks incorporated outside India are operating in British India ? How many of them are particularly operating in Madras Presidency ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** (a) I am aware that the Calicut Bank filed a reconstruction scheme in the High Court on the 15th August and closed its doors on the 16th. In view of the size of the Bank, I think the wording of the Honourable Member's question tends to exaggerate the importance of the occurrence. I understand that, apart from the proceedings in the High Court, other judicial proceedings have been instituted in regard to this bank, and I must, therefore, refrain from making any further statements about it.

(b) Such information as is available to Government will be found in Appendix I to the " Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India ", a copy of which will be found in the Library.

**Mr. Manu Subedar :** May I inquire what steps Government are taking either through the Reserve Bank or otherwise in order to see that any banks which have developed some weakness do not result in a crash, but that they are warned in time and they are put on the proper path if they have deviated from it ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** The Honourable Member will wait until the other judicial proceedings to which I have referred become public and then see the answer to his question.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Has the Honourable Member's attention been drawn to a statement made by the Indo-Commercial Bank in South India in which they have stated that there have been attempts made to bring about a crash of that bank also by anonymous letters and telegrams and that they have applied to the Reserve Bank for investigation, so that they may be saved from a crash, and in view of the fact that one or two crashes have taken place and a third Bank is reported to be in a serious condition, will the Honourable the Finance Member expedite consideration of this matter, and get something done by the Reserve Bank to see that banking is placed on a sound footing in South India as against these alarming rumours that are going on ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I think the Honourable Member is quite wrong in stating that the Indo-Commercial Bank is in any danger.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I am not saying that. ....

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I very much deprecate any such statement being made.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I also deprecate. I understand the anger of my friend; but I want that anger translated into action; but I am asking, Sir, whether my friend's attention has been drawn to a statement made by two respectable Directors, one of them is Mr. T. R. Venkataram Shastri, C.I.E., *ex-Advocate General* of Madras, in which they have publicly stated that there is a deliberate run on the bank in order to bring about a crash or an unsound position for the Bank, and they have applied to the Reserve Bank for investigation so that they may be saved from trouble; and may I know whether the Government are keeping in active touch with this matter, in view of the fact that the banking work is very sensitive in such matters, and what steps do they propose to take to restore confidence?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I have a great deal more information than the Honourable Member has got about the affairs of these banks and of the names of persons responsible for trying to run them down.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** What action do Government propose to take in the matter?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** The Reserve Bank has taken all the action that is necessary.

#### NON-APPOINTMENT OF BIHARIS AS DIVISIONAL ACCOUNTANTS IN BIHAR.

†707. **\*Mr. Ramayan Prasad :** (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that since the creation of the Province of Behar not a single Beharee passed accounts clerk has been promoted to the cadre of Divisional Accountant?

(b) Is it a fact that six Beharee passed accounts clerks have by now fully qualified themselves, as required under the rules, for promotion to the cadre of Divisional Accountant, but there is no chance of their promotion for several years to come, if appointments to the cadre are made in the usual way?

(c) Is it a fact that under orders of either the Government or the Auditor General of India, two direct appointments of Divisional Accountants in Behar (one Muhammadan and one Christian) were made in order to represent the minority community of Behar on the cadre?

(d) Is it a fact that no such encouragement has yet been given to the majority community of the Province (Hindus) by giving preference to Beharee passed accounts clerks in appointments to the cadre of Divisional Accountants?

(e) If the answers to the above parts be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they now propose to issue necessary instructions to the Auditor General of India that all future vacancies in the cadre of Divisional Accountants in Behar should be given to Beharee passed accounts clerks, till a reasonable percentage of them is represented on the cadre?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** The information is being obtained and will be laid on the table in due course.

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†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICES ON TERRITORIAL OR PROVINCIAL BASIS.

1708. \***Babu Kailash Behari Lal** : (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state if, since the answer given to my starred question No. 717, on the 22nd September, 1937, Government have received any representation from any Provincial Government, or from any body, regarding the recruitment to the public services under the Government of India from the different Provinces on a territorial basis ?

(b) Are Government now prepared to consider the question of recruitment to the public service on a territorial or Provincial basis ? Is it a fact that some of the Provinces have been totally neglected in the matter of appointment to public services under the Government of India ?

**The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell** : (a) No.

(b) The Government of India do not consider that the present system should be changed. I cannot agree that any Province is neglected.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DUTY LEVIED ON AFGHAN COINS AT THALL IN THE KOHAT DISTRICT.

30. **Mr. Abdul Qaiyum** : Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state :

- (a) whether a duty of 25 per cent. is being levied on the Afghan coins at Thall, Kohat District, North West Frontier Province ;
- (b) when that duty was imposed and the reasons for its imposition ;
- (c) at which particular stations this duty is being collected ;
- (d) whether Government are aware that this has hit the Thall traders very hard, and that they have protested against it ; and
- (e) whether Government are prepared to take steps to remove this duty ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** : (a) I presume that the Honourable Member refers to Afghan silver coins. The rate at which duty is recovered on such coins is annas three per ounce.

(b) 1st February, 1938. The main object was to prevent diversion to land routes of traffic which should normally have come by sea, with consequent loss to Government revenue and unequal competition with other trade.

(c) Ordinarily at Torkham, Thal and Chaman.

(d) The Central Government have no information.

(e) No.

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†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

## CHEMICAL ADVISER FOR THE GHAZIPORE AND NEEMUCH OPIUM FACTORIES.

31. **Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha** : Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state :

- (a) whether there is any Chemical Adviser for the Ghazipore and Neemuch opium factories ;
- (b) if so, whether the designation of the officer is going to be changed to that of the Chief Chemist ;
- (c) whether a laboratory is going to be established at Delhi for his use ;
- (d) whether a Government officer who is going to retire shortly, is going to be appointed to this post ;
- (e) if so, what is the object of appointing a retired official ;
- (f) whether the gentleman possesses any knowledge of organic chemistry, and
- (g) if not, what is the special qualification for which the gentleman is going to be appointed ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** : (a) The Central Board of Revenue has a Chemical Adviser who exercises technical supervision over all the chemical laboratories under the Board's control including the laboratory at Ghazipore.

(b) The designation of the officer has been changed to that of 'Chief Chemist, Central Revenue Chemical Service'.

(c) A proposal for the construction of a Control Laboratory at Delhi is under the consideration of the Government of India.

(d) No decision has been reached as to who will be appointed to the post after the Control Laboratory is established, if it is established.

(e), (f) and (g). Do not arise.

## BUILDINGS IN CALCUTTA VACATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON TRANSFER OF CAPITAL TO DELHI.

32. **Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury** : Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether he will lay on the table a statement showing :

- (i) the list of sites and buildings vacated by the Government of India in Calcutta after the transfer of the Capital to Delhi ;
- (ii) the list of those sold or leased with prices realised, or rents received ;
- (iii) the list of those re-occupied for purposes of the Central Government ; and
- (iv) the list of those occupied by other parties, neither sold nor leased ?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** : The question should have been addressed to the Honourable Member in charge of the Labour Department.

## RESOLUTION *RE* IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE.

**Maulana Shaukat Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces : Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, the Resolution that stands in my name runs thus :

" That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that early steps be taken to constitute a Committee of the elected and other members of the Central Legislature to devise a scheme for implementing the following unanimous recommendation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee (of 1928), namely, ' It is, however, unanimously agreed that, whether the slower or the more rapid rate of progression is ultimately adopted, the scheme actually in operation should be reviewed in 1938, that is to say five years after the inauguration of the Indian Sandhurst, with a view to considering whether the success achieved is not sufficiently solid to warrant a further acceleration of the rate of progress '."

Sir, even if I make no speech in support of my Resolution, I think the Resolution itself is so palpably clear that the Government ought to accept it and carry out the unanimous recommendation of the Sken Committee. Before I proceed further, I would earnestly beg of all Members in this House that they should not introduce any heat into this discussion. It is a question of very great importance for India. We want to defend our country, we want to train the best of our manhood so that India may be self-sufficient, and, I think, it will be universally admitted that at least in so far as the army training is concerned, as far as the military science is concerned, we shall have to remain for some time at least as pupils of those who are in a better position than ourselves in order to get efficient military training. Whatever the cause may be, it is a fact that we cannot defend our country today. I do not want to start any acrimonious discussion. There is no doubt that we have to train our army, and the time has come when the subject should be taken up in right earnest and I would strongly request the Government and all concerned that a strong Committee composed of the best brains of India and the most sympathetic and eminent military experts may be appointed as early as possible so that they may start their labours soon.

Sir, 1938 has been mentioned in the Resolution. The Motor Vehicles Bill is being considered now, the Income-tax Bill will be considered next November, and, I think, the Defence Department will do well to make up their mind to devote all their time and attention to this very important question and appoint a Committee in this very year. I hope there will be no delay in appointing this Committee and that they will start their work very soon in right earnest. Sir, many questions are being asked as to whether this scheme has been a success or not, but I, on my part, have no hesitation in saying that today you can find good Indian recruits to train as officers. There is no doubt that there is no lack of fine recruits in this country. There are very capable and efficient men in this country. If you look to the working of any department in which we have been tried, you will find that Indians have not been found wanting, that they will not hang down their heads before anybody in this world. Take the profession of law, take the profession of medicine, take the profession of engineering, take the department of science and learning, nay take even sport, you will find that India has done remarkably well. But, Sir, it is a matter of shame to us that we are not capable of defending our country, and we have not been able to produce sufficient officers to officer the Indian Army, and I think the time has come when this country should devote its time and attention to this matter. It is really a very serious matter. What is

[Maulana Shaukat Ali.]

happening in Europe every one knows ; what may happen to India we can guess, and I appeal to all my friends in this House to deal with this question with calmness and earnestness, because the time has come when we should tackle this question in all seriousness. I wish to point out that a cadre of 60 officers has been fixed,—30 to be recruited from the ranks and 30 from open competition. I think, for a country of the size of India 60 officers is too small a number, and we shall require nearly 3,000 officers. If we have to train our army, if we have to man our Indian Army, we must have at least 3,000 officers, and should any emergency arise, when our country is attacked, we shall need many more officers, and I do believe, Sir, with all the knowledge that I have of the youth of this country, with all the knowledge that I have of the manhood of this country, if Government desire it, they can train 600 officers every year, and in five years' time we shall be able to get the full quota of officers for our army. Sir, in every department of activity we have shown our efficiency, and I think the time has come when in the army also we must do so. Let His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the military officers think that instead of running the whole show themselves they must get the assistance of this country, and, I think, their work would be judged by the number of people that they produce to replace them when the time for their retirement comes. In the more difficult task of civil administration we have got capable men sitting on that side, and there are more Indians working in the provinces and carrying on the administration to the best of their ability.

I do not think that anyone can say with any show of reason that India cannot produce 3,000 military trained officers to carry on the work of the defence of India. We can produce the men. This House at times is very stormy, but you, Sir, an Indian, control this House, and I have no doubt that all of us in this House, Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—we all willingly obey your commands and you carry on the business of the House to the best of your ability. There are Indian officials on the Government Benches,—eminent lawyers, eminent men in their own line. They carry on the work of administration and I am glad to say from all accounts I hear that the English Civil Service subordinates willingly give them their co-operation and work with them to the best of their ability. Wonderful changes have come over this country. I remember very well thirty years ago when I was that object being called the Government servant, and I know the conditions in which I worked and the conditions today. And I must say that there is a marvellous change for good in this respect. Friendships have been created in spite of many difficulties. We have carried on and I am glad that the non-official Englishmen in India—I must give them this compliment—have taken their proper share in this matter and I feel that they have brought England and India together. No one can deny that we had been demoralised prior to 1857, whatever the causes may be—there is no use going into them. We were demoralised, but coming into contact with a virile set of people like the English we have gained a great deal and we are no more children. I think the Englishmen ought to be proud of his handiwork that, as a result of this contact, even while speaking in a foreign language we can hold our own against the best of their own. Every department is manned by Indians. Higher up we have got three Indian Members in this Government who control the destinies of India, and in



the provinces Indians are working and doing great things. Take any line,—for instance, the medical line. In the face of free competition India has done wonderfully well, and even in this House, if I may be pardoned, we have got Dr. Deshmukh whom any country would be proud to have as one of its great citizens and administrators. I am an optimist and I want this Government to be optimistic also. There is a lot of misunderstanding and suspicion abroad but I do believe in working in co-operation, in working together when we have a great object before us, all would disappear. I do believe we want an army. I do believe that we want that army to be Indian and we want to have very capable officers to control it. Englishmen are well-trained in this line and I want them to teach us. Let us be pupils to them and learn under them to the best of our ability.

I am told that the recruits coming are not of the right type of people. I am afraid that there is some mistake. Long ago Napoleon once said, "Give me British soldiers and French officers and I will conquer the whole world". In those days British officers used to buy their commissions, and, as long as that system lasted, the officering of the troops was weak. Then they changed it and made the military profession very attractive profession. The people who really wanted to make it a career came in and worked hard with brains and intelligence, and with a little money they worked their way up and they made the modern British army. The same thing ought to be done here. In my younger days there were a lot of cricket and other sporting fixtures. I met many Englishmen who were in the army then. If you come to know them they are a fine lot of people. But they did not know much about India, there was a barrier between the cantonment and the city, but when they came in contact with the right type of Indians they proved themselves to be good friends and a fine set of people. They had, however, begun to feel that their own department was a closed and superior department, meant only for British people. Now, when you have started Indianisation and Indians of the richer families have gone in into the army there should not be any more prejudice. As I said, about thirty years ago there was a lot of racial discrimination. Thank God, that discrimination is going away, but, in the army, there is a little bit left even now and it is the duty of the Government, it is the duty of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to see that no discrimination is allowed, that the British officer treats the Indian officer as a brother and comrade, and if they do so, it will be in the interests of the British Empire and of everybody. So far as recruits are concerned, I would say that you have got the whole of the middle class to recruit from. The middle class is the backbone of every nation. Give the middle class a chance. Give our young boys a chance to show their ability, and, I assure you, that if you trust us and trust them,—trust begets trust, you will get a fine lot of young men who will not give any trouble to you but will be a source of strength to you in your troubles.

**An Honourable Member :** Englishmen do not want a fine sort of people.

**Maulana Shaukat Ali :** They do, but if they do not, then it is my duty and your duty to instil into them this fact. Some day they may need not 3,000 but 5,000. Dr. Deshmukh just now told me that when the emergency of the Great War came they recruited nearly or more than 1,000 I. M. S. men.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh** (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Full-blooded genuine Indians.

**Maulana Shaukat Ali** : Yes, over 1,000 in the last Great War. Surely, that breed is not extinct. India is progressing and people are getting more confidence in themselves and feel that they can give a very good account of themselves if they are given a chance. I met a prominent cricketer who has had experience of English and Australian cricket and he told me that the Indian cricket team, if properly supervised, can hold its own against any other team anywhere. In hockey we are superb. As regards football, all honour to Bengal, the Mohan Bagan started it, and now the Muslims in Calcutta have taken it up—we have the Muhammadan Sporting Club—Champion footballers for several years ; Delhi is getting along, and in a few years' time we are bound to be pre-eminent. Surely, with all that material at hand we ought to be able to find a good set of recruits for the army. I have not consulted my friends on this side but, I believe, I shall have the fullest approval of my friends here, if I assure the Honourable the Defence Secretary and the Government on two points. First, if you really want to Indianise the manhood of India so that they may be really efficient, *any money you need we will give*. Is it not so ?

**Some Honourable Members on the Congress Benches** : Yes.

**Maulana Shaukat Ali** : We can give as much money as that department needs. Secondly, not only that, every one—I have not asked them, but every one of these friends of mine and ourselves, who grouse and grumble today, will act as your recruiting sergeants and will give you the right type of officers for our army. You can recruit them direct, you can promote from the ranks where there are capable men. If you only do it, India will be very much happier and you will be happier and I have no doubt that the peace of the world will be maintained to a very great extent.

As I have stated before, I do not want to import heat into this discussion. I have every hope and I pray that Government may accept this very modest Resolution and start work at once. The Persian poet has said :

*“ Man nami goyam, ziyā kun ya ba fikrey sood bash,*

*Ay ze fursat bekhabar dar har chey khawhi sood bash.”*

“ I do not say bear loss or make gain,

Oh thou ignorant of leisure, whatsoever you want, be quick.”

Please don't delay. Tardiness will do no good. I hope, Sir, that Government will rise to the occasion and make a gesture which will be appreciated in this country and start work in such a way that in a few months we may have a new scheme ready in which we may offer hearty co-operation with a view to creating a body of capable officers for the Indian army.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Resolution moved :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that early steps be taken to constitute a Committee of the elected and other members of the Central Legislature to devise a scheme for implementing the following unanimous recommendation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee

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(of 1926), namely, 'It is, however, unanimously agreed that; whether the slower or the more rapid rate of progression is ultimately adopted, the scheme actually in operation should be reviewed in 1938, that is to say five years after the inauguration of the Indian Sandhurst, with a view to considering whether the success achieved is not sufficiently solid to warrant a further acceleration of the rate of progress.'"

I find that there are several amendments in the names of Honourable Members. I would ask them to formally move them, and there will be a general discussion on the Resolution as well as the amendments.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar** (Salem and Coimbatore cum North Arcot : Non-Muhammadian Rural) : Sir, I move :

"That for the word 'early' the word 'immediate' be substituted, and that for the words 'of the elected and other members' the words 'with a majority of elected members' be substituted."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Amendment moved :

"That for the word 'early' the word 'immediate' be substituted, and that for the words 'of the elected and other members' the words 'with a majority of elected members' be substituted."

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madras City : Non-Muhammadian Urbans) : I am not moving my amendment.

**Mr. A. Aikman** (Bengal : European) : Sir, I move :

"That for the words 'of the elected and other members' the words 'including members' be substituted."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Amendment moved :

"That for the words 'of the elected and other members' the words 'including members' be substituted."

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar** : Sir, I would have expected the Government to come forward with a Resolution like this or come forward with the appointment of a committee straightaway for this very good reason that the committee presided over by Lieut-General Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General Staff, itself recommended that automatically after five years the position should be reviewed and now we are closing the year 1938 ; and we would have expected, if the Government were in earnest in this matter of Indianisation, that they would have come forward with a Resolution or with the appointment of a committee themselves, but as usual these things have been left to non-official Resolutions. That committee after sitting for about a year and a half made various recommendations. They explored the causes why a sufficient number of qualified and good type of Indians were not forthcoming then and they made certain recommendations which the Government should adopt immediately and they also recommended the pace of Indianisation which the Government did not choose to accept. As far as I understand, even the recommendations which they made, by way of improving the class of people that we may get for Indian officers, have not been given effect to. They made various recommendations regarding the grant of King's Commission to the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, the University Commission Officers and grant of Commissions to Territorial Force Officers. As far as the University Corps are concerned, I do not know whether Government

[Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.]

have the same enthusiasm today as they had at the time when it was started. I am afraid they don't have it and that for a sufficient reason, that the students of today are not the same as they were about ten years back and today their policy has been, and we have elicited it from them on more occasions than one during the question hour, not to expand the University Training Corps.

I think it is Mr. Tottenham who replied that the Annamalai University, the newly started University in Madras and the Andhra University applied for starting a University Training Corps each and their request was not granted and we do not know whether it has been granted to this day. Apart from this recommendation, the Skeen Committee, as it is called, made a recommendation for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst at Dehra Dun and their reasons were that people were not able to go to England for training, for manifest reasons—that Sandhurst cannot train more than a limited number, that the cost was prohibitive, that the Indian parents were averse to sending their children so far away and they recommended that an institution like the Sandhurst should be established in India, so that the proper type of men may be forthcoming and it is interesting for us to examine what the result has been. I have before me the statistics of persons who have been applying to get admission to this military college, the Indian Sandhurst. The figures are revealing by themselves. The figures are as follows :

	October—November.	March—April.
1934	201	..
1935	131	126
1936 .. ..	124	89
1937 .. ..	116	72
1938 .. ..	..	61

The October-November selection started with 201 candidates and it is now 116, nearly half. That is also the case with the March-April figures. May we enquire the reasons why this fall has taken place. The reasons have been given in this Summary of Important Matters concerning the Defence Services, 1936-37. They say on page 7 :

“ The drop in numbers need not be regarded as serious so long as it continues to be due to the elimination of the class of candidate who is manifestly not up to the required standard.”

In the latest report which is given to us, for 1937-38, they coolly offer no explanations on this matter at all. May I know the reasons for this fall in the number of candidates. If candidates are not forthcoming in England, what do they do ? They do everything to improve their emoluments. They do everything to attract them but what has been done here ? They have not even cared to go into the reasons for this fall, and, as far as we can see, this fall has been due to two reasons and two vital reasons, and one is this, that the army is not attractive enough for Indian Commissioned Officers. They cannot command British ranks,—they cannot hold offices or commissions in regiments

where they can command British soldiers and officers. They are segregated separately to a regiment where only Indians can serve under them and this creates an inferiority complex in them. For these reasons, they cannot command the respect that a King's Commission usually has. Another reason is this. Just now I was having a talk with the Honourable the Defence Secretary and I asked him what are the obligatory expenses that an Indian Commissioned Officer, in an Indian regiment, must incur. He said he cannot give figures exactly but he told me that it might be from Rs. 200 to Rs. 250. My information is that it is something much more and I have got the statistics of an Indian Commissioned Officer, who is now holding a commission in the army in India. His pay today is Rs. 330 and it is very difficult for him to meet his expenses and I will read to you a letter which he has written to his father :

" Dear father, as regards tennis, father, I left off playing last month because I cannot afford the subscriptions, etc. It is impossible to live even from hand to mouth. The Army is no career to make a living in. All my hopes have been shattered. I am even denying myself fresh lime and water and I cannot make the two ends meet."

My plea is, not that I want the pay of Rs. 330 to be increased, but I urge that such a man should not be asked to adopt the same standard of living adopted by European officers. I know that in regiments there are officers who get a pay twice, thrice or even more than that, but, if these officers are asked to live according to the same standard, how can they decently live ? Sir, they are asked to dine in the same mess, to put on the same dress, and they are even asked to stand the same drinks, and in that case do you expect it to be possible for an Indian Commissioned Officer to have that confidence, and that complex, which will make him feel that he is the equal of everybody ?

**Sardar Bahadur Captain Dalpat Singh** (Nominated Non-Official) : It is their own pleasure ; they are not asked.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar** : May I know then whether different messes are allowed,—whether, by their separate living, they are not liable to be looked down upon ? Sir, this letter is written in such a very heart-rending fashion that it must be clear to everybody. We do not object to giving them this pay but we do object to forcing them to adopt a higher standard of living. That is very bad and that is one of the reasons why many do not want to take to the army as a career. There is another point. There were many people who became Indian Commissioned Officers but what has happened to them ? I am told that a good portion of them has resigned from their commissions and gone down. Questions were put and an adjournment motion was moved but they were not allowed to be discussed. Why ? Because they dare not discuss the reasons why people who hold Indian commissions resign from these offices ; and the reasons are these. They are ill-treated, not treated properly, and then, when they go out, they say that they are not qualified, they are not fit to be in the army. This is giving the dog a bad name to hang it. As far as I know I am very doubtful, whether, their profession of sympathy for Indianising the Army is really *bona fide*. I do not know whether this is the way in which they can discourage the proper type of Indians from entering the Army today, so that after some years have passed and they leave the Army, the Government may tell the public, " these are the type of Indian officers we are

[Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar]

getting, we are not getting the proper type, and so Indianisation is a failure". I am not quite sure whether that is not behind the heads of the people who manage these things.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member has one minute more.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar** : There is only one other matter to which I shall refer. The Indian Sandhurst corresponds only to Sandhurst and not to Cranwell or Woolwich which teach technical arts ; we do not have in this country schools or colleges to train boys in the technical arts. The reason why I move this amendment is this, that people having as they do doubts about the policy and about the *bona fides* of the Government, the report of a Committee which consists only of a majority of elected Members only would be acceptable to this House and to this country and that is the main reason why I want this amendment to be moved. Sir, I move.

**Mr. A. Aikman** : Mr. President, I should like in the first instance to congratulate the Mover of this Resolution on his speech and on the very practical manner in which he has placed his proposal before this House. I am very conscious that the discussion of this Resolution and the amendments which have just been moved may well involve wide and important issues—the crucial issue of the progress of Indianisation of the Army to which the Government of India are committed—the practical considerations that face those responsible for carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government and also an appeal to that Indian sentiment and national spirit which the question of Indianisation of the Army always does and cannot fail to arouse.

It is unlikely that we shall all agree as to the relative importance of these three aspects of this problem, and I, certainly, do not propose to make any attempt to assess them, but I have in mind the importance attached by certain Honourable Members to the third aspect when a somewhat similar question was recently debated with an enthusiasm which caused the practical point at issue almost to be lost sight of—an enthusiasm caused by a feeling of national pride which every man who has any regard for the country of his birth can only too readily understand.

The Members of my Group sympathise in this very natural feeling of pride of race and country, but they feel that in view of the fact that this question of Indianisation of the Army is of such fundamental importance to all the aims of Indian national endeavour that it is most desirable that the attitude of Honourable Members to this problem should be such as will enable the House to reach a decision from which a really practical and tangible result shall emerge.

The Members of the Group for whom I speak support this Resolution in principle because we feel it is not only desirable but necessary to set on foot some sort of investigation into the progress of Indianisation of the Army up to date,—an investigation that was in fact contemplated at this time by the Indian Sandhurst Committee.

I well know that there are Honourable Members of this House who sincerely believe that in pursuing this problem Government have not always

acted in earnest. From contacts I have made both with units in process of Indianisation and with officials responsible for dealing with the policy of Government I am convinced that a very real effort is being made. Errors may have occurred but success under certain conditions, even in spite of careful foresight can only be achieved by trial and error and I believe, that the Government's mistakes are those of men honestly trying to put into effect a policy, the practical difficulties of which were fully recognised by every member of the Indian Sandhurst Committee.

However, if doubt exists in the mind of anyone as to the earnestness of Government's intentions, it seems to me that the best way to resolve such a doubt is for the whole problem and the progress made therein to be re-examined. A good deal of suspicion *has* arisen around this subject but I feel that this is really a misunderstanding due to the great difficulty of those outside the Government obtaining accurate knowledge of the true facts. There has been, I think, a reluctance on the part of Government to take responsible persons into their confidence.

Now, Sir, I do not propose to examine or discuss each and every one of the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, and to note those which have been implemented and those which have not. That is one of the main problems that the proposed Committee will, I hope, in due course, examine, but I would just say this, that I feel confident that when the proposed Committee is appointed, as I sincerely hope it will be, its members may be surprised at the large number of the Sken Committee recommendations which are already in operation.

Neither do I propose to discuss the merits or demerits of the scheme because I do not feel competent to express an opinion on it, but I have had opportunity of watching units in process of Indianisation at work and of meeting their officers during their times of leisure, and this I can say, I find great difficulty in giving any credence to the opinions expressed that the scheme of Indianisation is artificial and not a solid and earnest effort to make it a practical success.

In saying this I fully admit that other Honourable Members hold very different views indeed. I must also make it clear that I can speak only as a layman looking at matters through a layman's uninstructed eyes, and I am in no way competent to express an opinion either as to the correctness or as to the impracticability of the method of Indianisation that has held the field hitherto.

This is essentially one of the questions to which the proposed Committee will undoubtedly give their close consideration and I trust the result of their deliberations will later receive equally close and sympathetic consideration both from the Government of India and from His Majesty's Government.

As to the composition of the committee, Sir, my Group have carefully considered the amendment submitted by other Honourable Members which seek to lay down a detail of the proportion of elected Members in the composition of the proposed committee. We have felt it undesirable to do so as this might prevent the most suitable committee being appointed. It seems to us it will lose a great part of its usefulness if it does not have among its members senior military officers of wide experience as well as officials who have been dealing with the problems which have to be considered.

[Mr. A. Aikman.]

It is for this reason, Sir, that I move my amendment so that if the motion be accepted in this amended form the Committee will, according to the ideas of my Group, thus be of a composition best equipped to deal with this very important matter.

In this connection I feel sure my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, will bear me out when I remind this House of the great services that the late Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Skeen rendered to the Indian Sandhurst Committee. I feel certain that if today a new Committee is appointed that includes among its members an officer of similar experience and sympathy the members will find that their deliberations will benefit in a very great degree from his assistance.

**Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan** (Madura and Ramnad *cum* Tinnevely : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Mr. President, as this is the first occasion when I speak formally in this House, I would crave your permission to take this opportunity of thanking you, Sir, and my other Honourable colleagues on behalf of the women of India for the friendly welcome that was extended to the first woman to enter this House ever since it threw open its doors to women several years ago. I am glad that this House appreciates the importance of the participation of women in the work of the all-India Legislature, and I hope that it is happy omen for the future. I would also like to add, Sir, that my own personal satisfaction at the presence of a woman in this House is tempered greatly by a deep sense of the heaviness of my responsibility as a minority of one in an Assembly of 140. I appeal to my Honourable colleagues to share my burden and to see that full justice and consideration is given to the claims and rights of women which, I shall remind the House, form nearly half the population of our country.

Before I proceed to the subject, I wish to express my deep regret at the cause of the vacancy of the seat which I now occupy. By the death of Mr. George Joseph the women's movement has lost a strong supporter and I, a good family friend.

It is a new and alarming experience to me to address a distinguished and learned Assembly which has grown accustomed to an exclusively masculine existence and which is believed to be expert on all national problems, and I hope the House will bear patiently with me.

With regard to the Resolution, Sir, I agree with the Honourable the Mover, Maulana Shaukat Ali, that there need not be any speech to commend it, to the Government. I also agree with the point made by my Honourable friend from Coimbatore that there was no necessity to bring forward this Resolution. I wish that the Government themselves had taken the initiative and appointed this committee which we recommend in this Resolution. The Government know as well or perhaps even better than we do, about the recommendations of the Sandhurst committee and it would have been statesmanlike on their part to take steps to appoint the committee in pursuance of the recommendations of that committee. Some British writers, I remember, have referred to India as the 'lost Dominion', but I think it would be more appropriate to refer to it as the 'Monument of Lost Opportunities'. I feel and I have always felt that one of the principal factors which promotes misunderstandings and estrangement between Britain and India is the remarkable capacity of the Indian Gov-



ernment to miss valuable opportunities of securing the confidence and trust of the people of this country with regard to the government of the country. If Government had accepted and given effect to the recommendations of a committee which they themselves had appointed over ten years ago, they would have made a substantial advance in allaying the fears, suspicions and doubts which everybody admits prevail throughout the country with regard to the army and the administration of defence. It would not have been necessary for them, most probably, to insist on placing on the Statute-book the law that they managed to pass last week. Propaganda against recruitment will not be necessary if the people of the country are assured that they are going to have a national army for national purposes as early as possible.

I am reminded today of one of the strong arguments that was brought forward at the Round Table Conference when the Indians demanded that India should be complete mistress of her own affairs. It was argued that there were certain difficulties for the complete transfer of power over certain subjects such as defence, due to lack of a national army, of technical skill and training and so forth though we asserted that such a state of affairs was not due to any fault on our part. Like my friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, I stated that I was enough of a realist to appreciate that these difficulties were obstacles to an immediate and complete transfer of power with regard to defence. I could understand the seriousness that certain regulations which are given the irritating title of safeguards might be necessary in transferring power gradually. But that, Sir, was eight years ago. It is but only natural for us Indians to ask Government what they have done during these eight years to make that transfer of power possible and as early as possible. Government rarely give us any satisfactory and clear answer. I know that they have their difficulties with regard to giving us detailed information, but what do events lead us to conclude? Recently there have been instances which make us fear that Britain has no intention to transfer that power and to give us a national army. It was only the other day that we discussed the results of a huge financial bombshell that the British War Secretary suddenly dropped on India. The Government of the country could not offer any justification or even an ordinary explanation for such a procedure. At the same time an ex-Commander-in-Chief of India makes a sweeping condemnation of the few Indian youths who have had the temerity to accept King's Commissions in the army. Here, in India, when the public want certain information about the army and they try to secure it through interpellations by their elected representatives, Government always give the very vague and elastic excuse that it is not in the interest of the public to supply this information and that it is confidential. And yet, we Indians are expected to keep content with the assurances that have been given that we shall have a national army under the control of a national Government. But, as I said, instances lead us to suspect that the safeguards to which I referred and the votable and non-votable items of expenditure are going to be permanent features of the Indian constitution.

To go back to the Sandhurst Committee, Sir, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the causes which they have ably and at some length discussed in the second chapter of their report. They have

[Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan.]

drawn particular attention to one point, that parents in India seem to be reluctant to encourage their sons to enter military service. Here I am reminded of a charge that has been levelled against Indian women, which I have heard both in India and in Europe that Indian women love their children and coddle them inordinately and do not encourage them to enter the army because of the strict discipline and the risks to life involved in it. I should like to repeat, Sir, my emphatic repudiation of this charge. Indian women are second to none in this world in their patriotism and they are second to nobody in their desire and readiness to make sacrifices in the service of their country. They desire, as strongly as any patriot in this country, to have a national army under the control of a national Government. It might surprise the House to know that some of our women are so keen on having a national army that they have imposed on themselves the difficult task of recruiting agents. The Sandhurst Committee, as I said, have mentioned certain causes which are obstacles to popular enthusiasm for military service. I shall not refer to them for want of time but I should like, with your permission, to refer briefly to a few other points which have come to our knowledge. First, Sir, is the prejudice to which already reference has been made against the people in the army. British officers and their families have very little or no contact with the people of the country amidst whom they live and where they serve. That is not their fault but of the administration which has already been pointed out. I do not want to discuss this point more except to mention that such a state of affairs gives rise to erroneous impressions about each other. The result is that there are prejudices on both sides and an artificial barrier is raised between them. The second point is that there is a belief in this country,—I do not want to discuss now whether that belief is right or wrong,—that the army is one of occupation ; and the fact that a very large portion of the army is entirely British and the remaining portion is officered mainly by the British, lends credence to this belief. Consequently, a stigma has attached to military service and those Indians who accept commissions in the army have to face a great deal of obloquy from the public. I have myself seen with great pain young Indian officers calmly and patiently tolerating most cutting remarks from even their nearest and dearest relations and friends for being in the army. I should like to point out to the Honourable the Defence Secretary that Indian youths who are serving in the army deserve all the encouragement that they need from their superiors, and not condemnation. Then, Sir, there is this fear owing to the prejudice against the army that Indians will be victims to racial prejudice and discrimination, that their claims for promotion might not, therefore, receive due attention. Then there is the general prejudice against life in the army, to which reference has already been made. My young friend from Coimbatore, with his irrepressible and impetuous spirit, has rightly made some reference to it ; and I should like the Government to give their earnest consideration to this matter. There are two points which I would like to mention : one is that the style of living, customs and habits of the army do not conform to the habits of the country ; and secondly, that the pay and allowances of the Indian officers are not sufficient to meet their minimum expenses. I should like to make special reference to the peculiar difficulties that the Indian

## COMMITTEE.

officers have to meet. Society is different here from what it is in Europe : traditions and customs are different. It is the special feature of Indian society for relations to visit each other and exchange hospitality. Old-fashioned Indian parents, who do not find it congenial to live in surroundings with which they are not familiar, do not feel encouraged to send sons into the army where they believe that they have to conform to a life which is alien to their civilisation ; and also with regard to leave and allowances, the Indian officers have to meet not only the charges which are common to them and to the British officers, but they have to meet other expenses in discharge of family obligations. In India family obligations are as binding as any legislation that is passed by this House ; and even if a poor relation is sick and wants medical treatment one who is in better circumstances is expected to come to his help.

Now, may I be pardoned for bringing in a personal note. At my age I have had sufficient experience in public life to realise that even when one states views unbiassed and detached, without any personal motives, there is an inclination in this world to attribute personal motives or to misunderstand. I should like to state that when I was expressing the views of the public in this House just now, and I mentioned certain fears, suspicions, distrust and doubt that existed in the country, I was only referring to their existence throughout the country and among the people, and not with regard solely to myself. I would like to state that with regard to my own personal knowledge and experience I am not yet aware of any incident of racial prejudice or racial discrimination in social life among the army people. I have had opportunities of coming into social contact with them—the section of society known as the army people,—during the last twenty years and, particularly, during the last eight years. If the House will forgive me for narrating personal incidents, I have several friends, very good and true friends among them and I have received much kindness and even hospitality from them. In December, 1931, when I was in England, I was agreeably surprised one morning to receive a letter from the Commandant of Woolwich Academy, a complete stranger to me, saying that he had heard that my son was going there the following January for training and that if I wished to see the institution and have an idea of the life that my son would have there, he and his wife would only be too glad if I would go and spend a day with them and that he could show me round the institution and give me any information that I required. My son too who is now in the artillery, I believe, has always had the same treatment that British officers have in the army ; and I know that this is not a mere assertion from him to allay the anxiety of a mother's heart but a fact. Only recently he was very seriously ill, so ill that he could not be moved even from Muttra to Madras ; but I was content to leave him in the charge of his British colleagues. My Honourable friend, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, will correct me if I am wrong ; malignant malaria complicated with typhus is, I believe, a very serious illness and yet the fact that the patient was able to recover fully and rejoin duty without even going home for recuperation is very creditable to the officers in whose charge he was.

Sir, when I have such personal experience it is a matter of deep regret to me that the administration of the Defence Department should

[Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan.]

give rise to so much suspicion, fear and misunderstanding among the people of this country. It is not fair to their own British officers ; and for political reasons in the interests of better understanding and good will between our two nations it is necessary that the Government should take immediate steps to allay these fears and to convince our country that we are going to have a national army as early as possible. I do hope that the Government will take immediate steps to appoint this committee. I am not very much concerned, whether the members of this committee are going to be selected entirely from among the Members of this House or will include others. The main point, in my opinion, is that the members of this committee should be persons of ability, knowledge and character who command the full respect and confidence of every section of this House, and of the country. I also wish that the labours of this committee will be concluded before the end of another year so that this House will be able to express its views on the recommendations of that committee before the Government can give effect to them.

Lastly, I would like to say that we do not know the future : we do not know what it will bring. But one thing is certain, that the worth of any constitution that will be given to India will be judged by the amount of control that will be transferred to the Indian Legislature in a subject like defence and finance which is allied to it. The duty of the Government is, therefore, clear that they must make every effort to dispel mistrust and suspicion with regard to this transfer. I believe that the Government of India and the Government in England are both very anxious that the reforms should be successful. Well there is only one royal road towards that goal and that road is of mutual confidence, mutual good-will and friendly co-operation.

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

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The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) in the Chair.

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**Lient.-Colonel M. A. Rahman** (Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, the motion moved by my Honourable friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, so far as its intentions are concerned, is certainly of a non-controversial character. Sir, every Indian, to whatever school of thought he may happen to belong, is anxious to see the Indian Army Indianised consistent with efficiency and practical requirements. There is no difference of opinion on that point at all. We all want young Indians to receive full and proper training in all branches of the defence forces. It is also realised by men of experience and with knowledge of realities that the speed at which we proceed in these directions must be cautious, and we all realise that it will take a long time before Indians attain to the highest ranks of the army. That we should aim at that and try to get nearer to that day to achieve our object will not be questioned by any one.

## COMMITTEE.

Now, Sir, there are two considerations which ought to weigh with this House in considering these questions. The Indian Sandhurst Committee themselves have recommended that after we have gained experience for a period of five years in the working of the Indian Academy at Dehra Dun, we should review the whole position again. Sir, in spite of a few cases, which one regrets, on the whole the experiment of the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun has been very successful, and sufficient data are available now for the proposed Committee to take advantage of and to judge more accurately of the directions in which the advance should take place. Again, Sir, we have had some disappointments in some matters, we have also gained some knowledge and experience of weak points, we have gained some knowledge of the amount of wastage, and with all the data before us, we should try to avoid the wastage and lay down the lines on which further progress shall be made.

Sir, I do not wish to dilate on the question of martial and non-martial classes, but I may be permitted to tell the House that an army career is quite different to a civil career. Young men who want to earn money, young men who have an inclination to politics and who love politics, need not think of an army career,—let me tell them that army is not the place for them, and they should follow other pursuits....

**Mr. Sri Prakasa** (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Jails, for instance ?

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman** : No, Sir. Neither mere paper competition is sufficient to judge the suitability of a candidate for the army career. Let only those who are prepared to follow the army as a profession with all its rigours, with all its discipline, and, further, who are prepared to detach themselves from politics, take to army. Sir, the army is an instrument of State which must be kept free from political taints. Its object is to serve for the defence of the country.....

**Mr. Sri Prakasa** : That is politics.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman** : I beg to differ, but the lesson of history is, that whenever the virus of political controversies has been allowed to infect the morale of the army, the results have been very disastrous.....

**Mr. Sri Prakasa** : What history ? Is that the history of the French, American or Russian Revolution ?

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman** : You may take it for what it is worth.

Sir, the army cannot be allowed to embroil itself in the cross currents of politics, otherwise you will be opening the flood gates, which you will not be able to close....

**Mr. Sri Prakasa** : And they will shoot the wrong man.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman** : It is the armies of autocracies that indulge in politics ; for a democracy, the army must be loyal, but a subordinate instrument to protect it.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa** : No Indianisation without politics, my friend.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** I beg to differ again.

Now, Sir, I will take up the question of wastage. A poor country like ours cannot afford to waste our manhood. It is the experience of the past which indicates that certain classes and certain types of men had not proved suitable for an army career. Therefore, we should learn our lesson from it, and cut out the wastage, and restrict ourselves in the selection to the sources which had proved more suitable and efficient.

Now, Sir, coming to the Indian Military Academy at Dēhra Dun, I have been connected with this institution in more ways than one. I have visited the place, I have studied the conditions prevailing there, and I may appeal to Honourable Members of this House to desist from criticising this institution on the score of a few papers not being allowed to young cadets in their mess. While I do not advocate that these young cadets should be brought up in a hot house, cut away from the outside world, we should also refrain from disturbing the atmosphere of discipline. Discipline must reign supreme there. Turning to my second point India has no doubt advanced politically, and advanced considerably, since the Sandhurst Committee's Report came out. We are becoming more conscious of our responsibilities for the defence of our country and we have got a desire also that one day we should be able to take complete responsibility on that score. Any scheme which might have satisfied public opinion a few years back would be considered quite inadequate today. I quite understand that. The desire is there and, I believe, there is ample material in India available for the right type of persons to join the army. This Committee should go into this matter thoroughly and dispassionately. We have to build the structure of our national defence, and, in doing so, let us not forget the advice which is at our disposal from men of long experience in military matters, from men with lifelong association with military and defence problems. This can only be ignored by those people who base their opinions on the knowledge gained by reading books and magazines. Let us not attribute motives to the advice of the experts in this direction. Let us understand each other. Let us have mutual good-will and mutual understanding in order that our march to that goal which we want to reach sooner or later may be made smoother and easier.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh :** What is the goal ?

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** Thank you. Indianisation.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa :** Freedom is our goal.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** I am not talking of those matters. A lot has been said about a large number of Indian officers leaving the Academy and the army in the earlier years of their career. I do not want to go into the allegations made. It is the work of the proposed Committee to sift matters, but I must say I was very much amused to listen to my Honourable friend, Mr. Chettiar, when he talked from second hand knowledge, as it must be, of mess life.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar :** Yours is second hand idea.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** You get messages and things like that from those who are discontented with their career. Let me tell you, I have some knowledge of mess life. I have spent many years in mess and in no mess is it ordered that you must stand drinks.

**An Honourable Member :** It is a perfect mess :

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** The army career requires young men who have the power of command and power of....

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) :** The Honourable Member has got one minute more.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** I will shorten my remarks. The army career requires young men who have the power of command and power of leadership, men who are intelligent and who would not lose their heads. All these qualities and others which go to make an officer—not only will they be obtained from school and college education, but they depend upon the breeding also which brings out the more essential qualities of personality and formation of character.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa :** Thoroughbreds !

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** As I have one minute more, I hope to be excused when I say that in our Indian homes the sense of discipline is not so highly developed as in other advanced countries. I do not mean to say that things have not improved or that they would not improve.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) :** The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Rahman :** One word more. The Provincial Governments will do well to introduce some codes of military training in schools and colleges where a sense of discipline would be better inculcated among the youths, and remember, if you do not know how to obey, you will never be able to command. With these words, I support my Honourable friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali's Resolution and the amendment which was put forward by my Honourable friend, Mr. Aikman.

**Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha (Assam Valley : Non-Muhammadan) :** Sir, I consider myself a realist and a matter-of-fact man of the world, but I cannot be satisfied with the present environment and the way in which we conduct affairs. I want modernisation, I want progress. I see throughout the world terrific speed and why should we be stagnant ? India having come into contact with the western ideas of democracy, we want to be efficient. And democracy is nothing but training for efficiency and approximation to our ideals. Having those ideas, should we then depend for our defence on people who come from other shores, and should we depend upon the British soldier and British officer for our defence ? This brings us at once to the question whether any longer we should depend upon the British officers in the army, or should we not have our own officers ?

I shall not repeat the history of our conquest and subjugation. It is a sad history, but, in those days when the country was ours, we had brilliant military leadership. But we lost it for a long time, and, after the Mutiny of 1857, distrust came on and the British officer replaced the Indian officer, as a counterpoise against the Indian element. From that time onwards till the Great War, I think we went through a stage which is indescribable for its humiliation and subjection. I shall not recount the humiliation we were put to through the Arms Act. In 1918, it was the

[Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha.]

Indian Army which saved the honour of England and served with unstinted loyalty. What was the reward? I do not want to say anything which will engender heat in this discussion. During the War they found that they had not a sufficient number of soldiers and officers, and all of a sudden they improvised Quetta and Indore as a training ground for our officers. About 39 officers, after their training, were given the King's Commission and about 49 were taken into the Indore State Forces. It could not be expected that they could have had very efficient training because it was improvised; and they had not the best training that could have been given, but the fact remains that they felt the necessity that they should train Indians if an emergency should ever prevail. Then, we had the Esher Committee, in 1920, which was required to report on the Army in India specially, "(1) the organisation of the Army in India including its relations with the War Office and the India Office, and (2) matters which they may consider relevant". Of course, it has no direct bearing on the question which we are at present discussing, but, incidentally, it was stated in the report of that Committee that Indian officers who filled commands of considerable importance on the western front found themselves recalled to India and assigned minor posts of less importance. It recommended that a territorial force should be created on cautious lines. It was also stated in the report that the commanding officer and second in command in the forces might be replaced by Indians as they became trained. Sir Krishna Govind Gupta added a minute in that Committee's report that Indians should be given King's Commission, that enlistment should not be confined to the martial races only and that distrust should give place to confidence and the British should share the control of the army with the people. He voiced the feeling of the country in an official form and we are grateful to him. Then came the Shea Committee, in 1924. It was appointed in consequence of a Resolution brought forward by Mr. Venkatapathi Raju. Of course it did not recommend anything of very great importance, except that they wanted the amalgamation of the Indian territorial force and the auxiliary force and recommended the creation of a commission corresponding to the King's Commission. Then came the Skeen Committee, in 1926. It was constituted to find out ways to supply candidates to the Military College, and that brings us to the issue whether the establishment of the military college at Dehra Dun has satisfied us. Indore and Quetta supplied us with 88 Indian King's Commissioned Officers, of whom 49 were absorbed by Indore and 39 were given the King's Commission, but Indian King's Commissioned officers are only eligible for employment in the Cavalry and the Infantry arms but not employed in the Artillery, Engineer, Signals, Tank and Air arms. By excluding Indians from these positions, they get a sense of inferiority and they are not fit to take their place as equals with British officers in the army and Viceroy's Commissioned Officers attached to the British Infantry are allowed to order only mule-drivers. Every where an inferiority complex is induced in the minds of the officers. Of course the Honourable Mrs. Subbarayan, being a lady of distinction, had the advantage of meeting very kind gentlemen of the army and her son who was in the Artillery Branch was treated very well. I understand that the English people are very courteous towards ladies and when ladies of distinction go there, they take good care to be very attentive and kind



to them but that particular case cannot be taken as an example that that sort of thing happens in all cases. I think that is the exception rather than the rule and to express her feelings of gratitude, she had paid back more than is necessary. It does not follow that Indian cadets and officers are treated equally always.

Now, let us come to the point. The Royal Indian Military College was opened at Dehra Dun in 1922. Then, we had the Indianisation of the eight units. They wanted to open the Military College in 1933. In 1936 the cadets should have received their commands, and by 1944 they should be able to command regiments, but we have not yet come to that stage. By 1952, they expected that 50 per cent. of the officers should be Indians. In 1927, 75 were already holding commissions. In 1930 it should have been 128, in 1935, 212, in 1934, 248, in 1936, 341 and in 1937 it should be 394. The intake of officers, as I find from the Summary of Important Matters concerning the Defence Services in India, is 348 on the 31st March, 1938. Though the rate of progression is entirely unsatisfactory, it is, however, sufficiently solid to warrant further acceleration of the pace and it is now time that the whole operation should be fully reviewed. In spite of the fact that it has not come up to the standard, I think the time is now ripe for a review of the whole position. Then the method of selection is of a peculiar kind. The would-be cadet has to go through the Deputy Commissioner, the Commissioner and the Governor and then present himself to the Selection Board. The process is a difficult one. I think a candidate should be allowed to sit straight away for the examination and, after satisfying certain conditions the Selection Board should be able to enrol him. We confess we have not the necessary preliminary training. We should make it a point to give military training in schools, such as physical and military drill. This can be done especially in provinces where Congress is in power. They can open up centres where students can get preparatory training before they enter the academy at Dehra Dun.

Then, there is the point that the recruitment should not be confined to the sons of soldiers and what are called the martial or military classes. Sir K. G. Gupta was of opinion that it should not be confined to the sons of soldiers only. It should be an exception. If you go to England, you find that even in the busiest part of London, people living there who do not know what military life is are allowed to enlist themselves in the army. Then, as regards the cost of training, in Dehra Dun, the cost is Rs. 3,850 but, I am told by a friend who is an expert on the subject that it costs the parents Rs. 11,000 for the entire course. In the United States at West Point 1072 dollars is granted for each boy. In France at St. Ayr 50 per cent. of the boys pay no fees. In Canada at Kingston the training cost is 50 per cent. lower than in the universities. Here at least 50 per cent. of the boys should be granted scholarships. Then, Sir, I think that one school at Dehra Dun is not sufficient for the whole of India. Schools should be opened in different centres in different parts of India. I suggest that there should be one at Quetta one in the Eastern Frontier at Sadiya and one at Bangalore or Poona. If we could employ efficient teachers in these schools taken from different parts of the British Empire and could reduce the cost of instruction, it would be a very helpful thing. I think that the progress made so far is satisfactory enough to warrant a review of the whole scheme

[Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha.]

and we should see that in another ten years the whole army should be Indianised and commanded by Indian friends like our friends sitting on the other side. With these words, I commend the Resolution for acceptance.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra** (Presidency Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Mr. Deputy President, Sir, the Resolution before the House simply asks for the appointment of a Committee to go into the question of the working of the Indian Sandhurst and to report and recommend what steps should be taken to accelerate the pace of Indianization of the Army in this country. Sir, there are also two amendments before the House and I would refer to them at the close of my speech. Sir, the great European War opened the flood-gates of India's devotion and loyalty to Great Britain and men and money began to pour in copious streams into the battlefields of France and into England ; but soon after the war, when there came compulsory demobilisation of the Army in the country, considerable discontent was evidenced in the recruiting areas as also in the country. Alongside of that there was also an insistent demand from every section of political opinion in this country to give Indians an increasing share in the defence of their own motherland. The demand was so irresistible that a Committee had to be appointed, presided over by a very distinguished military officer, General Sir Andrew Skeen. The Committee in its report agreed and recommended that there should be started an Indian Sandhurst, so that Indians who could not afford to go to England at considerable expense to get military training there, may receive thorough, scientific, military education and training here in large numbers and be available for manning the military services of this country. A section of the Committee was of opinion that Indianization could be completed within a period of twenty years. There was another section which was of opinion that it could be done in fifteen years. There was this little difference of opinion as to the period, but there was agreement upon fundamentals. This Resolution is based on that recommendation which, however, was unanimous ; both the sections of the Committee agreed that whatever might be the period required for the completion of Indianization, whether it was fifteen or twenty years' time, a limit of time was fixed when the whole question should be again investigated in the light of the experience gained in the interval and further steps decided upon. So, naturally, one would expect that Government, of their own initiative, should bring in a proposal to implement the unanimous recommendation of the Committee appointed by them and which fixed the enquiry for the year 1938. But the Government have a knack of sleeping over the legitimate rights of the people of this country and ignoring their legitimate claims, and it was left to us to wake them up by a non-official Resolution to move in the matter and to redeem the pledge contained in that recommendation.

The House well knows that the entire report of the Sandhurst Committee was approved and accepted ; so the appointment of this Committee is a legitimate demand, arising out of a recommendation made by a Committee appointed by Government itself. Sir, opinions differ as to whether sufficient recruits have been coming forward. That is

a matter on which there is much difference of opinion. Even the Indian Sandhurst, as it stands today, in the opinion of the Defence Secretary himself, is giving a sufficient number of recruits. We Indians have all along pleaded for the Indianization of the army of this country. Ever since we came to this Assembly, year after year, we passed Resolutions during the discussions on the annual Budgets, pressing for the speedy Indianization of the Army in India. But very little effect has been given to them by the Government. Sir, after the compulsory and forced disarmament of the people of India by the Indian Arms Act, there was that smouldering discontent all over the country which found legitimate expression in different parts from time to time. Government have systematically suppressed it or ignored it. Occasionally, they have met the demand by some small concessions. Today we feel that the Indian Sandhurst is not fulfilling the functions which were expected of it because the Government were never earnest or sincere about the matter. There have been so many grievances against this Dehra Dun Military Academy and the administration of the Army Department, particularly about the treatment of the Indian officers by the Department itself, the invidious racial discrimination between Indian and European officers and the like that a thorough and sifting inquiry by a Committee commanding the confidence of the people of this country is the least that the House now demands of the Government. Sir, during the First Round Table Conference the question of defence of India came to the fore. It was admitted then that the defence of India should, in future, be the increasing concern of the Indians. It was then calculated that the complete Indianization of the military services could be carried out in a period of thirty years' time. But here, a few years later, on the floor of this House, we heard an entirely different story from the predecessor of my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary. If the British Government had not pursued the policy of distrust of Indians, if they had given them a fair and square deal and thrown open the military careers to all, they would not have had to resort to that odious measure of recruitment by conscription in their own country, during the Great European War. In a country of 350 millions, do they seriously say that they cannot get a vast army, well-trained and well-disciplined, if only they are serious? Sir, they are not giving any encouragement to the people of this country to join the army. The few they are taking they are maltreating, they are not giving them their due position in the services.

Sir, a distinction, an invidious and humiliating distinction, is deliberately created when the question of recruitment comes in; the distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial people. My Honourable friend, Colonel Rahman, when speaking today mentioned it but he did not pursue it. Sir, every patriotic citizen in every province honestly desires that he should be called upon to bear arms in the defence of his country. Why then should they arbitrarily deprive him of his right to share in the defence of his own country? Why should not the military services be thrown open to the peoples of all the Provinces in India?

Sir, in 1935, I put a series of questions to the Defence Secretary asking him to state the number of Bengalis employed in the military

[Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra.]

services and also the number of Assamese and the Oriyas and his reply was, "none". There were none in the actual fighting forces! The reason assigned was that they did not belong to the martial races! But, Sir, during the great European War, Bengal sent two regiments, the Bengali Regiment and the Bengal Double Company to fight for the King and to defend the Empire.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : And with what result ?

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra** : They rendered excellent accounts of themselves about which my Honourable friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, can make inquiries. But, as soon as these people came back to their country after the War, they were disbanded and unceremoniously turned out and the whole host of the Criminal Investigation Department were set on them! They got their reward for fighting for the King! I seriously ask whether a province like Bihar, for instance, which provides police constables for at least five provinces in this country, cannot give recruits to the military forces in this country? Are not all the Provinces legitimately entitled to claim that they should bear their own share of the defence of their country? After all, it is no use bluffing us and telling us that martial races only are required for military recruitment. War is to be fought in these days of highly scientific warfare not by muscles but by brains and people might have excellent muscles but brawn in their heads and, therefore, totally useless for modern warfare. My friend, Colonel Rahman, said in the course of his speech that politics should be eschewed from the military. If by that he means that the recruits should have nothing to do with active politics, I am in perfect agreement with him. But if he means that a man desiring to join the Army should not have a grain of nationalism or patriotism in him and if this quality in him debars him from entering into the military service, then all I can say is that we, Indians, will never sell ourselves to our employers and will refuse to play the part of mercenaries and we will rather have nothing to do with the military. Who will seriously suggest that a man entering the military career should indulge in active politics? It is one thing to say that he should not have active politics but a far different thing to say that the man shall be devoid of all patriotism, nationalism, and sense of national self respect and that he should be ready to cut the throats of his own people at the beck and call of those who employ him. The next thing that my Honourable friend, Colonel Rahman, said, was that the wastage was to be eliminated. What wastage? If Government do not give scope for the right type of people to come in, there is bound to be a wastage. Can any one seriously say that in the profession of medicine or in the profession of law or in any other walk of life every body is a success? In the struggle of life, some will succeed and some will fail. Therefore, do not make it an excuse for closing the door of the Army against the Indians.

Sir, we heard this morning something about the excellent treatment which the military authorities meted out to an Indian, a son of an Honourable Member of this House. That was perhaps an exceptional case. But let me also show up the other side.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) :** The Honourable Member has got one minute more.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra :** Sir, I believe, I have got three minutes. Sir, we are painfully aware of the recent incidents connected with Captain Lamba. In the year 1922, he stood first amongst the Indians and got the King's Commission. He was an excellent officer of whom every Indian can legitimately feel proud. When the Skeen Committee sat in 1926, he had the temerity and hardihood to appear before it and plead for honourable and equal treatment of Indians with the European officers, thereby he brought all the trouble on his head. He incurred the serious displeasure of the authorities who wanted to teach him a lesson. Three years after his evidence before the Skeen Committee, a report was got up against him and strenuous efforts were made to turn him out of service. Fortunately, the then Commander-in-Chief came to his rescue and he was not allowed to be sacked. In the year 1935, if I remember aright, a report was again drawn up against him in order to force him to retire from service. This time also he escaped through the kind intervention of the Secretary of State. Last year a case was actually got up against him and his very enemies were made witnesses against him in the case and he was ultimately given the sack. That is the kind of treatment which this Department is meting out to the best of our people who join the military and fight for them and for the defence of their country and mine. Does the Honourable the Defence Secretary expect that we should be very enthusiastic, very gushing in our praise for him or for the way in which they are dealing with our men in the Military Department ? Let him not be under any delusion like that. Therefore, we want a Committee with very wide terms of reference which should thoroughly investigate these matters. I have not yet said whether I am going to support the Resolution or the amendment.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) :** The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra :** We want that the Committee should be so composed as to command the confidence of the people of this country and, therefore, we demand, claiming as we do to represent millions of men of this country, that the Committee should have a preponderating element of the elected Members of this House so that people may feel that not only has a Committee of inquiry been set up but set up with the object that real justice may be done to their cause. With these words, Sir, I support Mr. Chettiar's amendment.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh :** Sir, the social atmosphere created by my friend, Mr. Shaikat Ali, was very much exaggerated this morning and it was exaggerated into a social atmosphere which was perhaps more suitable for a tea time occasion. But we refuse to betray the interests of our country for an invitation to a cup of tea. What is the present issue ? The present issue is the defence of the country, not the bastard defence that we have at the present time but the real Indian defence. That is what we want. My friend, Colonel Rahman, happened to say that we will have Indianisation consistent with efficiency or something of that sort. I just want to point out to the House what kind of Indianisation has been guaranteed because, not only in my opinion but also

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

in the opinion of the European military writers, Indianisation means nothing else but this that the Indian officers should replace the British officers. If that is the real meaning of Indianisation, then I would like to draw the attention of Colonel Rahman and of those who have first-hand information on military affairs to go into a very recent book, which was supplied to the Members only yesterday.

**Lieut. Colonel M. A. Rahman :** I have gone through it.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh :** So much the better. Soon after the war, what was the result of Indianisation ? The war came to an end in 1918 and, in 1925, we have this phenomenal Indianisation. Out of over 2,000 Captains in the army, we had only seven Indian Captains. That was in 1925, soon after the British Empire was saved at the battles of Ypres and Flanders, when the whole of the English press and everybody else was filled with gratefulness to the Indians. Then, I come down to the number of subalterns. So far as the Indianisation is concerned, what was their number in 1925, only seven years after the British Empire was saved ? It was about 42 out of 700 subalterns. That was the state of Indianisation in 1925. Since that time, the credit goes not only to Major-General Skeen but also to the Civilian Secretary of the Committee, Mr. (now Sir) Earnest Burdon, for writing this report and taking a sympathetic attitude towards Indians. Just let me tell you how far this Indianisation prevails on the military side. Let us take mechanisation of the army. After all no army in these days could be considered efficient without mechanisation and let us see how far Indianisation has been carried out in mechanisation. It is given on page 7 of this book if the Honourable Member has not already seen it. In connection with mechanisation of two Indian cavalry regiments, it is most interesting to read what happened. The second cavalry brigade was abolished. This is Indianisation,—and, so far as the other remaining units are concerned, they have been disbanded or reallotted to other cavalry brigades. This is Indianisation. Let me give you a corresponding instance of what happened in the case of the European regiment. When it came to the European regiment, in order to strengthen the offensive capacity of the cavalry army to get into line with the developments in the United Kingdom it was decided to convert their four British cavalry regiments on the Indian establishment to light tank regiments. So, Sir, when it comes to modifying the English regiments, they are changed into light tank regiments, but when Indianisation is to be carried out in the Indian regiments they are disbanded. Is this the meaning of Indianisation ? The King's Commissioned Officers have been stopped. Till 1931, we had about ten reserve places at Sandhurst, but they have been completely stopped and, since then, how has Indianisation been carried out ? You have a large number of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and the so-called Indian Commissioned Officers are used for nothing else except to replace the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers. Is this Indianisation ? Indianisation means that British Commissioned Officers should be replaced by the Indian Officers by giving them the King's Commission. Unfortunately, I have not got the time at my disposal.

I have got only a quarter of an hour. Otherwise I could have gone very much more into detail. After all, what did the Skeen Committee

suggest ? They suggested a very modest measure. According to that, even if that plan had been followed, in 1938, we should have had only about 450 officers in the Indian Army out of a total of over 3,000 or 3,500 officers. What is the record ? Only 184 cadets today are from the Indian Military Academy when today we should have had 450 officers in the Indian army. Is this Indianisation ? The point is made recently in higher quarters and all over the place that we do not get proper material. I say why should you get it ? I have heard a lot of talk about martial and non-martial classes and I submit that is how good material has been kept down. There are many other ways how material has been kept down. Let me take the army organisation here. Have you ever known in any army in the world that there are three kinds of military officers who have to fight shoulder to shoulder on the same battle ground in the presence of the enemy. They are the King's Commissioned Officers, Indian Commissioned Officers and the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers. What is this ? Is this a caste system ? Is this a class system or a combination of class and caste system which I suppose will have no advantages but the disadvantages of both. How do you expect good Indian material to come forward ? Anybody who comes forward will be branded as inferior stuff. He has already been branded with inferiority and no respectable Indian will come forward to join an institution like this. What do you expect when war comes on suddenly ? You will come forward and say ' I want a million men '. All honour to mother India that she does not breed merely cowards. She gave you nearly a million men during the last war. They went to the help of Great Britain to the rescue of the British Empire.

**An Honourable Member :** A million and a half.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh :** I want to be accurate. The other half a million did not go out of this country. These were the men who went to the rescue of England in spite of your invention of martial and non-martial classes. Do you expect Indians all at once to spring up like the mythological Athena or Pallas fully armed out of Zeus head ? You will emasculate the country, you will have the Arms Act for the last 150 years and more. Children in our house are not accustomed to the sight of arms. They do not know what military traditions are. Yet men in high authority come forward and say, " we do not get the right kind of people ". I say, in spite of so many disadvantages, my country can provide as many officers as you want. I agree with my Honourable friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, that I for one will not stint any money whatever to have my Indian officers in the Indian Army. It is no question of economics. It is a question of self-respect, it is a question of defence and, I submit, the defence of my country must be managed by my own men not by mercenaries or what they call " Bhadotris ". The sooner we have the defence of our own country in our own hands the better for our self-respect. It is not a question of economics, it is a question of self-respect. I see that this committee is going to be appointed. What are you going to achieve merely by having this milk and water Resolution ? Already a committee was appointed in 1936 ; how far did it go ? There was a committee of both Houses in 1936. They went about other things, unimportant matters. I submit it is not a milk and water question, but it is a question of blood and iron. I do not want my people to have an inferiority complex. Here is my

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

Honourable friend, Sir Sher Muhammad Khan. Why could he not command a British regiment? Here is our friend, the Marshal of the Assembly, who was also mentioned in the Despatches of the Great War. Do you think that at the time of a crisis in the battlefield they can shed their blood and yet in peace time they cannot administer? In war time they can lead, but in peace time they cannot. The ideal which has been put forward by some gentlemen is we want Indians to administer in peace time and to lead during the war. I say that there have been more than enough proofs that Indians are capable of not only administering in peace time—some of the Honourable Members on the opposite Benches can prove that so far as administration is concerned, Indians can hold their own against any Englishman—I say they are also able to lead during war time. Who saved the Suez Canal? Who saved England in the last war at Ypres, in Flanders? I say, therefore, it is futile to sabotage all these committee reports. No, Sir. What I want is a committee, not with very narrow terms of reference, but broad terms of reference so that so far as admission of Indians is concerned, this idle talk of not having the proper material will be knocked on the head. I want a committee with a majority of elected Members. I repeat again that if gentlemen like Andrews Skeen and Burdon can be had, they are quite welcome. I welcome them with open arms. We want military experts not in the narrow sense but in the broad sense. This committee should have broad terms of reference. So far as the military side is concerned, their eight unit scheme is a Devil's invention. Once I happened to ask a mathematical friend of mine, "How long it will take to Indianise the army in this manner"? Some said it would take about 100 years. But I made my own calculation and I arrived at the figure of 708 years and nine months to fully Indianise the army if you go at this rate. Under these circumstances, this is another way of sabotaging the scheme altogether. Appoint a committee of strong men, men who have some knowledge, who will have broad terms of reference and who will go into the conditions of admission and who will be liberal enough to follow them. Mr. Hore-Belisha the other day said that he will keep admission free and give hundred scholarships for admission to the Sandhurst. I say you want men like this and I hope, Sir, you will have proper terms of reference and not milk and water so that they may devise a scheme of proper Indianisation so that the defence of my country will not be a bastard defence that we have now, but will be really a genuine defence, full-blooded Indian defence.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad :** Sir, before I come to the subject-matter of this Resolution, I will refer to two points raised by my Honourable friend, Dr. Deshmukh. He calculated the time of Indianisation as 708 years and 9 months. 708 years may have been calculated mathematically but period of nine months is not mathematical; it may be surgical.

**Dr. G. V. Deshmukh :** I said nine months because it may be abortion after that.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad :** I leave him there, as regards the other point about martial and non-martial. I also believe that everybody can become martial or otherwise according to circumstances. If a man is



faced with difficulties every time, he is bound to become martial ; and if a person lives in luxury without any trouble to face, however martial he might be, he will, after some time, become non-martial. So this difference is not as great as it is made out to be. At the same time I believe that the words 'martial traditions' are not hypothetical words, they are not mere fiction. I will give you one definite instance which will illustrate martial spirit. There was a District Magistrate, within a hundred yards of whose house there was a dacoity in Mr. Bewoor's department. The post was looted. When he came to his house he found that the police guards of his house were not there. He enquired into the matter and he was told that police guards have gone after dacoits. Instead of rushing to the scene of action, a person with martial spirit would have done, he simply told his orderly to take care of his house and bolted away on tour. An officer belonging to martial family would have rushed out to the scene of dacoity and pursued the dacoits. That is the difference between martial and non-martial. I agree that circumstances may change a man from martial to non-martial, though there is such a thing as a martial spirit and a non-martial spirit.

Now, Sir, I would have very much welcomed the Resolution in the words in which it was put down in 1925 :

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a committee including Indian Members of the Legislature be immediately appointed ", etc.

In spite of these words, we find that the Government appointed 14 members out of which seven were Members of the Legislature and two were members of the Provincial Legislatures. Curiously enough, there were only two Englishmen, the President and the Secretary, Mr. Burdon (now Sir Ernest Burdon). The remaining members were all Indians. Mr. Aikman referred to the broad-minded qualities of Sir Andrew Skeen and I hope that I will not be guilty of divulging a secret when I say that the whole scheme of reorganisation there came from Sir Andrew Skeen himself. One morning he came forward with a scheme which is now published as Appendix II and he outlined step by step the scheme of Indianisation and the steps to be taken from 1926 onwards up to 1953 ; and he calculated that in 1953, 50 per cent. of the officers would be Indian. At any rate we lost nothing there by having military representatives, Indians and British ; they rendered very great service and it is always advantageous to rely upon their support. The Committee, as was pointed out by my Honourable friend, Pandit Maitra, definitely recommended that we should review the whole matter in 1938, and I should like to mention the points that were raised before the Skeen Committee on account of which it came to the conclusion that the whole thing should be reviewed in 1938. The first was, that we discussed in detail the question of the granting of commissions to university students, and for that purpose a sub-committee of the Skeen Committee went round to inspect most of the colleges and universities in India ; and they came to the conclusion that the time was not ripe for the grant of direct commissions on the lines adopted in British universities, but they went a step further and said that suitable Indian students of British universities may be granted direct commissions in the army. Twelve years have passed since then and we have now to consider whether the universities are now ripe enough for direct commissions to be granted to our

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

graduates in the same manner as is done in British universities specially in the light of work done by the Universities Training Corps. The second thing that we considered at length was whether our students should be sent to Sandhurst<sup>11</sup> or whether we should establish a college of our own here. Of course there were people who thought that if we established a college here then like the Civil Service and the Provincial Service there might be a sort of class distinction in the army between officers trained at Sandhurst and those trained in India. We had to send a small sub-committee of our own to study this particular question in England, United States, Canada and other countries. But on account of the large demand for Indian officers and the refusal of the Sandhurst authorities to admit an unlimited number of Indian students at Sandhurst we came to the conclusion that it was desirable to establish a college of our own. At the same time, we were anxious that the efficiency of this college should be of the same standard as that of Sandhurst; and, for this purpose, it is necessary after a few years to see how this college is working, with a view to ensure it may, in no way, be inferior to similar institutions in other parts of the world.

The next thing is this. We ought to see whether the cost of living of our Indian officers is proportionate to their salary. I have seen in many cases that they cannot live on the salary they get unless it is supplemented by allowance from their parents. We cannot expect parents to go on supporting their children for ever, there should be a scheme by which these officers after confirmation may be self-supporting. Either their cost of living should be lowered or their salary should be raised; otherwise this profession will be very unpopular and parents will think several times before sending their children there, because they will find it more profitable to keep them at country home instead of making remittances after their appointment.

The next thing is about the Indianisation of some units. It was definitely recommended by the Skeen Committee that the eight-unit scheme should be abandoned and the Indian King's Commissioned Officers should be eligible for posting to any unit of the Indian Army. We came to this conclusion on account of the fact that the number of Indian officers should be definitely increasing and, by 1953, the number would rise to about 50 per cent. Therefore, we cannot say that Indianisation should be limited only to certain regiments but it should be extended; and there was a very sincere desire that there ought to be no distinction whatever between an Indian officer and a British officer. And in this way alone they can maintain the *esprit de corps* which is so essential for the discipline of the Army.

The next question the committee will have to consider is the possibility of further expansion. No doubt we devised a scheme according to the scheme of Indianisation accepted by the Government of India in 1930. But now the time has come when we should consider the expansion of the Indian Sandhurst. So this is<sup>51</sup> really one of the questions which the committee will have to consider.

The next thing which is very important and on which no action could be taken is the training of Indians in the technical arms. It is said that Indians are not trained in the technical arms at present and it is very

desirable that they should be so trained. This is what the Indian Sandhurst Committee said :

“ Indians should be made eligible to be employed as King's Commissioned Officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air arms of the Army in India. For this purpose they should be admitted to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, provided they qualify by the same tests as British boys, until the occasion arises to create corresponding facilities for their training in India. From 1928 eight vacancies should be allotted to Indians at Woolwich and two at Cranwell, and these numbers should be increased progressively, in due proportion.”

The time has now come when we ought to review whether we should regularly send Indian students to these technical military colleges or whether we should make new arrangements for training in these technical arms, here in India itself. The question has now become exceedingly important on account of the danger of war. If, unfortunately, war broke out, India should be self-sufficient to defend herself and we may not be able easily to procure assistance in time of war from a distant country.

The other point that the Committee raised was that we ought to establish advisory committees to advise educational authorities to improve their system of education with the object of training young men for military careers. This was a definite advice and after detailed discussion we found that it was necessary to have some schools in India of the type of the public schools in England ; and on the recommendation of this committee I am glad that a public school was established at Dehra Dun under the guidance and supervision of the Education Department of the Government of India. That school is doing very well ; but one school is not enough for the whole of India : we want schools of this type in Bengal, in South India, in Bombay and in fact we want several schools of that type—in fact, the more the merrier. I think it is very desirable that we ought to improve our training and establish schools which may train boys for a military career and very often the boys who want to go to a military career ought to receive their training when they are young, at the age of 11 or 12 and be gradually trained. But, unfortunately, the public school education is very expensive and only the rich people will be able to send their children there. Therefore, we must open up other avenues for finding out suitable students for a military career and one of these sources is by means of the University Training Corps, because even the son of a labourer who has got practically no money can afford by means of scholarships to study in the university. If he has got ability and character, he can join the University Training Corps.....

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) :** The Honourable Member has got one minute more.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad :** I will finish. So it is very desirable to see whether the University Training Corps can be utilised to find out fresh material for this military profession.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie (Defence Secretary) :** Sir, I listened with great interest to the speech of the Honourable the Mover and the subsequent speeches and I felt that the matter in hand had been closely adhered to and that all sections of the House, including the Government Benches, were in substantial agreement with a great deal of what was said. The speech of the veteran statesman, my Honourable friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, was marked by moderation and wisdom and I feel that nothing better could have been said to put the case as it should be put before this House.

[Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie.]

I, for my part, wish to stick as closely as I possibly can to the terms of the Resolution and I wish to say nothing which can possibly offend any one in any way. I assure them in advance that I have no thought of offending any one in my mind, and if my phraseology is defective I hope I shall be forgiven.

We have had the advantage here of the presence of a member of the Skeen Committee, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad ; and he has given the House a summary of the proposals put forward by that committee and the spirit which lay behind them. I wish briefly to show what has been done since the committee sat. The main problem, I may say, which faces us now is still much the same as that which faced the Skeen Committee. Its first term of reference was by what means it may be possible to improve upon the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission, both in regard to number and quality. During the few years that preceded the Skeen Committee's report, that is in 1917 and 1918, there had been 83 vacancies and 243 candidates for them. When I say that this problem is still one which has not been solved I do not want Members of the House to think that I am casting any reflection upon Indian Commissioned Officers. I think it will generally be admitted that, provided they are keen upon the Army, that they wanted to go to it, that it was a matter of their personal choice, no better officers could be found anywhere. I am also convinced that a very large number of that type of potential officer exists. The trouble is to tap him in larger quantities. The reasons why an army career does not draw very much at present are many and complicated. They take a very great deal of understanding. But I think some Honourable Members who spoke today got very near the root of the matter. Mr. Chettiar stated that the pace of Indianisation recommended by the Skeen Committee was not accepted. What the Skeen Committee recommended was that there should be 20 vacancies at Sandhurst instead of ten, and that in 1933, the Indian Military College should be opened starting with 33 admissions, and continuing with 33 admissions a year until 1936 and then going up by 12 only. Now, since the Indian Military Academy was started, 60 a year have been admitted. I do not think that is very far short of what the Skeen Committee proposed. It is true that admissions to Sandhurst have been dropped for reasons given by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, and also because the Indian Military Academy Committee strongly disapproved of the proposal.

Now, let us see what else the Skeen Committee said, and what has been done. The first two causes of difficulty were general, and the Committee stated as follows :

" The task which Government have laid upon themselves is not easy. In view of the past exclusion of Indians from the higher ranks of the army, in view also of the past history in other respects, there are difficulties which require a special degree of patience, wisdom and sympathy to surmount."

The second general point made was in connection with education where the Committee laid down that material reforms would be required in the matter of educational organization and methods before Indian schools and colleges can hope to produce a regular flow of Indian boys fitted in every way to hold the King's Commission. Well, about the second of

those general causes of difficulty, I do not think myself that sufficient has been done, and when I get on a little further, I may be able to give a hint of ideas that have for some time been forming.

Then the next thing the Committee said was about the lack of publicity, and that we ought to get into touch with educational institutions. That, I think, has been very thoroughly done, and the Registrars of all Universities are kept fully informed of the number of vacancies and so forth and are also furnished with information and literature including the reports of the examination authorities and of the Interview and Record Board.

The third thing was defects in methods of selection. The Skeen Committee complained that there were far too many official stages to traverse, first the Deputy Commissioner, then the Commissioner, then the Governor, and finally the examination. All that has been absolutely changed. Admission to the examination now is free to every one, and of every class.

The next thing that they thought was about the necessity of going to Sandhurst, and they pointed out that the cost of education at Sandhurst was much in excess of that which the average middle class Indian parent could reasonably afford. The Skeen Committee stated that if a boy had got no concession, that is to say, if he was not the son of a soldier, it amounted to about Rs. 11,000, and there were of course heavy incidental expenses as well. The Indian Military Academy Committee which sat in 1931 held that Rs. 4,600 for the course should be the maximum. The present course at the Indian Military Academy costs about Rs. 3,850, out of a total cost to the State of Rs. 10,500. So I think that the Skeen Committee's recommendation has been fairly adequately met in this matter.

Finally, they said that the pay and prospects were insufficient and that the pecuniary advantages of the Civil Service were such that boys would feel tempted to go to them rather than to the army. Finally they stated that the present scheme had a very narrow scope,—few opportunities and risk of failure great. Well, that and the 8-units scheme to which they objected have been very largely changed. The 8-units scheme has now become more like a 23-units scheme, and some misunderstanding seems to exist amongst some Honourable Members about technical troops and the facilities we have here for training them. In fact the Indian Military Academy does the work of both Woolwich and Sandhurst. The number of units at present are three cavalry regiments plus 1½ training squadrons, field brigade of four batteries of artillery, three field companies of engineers, one divisional headquarters company of engineers, one signal troop, one divisional signals and 12 battalions of infantry plus 12 training companies.

Several of the speakers, including my friend, Mrs. Subbarayan, whom I should like to congratulate on her brilliant maiden speech, stated that the real trouble was that the life and the style of living in the army do not conform to the customs and culture of this country, and that Indian social habits and Indian social life were such that it was difficult for a boy to settle down in so alien a style of living. It was also stated by the same Honourable Member, and by others as well.

[Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie.]

that the cost of standard of living that was set in the army was too high, and the Indian officer, being naturally more frugal, less expensive in his habits than his British brother, ought not to be compelled to live at so high a rate. That surely is a very great advantage in setting aside a number of units, provided the number is sufficient, to give sufficient scope in which Indian.....

**An Honourable Member :** A sort of *Sudras*.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** ..... to give sufficient scope in which Indian standards may gradually come to prevail. There is no doubt that while they are in a regiment with British officers, as the British officers were there first, their standards will remain unmodified, and from their own point of view, therefore, that seems to be the only possible solution of a very grave problem. There may be other solutions.....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Then the British officers ought to go Home !

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** I do not think that will be welcomed yet by anyone. Then outside these units, there are, of course, opportunities throughout the Army,—there is the Royal Indian Army Service Corps, the Indian Army Ordnance Corps, the Remounts, and what are generally known as Departments and services, all of them are open to Indian officers. Staff appointments are also open to Indian officers, and in all these positions of course they occupy precisely the same position as either the King's Commissioned Indian Officer or the British officer....

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi : General) :** Where do they occupy these positions ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Yes, many.

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali :** Can you name any ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** There are two now holding staff appointments who successfully passed through the Staff College and five more.....

**Mr. M. Asaf Ali :** Is there a single Indian in the Army Headquarters ?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** Not yet. There is no doubt that there will be, but they have not yet reached the necessary degree of seniority.

**An Honourable Member from Congress Benches :** They will never.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie :** The senior Indian officer who has passed out of the Staff College is now holding his first staff appointment.

Several Honourable Members claimed the credit for having forestalled Government in bringing forward this Resolution. I have no desire to take from any the credit which is their due. I feel on the other hand that it is perhaps rather hard to expect that Government will be given its due, but I can assure the House that this matter has been under review, as recommended by the Skeen Committee, for the past year and more. and that it has been very intensively under review, and a vast amount of labour and thought has been expended on this problem. In fact, a scheme, a new scheme, in some way perhaps rather a revolutionary scheme, has been prepared and worked out in detail. It is not yet entirely finished ; but it will certainly be ready in time to

be laid before the Committee when it is constituted. Finally, I have to forecast the view of the Government as to this Resolution. I can say that Government accept it in principle. I can also say that Government would find no difficulty at all in accepting the Resolution as amended by Mr. Aikman. I do not find any particular fault as to the amendment moved by the Congress, except that it does perhaps interfere with full freedom of choice in the matter. I agree with those Honourable Members who stated that from every point of view full freedom of choice was most desirable. On the other hand, I say quite frankly that the presence on such a Committee of elected Members of the Legislature would be not only welcomed but regarded as absolutely essential.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** (Bombay Northern Division : Non-Muhammadian Rural) : Mr. Deputy President, I confess at once that I had no desire to intervene in this debate for I was quite certain that with the inspired amendment of the European Group.....

**Members of the European Group** : Not inspired.

**Mr. A. Aikman** : I object to that remark—I deny that it was inspired.

**Members of the European Group** : It is not parliamentary.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** : It is parliamentary. The amendment which has been moved by the European Group was one which suited the Government perfectly well, and I have not the slightest doubt myself that if they think so alike without coming into contact with each other, —I congratulate them on their instincts.

**Mr. J. D. Boyle** (Bombay : European) : Like the Congress and the Motor Vehicles Bill !

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** : The Resolution which is before the House is one the import of which should be fully understood. Undoubtedly it is in pursuance of what was recommended in the Skeen Committee's Report, page 21, to which I shall call attention presently. But it is not so much the words or the form that matters as the demands before that Committee as well as the composition of its personnel. But more important than all that is the background of the examination by the Committee of what had hitherto happened. If I did not feel that on all those three grounds the matter has not been approached from the correct point of view, I should not have thought it necessary to intervene, because it is quite easy to say. " Yes, we shall appoint a Committee ", because there have been Committees enough, committees for all purposes, committees for all results and committees without any commitments. That is the history with which we are quite familiar. Therefore, it is not so much the matter of appointing a Committee as that the Government should apprehend our demand and our opinion. And let me put it to the House that I am expressing the opinion of all those who think with me, the whole of my Group and many others, on the statements that I propose to make and the allegations which we say we are prepared to substantiate if this Committee is there of before public opinion. We hold that notwithstanding the Skeen Committee's Report, in substance and in spirit the promises made have been rudely broken. We do not believe that there was any the least desire to really do and carry out in spirit what that Committee was appointed for and had recommended. We hold undoubtedly also, in view of the answer given by Mr. Tottenham

[Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.]

only last year to me that he would think that a person would be a congenital idiot if he believed that even in a century the Indian army would be Indianised. Which of us two is to answer for that is entirely for the Government to consider. After that to come before this House and plead a little more gently and hope that we would accept a committee, merely as a matter of form, is a futile hope. But more than all, it is not a question now any longer of what was before the Skeen Committee.

The people of India take an entirely different view of this matter. The people of India do not take the view that it is for the British Government to determine as to how and in what manner and to what extent and at what speed the Indian Army should be Indianised (irrespective of the other issues which I have argued before), but from the point of view which was raised in this debate. The point which was raised in this debate—and we charge that the whole conduct of the British element of the army, so far as officers are concerned, with reference to the Indian officers is such as to discourage them in every way from entering the army or remaining in it. We believe that. Not only that, but we also believe that there is more than that. The relative pay and pensions are of such a character that necessarily the Indian has to drag himself up to a standard of life which is unusually extravagant in order that he might be a favourite with them. Some may succeed in that way and be treated more favourably, but the fact remains that the only solution of this disparity is the removal of the British element in the army, the removal of the British officers and replacing them by Indian officers. Then the question won't arise of relative standards of living; then the question won't arise of social conditions of Indian life; the question won't arise of the manner in which the inferiority and superiority complex is sought to be created. Therefore, what we stand for is not the method of sprinkling and distribution and a servile portion of the Indian officers serving with British officers. That is not what we want. That is not the kind of demand with which we stand before this House, or, if the Committee is appointed, will stand before them. Therefore, it is with us a definite business proposition. If we find that the relative salaries are such that the disparity must exist, then we must go to the root cause of the disparity and not merely the disparity itself. I am not here to plead like some other Honourable Members for raising the pay of the Indian officer which we cannot afford; it is a question of lowering the other pay and not of raising the pay of the Indians. Therefore, we cannot accept the foundation of what you have done, and in support of that and to that extent, to reach up to them. That is not our method. I may remind the House and I hope and trust that it is accepted that there are enough patriotic citizens in this country to serve with the Army with no eye to emoluments just as there have been in other walks of life—if you can find a Japanese serving his country as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army on a salary equivalent to Rs. 250 a month, it is a disgrace to us that a foreigner can impose upon us a Lieutenant-Colonel with something like Rs. 2,000 a month. Undoubtedly, inasmuch as he gets Rs. 2,000 a month, the Indian who gets the Indian commission gets about Rs. 1,200 according to the last very illuminating report that was handed to us. What we,



therefore, complain about is not that the Indian is not well paid. What we complain about is that the European is so well paid that he renders it impossible to have within our means and without any disparity the real Indian Army that we want. That is the claim I am making before the House. It is no longer a question of merely saying : ' Oh, yes. We will see. We have a revolutionary scheme '. I remember very well when the first Executive Councillor was appointed in the Bombay Government it was considered to be a " revolutionary " step and I know why it was considered revolutionary. According to your view, an Indian deserves no place there and, therefore, when you appoint him, you consider it a " revolutionary " step but the disgrace is on the Indian who accepts that position and thinks it is " revolutionary ".

So far as the committee is concerned, what we definitely demand is this. As regards the question of segregation of eight units, I remember you have one motive and we may have another purpose. The segregation motive is of course to treat the Indian as an inferior class. That is because you accept it and those who seek the appointments take them. You should not, therefore, complain if Indians of honourable families and education and patriotic instincts with self-respect are not willing to take up the positions you offer. You should not on that score complain of the inadequacy of enlistment, because the cause is not, as you imagine, inefficiency—a charge which you have not withdrawn. But we do not propose to fight merely with words. In so far as we are concerned, the real reasons why you don't get an adequate supply is that you would not create opportunities for training in schools and colleges and I know what half-hearted attempts were made when you started the University Training Corps in Bombay and in other Universities with the working of which I have been familiar. The whole idea was to create a farce, a show. You had no idea of instilling the young men's minds with the proper ideals and with the kind of life for which they were being prepared. Then the only remedy that one can see and the only remedy that we do see is not by the acceptance of the proposition that the European will remain and that we should live up to his standards, so that there may be no complaints on the part of Mrs. Subbarayan or anybody else. The true process is to maintain the proper type of Indian Army and an Indian Army officered by Indians. Then there will be no question of disparity in life. That is our demand.

Now, I should like to read to you what the Committee said in their report 12 years ago. It is the opinion of those Indians who sat on the committee. I read from page 24 of the report :

" Our colleagues, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Diwan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, Major Zorawar Singh and Major Bala Sahib Daffe, while agreeing to the principles upon which the suggested scheme of Indianisation is founded, consider that the culminating point of the scheme, that is to say, the Indianisation of 50 per cent. of the cadre of officers in the Indian Army, should be reached at an earlier stage, namely, after 15 years."

More than twelve years have passed now. If there had been the smallest grain of honesty in the appointment of that committee and the desire to implement their recommendations, then, within the next three years, there must be 50 per cent. of Indian officers in the Indian army. Even according to the scheme mentioned in the report there should be 160 appointments every year and, on the very basis of the figures given

[Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.]

in the report, we should be nearing the 50 per cent. proportion now, as was pointed by the members of the committee who spent a whole year and half on their labours. That being so, we must be able to say before this committee and the Members of the House that the recommendations of that report have not been implemented. Of course, there are insidious methods for not implementing the recommendations of the committee and that is how the matter is allowed to be dragged on. It is our definite demand that there should be an Indian Army officered by Indians and no part of the British Army shall remain in India and it is with that back ground that we want this committee—not for the purpose of tinkering with raising the pay of the Indian officers and bringing them up to the level of the European officers, so that we may be made to pay more. That is not our scheme, nor is it our scheme that you should be at liberty not to have, if you so choose, a majority of the elected Members of the House. In the Skeen Committee, I think it was seven and seven but we definitely demand a majority and that for a good reason.

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

We do believe, as it has been accepted in many European countries  
 4 P.M. where the army is mechanised and is in a very superior condition of efficiency, that so far as administration, management and statement of principles are concerned, a civilian has indeed a better mind than the military man. Even in the British Cabinet, you have Sir Thomas Inskip as the co-ordinating minister for the three arms of the realm. We, therefore, believe that without an elected majority of Members of this House you will have a committee which will decide as you like. It is on the basis of these two statements that we make our demand. We do not want merely tinkering with the problem and merely making the scheme a little wider and more elastic. *Our definite demand is that within less than 15 years, the whole of the Indian Army should be officered by Indians. Secondly, our definite statement is that you have not treated us fairly and properly and have not carried out fully what you promised to do, though you may have a few favourite Indians in the Army who have been treated as equal fellow men or at least in their servility they so believe. We say definitely that you have made every effort to degrade them, to humiliate them and to compel them to resign and, ultimately, if possible, to dismiss them. That is the history, according to us, of your "implementing" of the terms of the Skeen Committee recommendations. Our demand, therefore, is that the Indian Army shall be entirely officered in 15 years time by Indians alone and, secondly, there will be left no question of disparity at all. Our patriotic Indians will serve and live a standard of life entirely suited to our conditions and, thirdly, the decision shall be reached by a majority of the elected Members of this House. Sir, I support the Resolution and my Honourable friend, Sjt. Avinashi's amendment.*

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar : Non-Muhammadan) : The issue before the House and the issue which the amendment wants to present before the House has been made very clear in the brilliant speech which the Leader

of the Opposition has just delivered. What I want to prominently bring to the notice of the House is this. Here is a demand of this Resolution for a certain kind of committee in accordance with the recommendation made by the Skeen Committee. That recommendation requires that the scheme laid down by that Committee, and the steps and the progress made by the Government of India, in accordance with that scheme, should be reviewed in a particular year, 1938, and, therefore, a committee should be appointed to see what other steps should be taken to further accelerate the pace of Indianisation. Evidently, it assumes that the scheme that was formulated by the Skeen Committee was tried and was given effect to. The reply which the Honourable the Defence Secretary has given did not convince me that even the limited scheme of Indianisation, which was to give us at the end of the year 1947, about fifty per cent. of Indian officers in the army, has been fairly tried. On the other hand the Defence Department proceeded on its own way and thought that in that way they would be able to minister to the aspirations of the Indian people in this direction. Sir, on page 24 of the report, the authors of the Skeen Committee laid down what they considered to be the crucial test of their scheme. It is this :

“ By 1944 the senior of the Indian King's Commissioned Officers now in the army will have completed 26 years' service and will therefore be due to be considered for the command of regiments. This is the crucial test, and because of this it has been suggested (in the scheme described in Appendix II) that the number of Indian commissioned officers should not reach fifty per cent. unless this stage has been passed.”

Now, I want to know whether anything has been up to this time done by the Government of India in this direction so that by the year 1944 the senior of the Indian King's Commissioned Officers in the army will have completed 26 years' service and will be ripe for a command. I say, the very principle on which they wanted the progress to be made according to their own scheme has been given the go-by, and the old fetish of an eight-unit scheme which has been condemned in this report is still there and they are proceeding on that line. That being the position, it is really difficult to make any review of whatever they have done. They have made light of the principles laid down in this report. If the work hitherto done has not followed the lines laid down here, then there is very little to be reviewed in what the Government of India have done in regard to the Indianisation of the army. Although we want a searching inquiry to be made and instituted, I declaim the fact that there is nothing for us to review in regard to their work, in the light of the progress contemplated and outlined by the Skeen Committee. I do not want to give them any credit that any *bonâ fide* attempt to understand and to work that scheme has been made. Then, after that, a reference was made by the Honourable the Defence Secretary, in his speech, to the point but he admitted that so far as the element of getting proper persons for the army is concerned, there is a paucity. The complaint which has been made is that a proper type of Indian is not available for the army. Now, there has been a definite recommendation made here, because, after all, whence can you get the proper type of man to officer the Indian Army ? It is only from universities where the Indian youths are educated. Sir, certain faults with regard to the Indian Universities were pointed out and particular attention was drawn in the report to the effect that the Universities should take up the question of university education from this

[Mr. M. S. Aney.]

point of view. The recommendation that was made particularly was this, that :

“ The Government of India should impress upon educational authorities the paramount national importance of reforming the system of education in India with a view to developing in the pupils of ordinary schools and colleges those characteristics, so essential in an Army Officer, to which little or no attention is at present paid by them, and should appeal to them to reorganize the institutions under their control to this end.”

I want to know whether, after the publication of this report, any steps have been taken by the Government of India with a view to finding out what reforms are necessary in the university curriculum in order to create that morale and those essential characteristics amongst the students which would make them capable of occupying the position of officers in the army. If no effort has been made, it means that you do not want to have any persons coming out of that material as your candidates for the officers at all. If the Government really wanted to get the proper type of Indians, then the first and essential necessity for the Government of India would have been to concentrate its attention upon this recommendation, and, I am sure, my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, who has been the Vice-Chancellor of a big university and many other educationists would have willingly co-operated with the Government and assured them of working out any scheme that would have enabled their own students to become worthy officers of the Indian Army. But nothing of the kind is done, and they rely upon recruiting some sort of boys to come up, and then, if they do not get the proper type of Indians, then the fault is theirs. I must say, that it is not true that no proper type is available but that no proper attempt is made to develop the material which is there already and to take it from the proper sources. So, it is a kind of indifference towards the problem of Indianisation as such which exists in the Defence Department of the Government of India that is responsible for the want of proper material about which so much complaint has been made. I, therefore, submit that these are the various ways in which this question is to be solved. If anybody tells me that there is no genuine desire discernible among Indian youths for a military career, I deny that charge. I want to bring to the notice of my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary, as to what is it due to, that a private gentleman, like Dr. Moonje, has thought of starting a military school at Nasik ? Is it not because a genuine desire is felt by the people that something should be done to coach our students in such a way as to make them worthy officers in the army that private efforts are made. The young boys want to engage in some kind of semi-military training, forming themselves into a volunteer corps, and they want to go in uniforms and move in military processions. All these things are there. Now, those things are considered by some short-sighted officers as evidence of an anti-Government attitude. Instead of finding out the real spirit behind all these demonstrations of this new development of students' movements and youth movements in this country, the Government is content to find fault with these things and discourage all these. I think these movements demonstrate that new efforts in this direction are being made. Then there are various resolutions adopted by the Provincial Governments, and then there are some attempts made by certain provinces, like Bihar, to introduce military education in schools. All these things

ought to convince the Defence Department and the Government of India that there is a genuine desire growing among the people for a military career. Is the Government willing to take advantage of that? If not, and if they rely on their old fetish, we cannot help. Therefore, if they cannot think of any rapid scheme of Indianisation at all, it means that that is a proof of their unwillingness to do anything in the matter rather than our own incompetence.

I shall now make one suggestion and then conclude my speech. The real reason which is behind the amendment is this. So long as the idea was a distant ideal of Indianisation, namely that, say about fifty years hence you will have fifty per cent. Indians in the army, so long as that idea was there, any kind of a committee with a little sprinkling of elected Members here and there and with a strong admixture of officials and a particular type of Indians also, would have satisfied the people. But when there is a different outlook, when we want the entire defence of this country to be in our hands, we do not want to leave the matter to remain pending like that for geological ages with the blessings and pious wishes expressed, without being translated into action. We do not want to leave that question now in that direction. The Defence Department and the Government of India must see that the personnel of a Committee, selected in the manner in which it used to be selected before, cannot serve the needs of the present day. You have to solve any question that may arise now in accordance with the needs and requirements of the people of this time. If the times have changed, if the popular opinions have changed and if the views of the Indian people have changed the entire bulk of the Indian population, then you must try to adjust your means to serve their aspirations. The amendment that has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Chettiar, is intended to give you a mechanism by which some kind of attempt can be made by you in the direction of the progress of Indianisation to satisfy the Indian requirements of the present day. It is in that spirit that you must look at that amendment. If you look at it in that way, then you ought not to find any difficulty in accepting it because there is nothing more to be done. That will enable you to understand what the Indian position is and unless you understand that, any progress that you intend to make will be useless. After all, why do you want to make any progress? Because you want to satisfy me and my people. But if you do not know what I want and if you do not take my advice in the matter, I do not think that any steps that you may take will satisfy me. Therefore, if the idea in accepting the Resolution is to do something to satisfy the Indian aspirations, then you must accept the Resolution as it is, with the amendment that has been moved by the popular Party, the most authoritatively representative Party in the country and which will have the support of the entire House. If you are prepared to accept it, then you will have the support, not only of the non-official Members but also of those who are sitting behind you. They will also be willing to accept it. It is only for you to declare what you want. With these words, I support the amendment.

**Syed Grulam Bhik Nairang** (East Punjab : Muhammadan) : Mr. President, I had no desire to intervene in this debate especially because in moving the Resolution, my Honourable friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, had very ably represented the views of my Party, and, if anything had

[Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang.]

remained to be added, my other Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, who had had the advantage of being one of the Members of the Skeen Committee and was, therefore, specially qualified to speak on the subject, made a speech and put the whole point of view of the Party, as far as our Party is concerned, before the House. But as the discussion proceeded after the speech of Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, especially when my Honourable friend, Mr. Desai, spoke, it took a turn which necessitated my intervention for a few minutes. Therefore, I feel called upon to offer a few observations on the various points discussed in connection with the Resolution under discussion. There is no doubt that the key-note of the present Resolution as well as the key-note of the entire proceedings of the Skeen Committee was Indianisation. As far as that subject is concerned, there can be no difference of opinion in this House, at least as far as the elected representatives of the people are concerned. Everyone of us is out and out for Indianisation, complete and entire Indianisation, Indianisation at the earliest moment, Indianisation immediately and without any delay. So far as that subject is concerned, there can be no difference of opinion amongst us. But, when the practical aspect of the question comes up, it appears that some of the elected representatives in this House are talking at cross purposes with regard to what others are saying. My Honourable friend, Mr. Desai, said that the question with him was not to raise the emoluments of the Indians who joined the army after qualifying in the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. The question, on the other hand, according to him, is the levelling down of the status of military officers rather than the levelling up of the Indian members of the army.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai :** Not the status but the emoluments.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang :** If I used the word status, it was due to a slip of the tongue, I meant emoluments. There I beg to differ with him entirely. There is no doubt, as I have said already, that we are out and out for Indianisation, but my friend himself repeated the reply of Mr. Tottenham to him. I will not repeat that reply but I will say that, practically speaking, it appears to me that that millennium, the entire and complete Indianisation of the army, is yet far off.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury (Assam : Muhammadan) :** Why ?

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang :** Do not put that question to me. You know the facts. Till that millennium dawns, we have to take a practical view of the matter. For instance, the Government do not object to the appointment of a Committee which this Resolution wants. At the most, there is some difference as to what the composition of the Committee shall be, as to when the Committee should be appointed and there may possibly be some difference as to the terms of reference. As to the time when it should be appointed, I am in entire agreement with my Honourable friend, Mr. Chettiar. We say that it should be appointed immediately. As to the composition of the Committee, we are at one with Mr. Chettiar in saying that it should contain a majority of the elected Members of the Central Legislature. On these points, we are agreed. But as to the terms of reference, it will certainly be for the Committee to consider whether the Indian Military Academy at Dehra

Dun, or the Indian Sandhurst as it is sometimes called, has been a success or a failure. If it has been a success, well and good, and we would like it to be a much better success. If it has been a failure, either an unqualified failure or a failure to a certain extent, then study the causes of the failure and try to remove those causes. Now, I submit that as far as I have been able to ascertain the facts, it appears to me that this Indian Military Academy has been or has become unpopular with the people for certain reasons. The great reason why it is unpopular is, firstly, that it is a very expensive institution. As far as I am able to ascertain, no cadet belonging to the middle classes can hope either to enter that Academy or to undergo any training or education in that Academy because the expenses are so high. That is one reason. If that is the state of things, then it follows that it is meant for the well-to-do and the wealthy, whom we call the upper classes. Thus the middle classes and the poorer classes are automatically shut out. That is one reason. Again, Sir, when the cadets, after paying all the expenses and after undergoing the necessary training, pass out, the career which is offered to them is not sufficiently attractive. I gather that the initial pay of a cadet who passes out from the Indian Military Academy and gets the Viceroy's Commission given in the name of the King is Rs. 330.

**An Honourable Member :** Rs. 300 only.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang :** It may be Rs. 300 but my information is that it is Rs. 330. Well, the initial pay of an officer on joining the army after passing from the Sandhurst when he gets the King's Commission is about Rs. 500. Thus, there is a difference of Rs. 200 as far as the initial pay is concerned. The life he is expected to lead there entails certain expenditure and I gather that obligatory expenses which he must meet come to about Rs. 290 a month. Thus, a lieutenant will be left in his pocket with only a sum of Rs. 10 if his pay is Rs. 300 or a sum of Rs. 40 if his pay is Rs. 330, according to my information. Surely, Sir, a sum of Rs. 10 or Rs. 40 is not enough for the ordinary miscellaneous needs of a gentleman, which every one of us has in addition to the fixed items of expenditure. I was, therefore, very much touched by the quotation which my Honourable friend, Mr. Chettiar, read out from somebody's letter. I think it must be a case taken from real life and not one based on fiction because anything which a responsible gentleman like Mr. Chettiar says must be based on actual facts and he must have convinced himself of the truth of the same. I think if an officer on the very threshold of his military career feels like that and is compelled to say, to his father, that he made a mistake in selecting this career for himself, then I submit it is really a case for very serious consideration. After crossing all the hurdles which are placed in his way, after passing a very critical interview which he is expected to undergo, after passing a competitive examination, and after procuring all possible and impossible recommendations, if a young man is fortunate enough to get access into the Indian Military Academy, gets all the training there, passes all the examinations, and undergoes all the expense and labour involved, if after all that, the fruit of his labours is this, that after a few months he feels that he has committed a serious mistake in selecting that career, I think nothing can be more pitiable and nothing can be more worthy of serious consideration than this. I, therefore,

[Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang.]

submit that whatever other terms of reference may be formulated for the committee which we seek to appoint, the question of comparative emoluments and status of the cadets passing from the Indian Sandhurst as it is called and those passing in England and getting King's Commission must be one of the subjects to be seriously considered and we must ask them to make recommendations as to how to improve the condition and status of the former. I understand that these gentlemen, who get the Viceroy's Commission which His Excellency the Viceroy gives in the name of the King, have a very curious status. They enjoy the same appellations, lieutenant, captain, major and so on, but their status as military officers is confined to the confines of India. As soon as they travel out of India, their status practically disappears. They do not enjoy any of the privileges and rights of military officers of corresponding status who have got the King's Commission. They would not be entitled to be saluted and they could not object if members of the British Army do not recognise them and do not salute them. Many of the privileges which are enjoyed by the holders of the King's Commission are not enjoyed by the Indian Commissioned Officers. Surely, if that is so, it is a very serious matter for the committee to consider how to remove the disparity. Why should they be lieutenants and majors merely in name, why should they not enjoy the full status implied by these terms? The more important questions that they should have the right to command British units and other cognate questions, of course, are also matters of very great importance to be considered by that committee. But the principal point on which I must lay very great stress is that I am unable to agree with my Honourable friend, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, when he belittles the importance of the question of emoluments. I raise the question of emoluments and I raise the question of status as well, as I have already said. With these few remarks, I support the motion of my Honourable friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, as amended by Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar.

**Some Honourable Members :** The question may now be put.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The question is :

"That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The question is :

"That for the word 'early' the word 'immediate' be substituted, and that for the words 'of the elected and other members' the words 'with a majority of elected members' be substituted."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The question is :

"That the following Resolution, as amended, be adopted :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that *immediate* steps be taken to constitute a Committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature to devise a scheme for implementing the following unanimous recommendation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee (of 1926), namely, 'It is, however, unanimously agreed that, whether the slower or the more rapid rate of progression is ultimately adopted, the scheme actually in operation should be reviewed in 1938, that is to say, five years after the inauguration of the Indian Sandhurst, with a view to considering whether the success achieved is not sufficiently solid to warrant a further acceleration of the rate of progress.'"

The motion was adopted.



## RESOLUTION RE FINANCIAL CONTROL OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

**Raizada Hans Raj** (Jullundur Division : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to move :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that early steps be taken to constitute a committee of the elected and other members of the Central Legislature to examine the arrangements in force for financial control of military expenditure by the Finance Department and to suggest ways and means of reducing the present cost of Defence.”

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Resolution moved :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that early steps be taken to constitute a committee of the elected and other members of the Central Legislature to examine the arrangements in force for financial control of military expenditure by the Finance Department and to suggest ways and means of reducing the present cost of Defence.”

The Honourable Member, **Mr. Satyamurti**, has given notice of an amendment, the effect of which would be to debar nominated Members of the House from this proposed Committee. Both my predecessor and myself have ruled that no Member of the House, even if he is a nominated Member, can be debarred from being considered in connection with any Resolution that may be before the House.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, the point is that we recommend to Government by means of a Resolution to constitute a committee consisting of elected Members. It is not as if Government are bound to accept that recommendation. This is a matter in which elected Members alone can be interested. It is a question of financial control over Defence expenditure.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : If the House decides that only elected Members should be selected, they will select them. But you cannot by a Resolution debar other Members from being considered.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : If this Committee were to be elected by the House, I would be absolutely bound by your view. But, unfortunately, situated as we are, we have no right to elect a committee ourselves. We can only recommend to Government to appoint a committee.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : It comes to the same thing so far as the principle is concerned because you debar certain Members from being considered. That is your recommendation.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : But the principle is not new. For instance, in the Public Accounts Committee we make a distinction. If you see the constitution of that committee you will find that a certain section of that can only be elected Members.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : There it is non-officials.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : The principle which fell from your lips, to the extent to which I understand it, was that it is not proper to make a distinction between one class of Honourable Members and another class of Honourable Members. With that I respectfully agree. But, according to statutory rules under which the Public Accounts Committee is elected, a distinction is already made between non-official and official Members, i.e., all Members who are equal in respect of voting, and so on.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Are official Members bound to vote with Government ?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Not to the knowledge of this House. I asked a supplementary question some time ago, as to whether official Members are bound by official Whips and they refused to give an answer. So that, to the extent that your official knowledge and our official knowledge goes, they are as good as Members of the Opposition. But they are not bound by any rule or convention. There is a statutory rule governing elections in this House made in pursuance of the Government of India Act under which we work. At any rate, I want to address you on the merits. It is not as if it is a case in which all Members can equally make up their minds. There is no question of any censure or animadversion on any class of Members. The whole question of financial control is one for the elected Members of the House. And as for convention, I see that except my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, who constantly votes with us, the nominated non-officials constantly and always vote with the Government. What I submit is that there is no use relying on May's Parliamentary Practice in such matters, because there are no Nominated Members in the House of Commons. Therefore, you have to make a precedent by using your own good sense, and on a matter of this kind we, as the taxpayers' representatives.....

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Member for Commerce and Labour) : The Honourable Member wants previous rulings to be reversed.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Yes, and I may tell my Honourable friend that rulings are not binding on anybody, not even on the President who gives the ruling. He can change that.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** : That is what I pointed out yesterday.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member is enunciating a principle of far-reaching importance which the Chair cannot accept. If no ruling is binding on any one, there would be absolute chaos.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : I have looked up the authorities on Parliamentary practice and I assert without fear of contradiction from the other side that the rulings of Speakers can be revised by the Speakers themselves.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : There should be some continuity of practice and some certainty of procedure.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Unless there is a supreme public interest or the interest of the House as a whole ! I am submitting to you that this question of control of defence expenditure and of reducing defence expenditure is a matter in which the taxpayers are primarily interested. And secondly, in answer to your observation that it is a matter for the whole House I want to point out that the Resolution as it stands includes elected and other Members. I am now moving an amendment. It is for the House, when it votes on the amendment, either to accept it or to reject it. If it accepts my amendment, it agrees to the principle that in a matter of this kind other Members shall not be considered. If it does not then it means that the House sticks to the view that all other people should be considered by Government. I submit that in view of the

fact that with regard to the Public Accounts Committee there is a distinction between officials and non-officials, the distinction is already recognised statutorily ; and, I believe that in the case of the late lamented Standing Finance Committee also, there was a distinction between elected and Nominated Members. I think I am right,—the Finance Member will correct me if I am wrong.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member) : If I have erred, I am quite prepared to be rebuked by the President and to modify my proposals accordingly.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : The practice was that there was a distinction in the case of a committee appointed by a Resolution of the House between elected and other Members. I suggest, I am not asking you to create a new precedent. In any case, I am asserting a principle that to the extent we can, we must give the elected Members of the House an opportunity of saying whether elected Members alone should be appointed to this committee.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The question has been raised by the amendment of Mr. Satyamurti that the words "and others" in the Resolution which has been just moved by Raizada Hans Raj should be deleted, the effect of which would be that the House would be asked to recommend to the Governor General in Council that only elected Members should be appointed to the committee which is sought by this Resolution. There have been rulings on the point as this matter has been considered more than once before and the ruling has been, both by my predecessor in office and by myself, that the House should not be asked to make any recommendation by which a distinction is made between the elected and non-elected Members of the House, depriving the non-elected Members of the privileges which they otherwise are entitled to under the constitution. Mr. Satyamurti, with his usual vigour, has urged upon me to reconsider the previous rulings, and he has cited a statutory rule which has been framed regarding the Public Accounts Committee, by which only non-official Members of the House are to be elected to that committee. But that is entirely by the order of Government and it is not by any Resolution of this House. I must follow the rulings in this respect, and disallow the amendment of Mr. Satyamurti.

The Resolution is now under discussion.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Sir, I dare not criticise a ruling of the Chair, but I want to submit to this House that this point is one pre-eminently for the elected Members of this House and.....

**Mr. N. M. Joshi** (Nominated Non-Official) : Why ?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** : "One swallow does not make a summer", and that is my answer to my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi. I still hope and trust that the Government, in spite of your ruling, will consider the spirit of the amendment which I wanted to move. My Honourable friends sitting on the other benches must realise, as I am sure, the Honourable the Finance Member has realised in his experience of the Public Accounts Committee, that those who criticise most strongly, who are well informed, who are alert, are those from among whom I want this committee to be entirely constituted. I

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

mean no reflection on any other Member of this House, but I do suggest that financial control is pre-eminently a matter for the elected Members of any popular House.

**An Honourable Member : Why ?**

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I will tell you why, because we represent lakhs of taxpayers here, while you represent only tax-spenders. All the time my friends on the other side....

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** I pay much more taxes than you do.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I know you do, but you get much more than I do, out of my own country and that is the tragedy of it. I can be in your place and do the work much better than you can, but yet you are there, because you are you and I am I....

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) :** Let us have no personal comparisons....

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Very well, Sir ; but he started it and my submission to you is that sometimes if you can turn your eyes on that part of the House it would be much better....

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) :** You have managed to attract my eyes very often !

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** That is my misfortune ! But in this quarrel I want this thing to go on record—my Honourable friend said : ' I pay more taxes than you do ' and thus started the comparison.

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) :** I think the Honourable Member need not labour the point.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I do not mind, but I put it respectfully to the Chair that these provocations almost always come from the other side.

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) :** You can always appeal to the Chair.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** All right, Sir. Let me come back to the point from which I was interrupted by my Honourable friend, the Finance Member. My point is this, that after all, those canons of strict financial control and watching expenditure with the eyes of a lynx naturally belong to those who represent lakhs of tax-payers here, and I do hope that the Government will keep this thing in mind. I hope the Honourable the Finance Member on the 13th instant when this motion will come up again will speak on this motion. I should like to know what are the arrangements in force for financial control of military expenditure. I have tried for the last four years as a hard-working member of the Public Accounts Committee to find out exactly what are these arrangements. I will tell this House when the Military Accounts Committee sits we are four or five, then come Generals and my friend, Sir Alexander Tottenham, before and Mr. Ogilvie now, and there comes with him a friend who is supposed to be the Finance Member's watch-dog in the Finance Department. That is how my friend, Sir James Grigg, describes him in his picturesque language to me ; but, when we come to analyse the defence expenditure, I want to say it publicly, I find that the Finance Member, the Financial Adviser, the Military Secretary and the other gentlemen all sitting there generally

enter into an unholy conspiracy either to impress upon us that these are all too deep matters for us mere laymen, or that we ought not to pursue these matters too much. We may occasionally put questions, but if, on the whole, they are satisfied that every thing is all right we must not pursue it further. I feel that the Finance Department of the Government of India, in spite of the striking personality of Sir James Grigg, is a cypher, so far as military finance is concerned. He may talk big here : he may assume the God and affect to nod and seem to shake the spheres ; but when it comes to our friends the Commander-in-Chief and the soldiers they care that much for him ; and he knows it : he dare not confess it here. I believe that the Finance Department which ought to be the supreme department as the Treasury, in England,....

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** Hear, hear.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I see the pathos of it : he regrets with me that he is not supreme and, therefore, he says : ' Hear, hear '. I can have no more eloquent testimony of my allegation that he is a cypher, in respect of military finance and military expenditure. I submit that the arrangements are not adequate. We spend either 45 or 50 crores on defence year after year ; and yet our control over the defence expenditure is next to nothing. I will give one supreme example. We all solemnly passed or refused to pass the Budget : we go home : the moment the Assembly is adjourned, the Waziristan operations start in the North-West Frontier, and they spend 20 and 30 and 40 lakhs on it. I do not know if the Honourable the Finance Member sleeps well or not—he once told me he was not sleeping well ; but I wonder when these bills come from my friend, the Defence Secretary, to the tune of 20 and 30 and 40 lakhs, what exactly he feels. He sometimes swears to me privately, but I won't say it publicly. But, Sir, I do suggest, as a Member of this House, that our control and the Finance Department's control, over military expenditure, is practically *non est*, and, therefore, a Committee ought to sit and develop a technique by which the Finance Member may be able to tell even my friend, Mr. Ogilvie, " thus far and no further ". As it is, the Military Department can spend just as much as they like. There is nobody who can say ' No ' to them, not even the Finance Member.

Then, Sir, the second part of the Resolution is to suggest ways and means of reducing the present cost of defence. On this matter, Sir, we have had, and we shall have, constant discussions, but during the last four weeks that we have been sitting here, the Honourable the Defence Secretary and the Finance Member, between themselves, have evolved a perfect technique of using words to conceal their thoughts. We have asked them questions. My friends have exhausted their ingenuity,—I have nearly exhausted mine,—in trying to ask questions to find out what is the tune of expenditure to which we are committed by the new schemes and by the plans they are considering. No answer,—and it is not in the public interest to answer such questions. And who judges public interest ? This " May " may be all very well for England ; where Mr. Neville Chamberlain and his friends who judge can be kicked out of office, but in India judged by the standards of Mr. Ogilvie and others, we have no power to kick them out, and I suggest to this House that, I think I am voicing the feeling of all sections of this House, Indian elected sections of this House, when I say that this country cannot afford this expenditure of 50 crores of rupees year after year on defence expenditure.

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

We may argue as much as we like about it, but the moment we get any power in our hands, we are going to reduce this expenditure to roughly half of it. That is the demand of the Indian National Congress. We believe in it. We believe we can carry it out. Even today there are many ways of reducing expenditure which, I believe, the Finance Member, if he were free to speak his mind, will agree with me, that this attempt on the part of His Majesty's Government to get 12 to 15 crores from us on account of His Majesty's British Forces is economically and financially unjust and improper.

**An Honourable Member :** Disastrous.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Again, Sir, with regard to the other expenditure also....

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg :** These remarks are not my views.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti :** I said I know you are too cautious for me to say what you believe. Therefore, I do not commit you at all. I said if you felt like me, if you were an Indian standing on this side, you would say exactly what I say, and perhaps more, that this is an iniquitous impost and ought to go. And I want to add, apart from this burden of the British forces and officers on this country, even within the scope of other military expenditure on Indian forces, there is great scope for retrenchment. I do not think, Sir, the matter has been examined after the last Army Retrenchment Committee which was appointed, I think, about 15 years ago, or immediately after the new Assembly began. It is time that the whole defence expenditure ought to be reexamined and ought to be reduced. This Resolution, therefore, calls upon the Government to appoint a Committee of elected and other Members,—I hope of elected Members only,—first to examine the arrangements in force for financial control of military expenditure by the Finance Department. That, I believe, Sir, ought to be done immediately, especially as the Government of India Act of 1935 is in the offing and threatens ; we must have some kind of machinery evolved at once, and I do hope that this Committee will be appointed almost immediately.

Secondly, Sir, I think we ought to reduce the present  
 5 P.M. cost of defence, simply because, apart from  
 other grounds, we cannot afford it. Believe me, the Government of India is sitting on a volcano, when they have set up Provincial Governments with unexpanding sources of revenue, with enormous claims for nation building departments, and they themselves are getting 200 crores between Railways and are themselves spending 50 crores on the Defence Department. This state of things cannot last. In the very nature of things this thing has got to go. I do hope, therefore, Mr. President, that this Resolution will be accepted by the Government in the same spirit of sweet reasonableness in which they did not challenge a division on our amendment to the previous Resolution and also accepted the Resolution, as amended, so that, we, as a Committee, may explore ways and means to tighten the financial control of military expenditure and also ways and means of reducing the defence expenditure.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 5th September, 1938.