

Thursday, 24th February, 1938

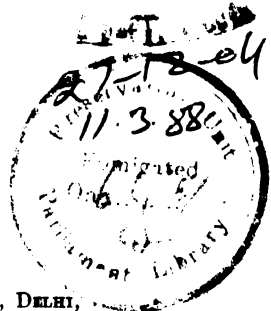
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CONTENTS.

PAGES.

Monday, 14th February, 1938—

Members Sworn	1
Questions and Answers	1—33
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	33—62
Messages from His Excellency the Governor General	62—63
Committee on Petitions	63
Congratulations to recipients of Honours	63—64
Governor General's Assent to Bills	64
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	64—65
Message from the Legislative Assembly	65
Death of Sheikh Mushir Hossain Kidwai	65
Presentation of the Railway Budget for 1938-39	65—72
Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands	72
Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce	72—73
Statement of Business	73

Thursday, 17th February, 1938—

Member Sworn	75
Questions and Answers	75—80
Death of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani	80
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	80—81
Standing Committee for the Department of Labour	81—82
Repealing Bill—Considered and passed	82
Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	82—83
Insurance Bill—Further amendments made by the Legislative Assembly agreed to	83—93
Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	93—96
Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands	96
Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce	96

Friday, 18th February, 1938—

Questions and Answers	97—98
General Discussion of the Railway Budget, 1938-39	98—146

Monday, 21st February, 1938—

Member Sworn	147
Questions and Answers	147—159
Resolution re Indians in British Guiana—Adopted	159—166
Cutchi Memon Bill—Motion to refer to Select Committee, adopted	166—167
Resolution re military training for Indians—Negatived	167—179
Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill (Jury trial in sedition cases)— Motion to consider, negatived	179—187
Durgah Khawaja Sahib (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed, as amended	187—190
Standing Committee for the Department of Labour	190

Thursday, 24th February, 1938—

Questions and Answers	191—194
Ruling <i>re</i> impropriety of premature publication of questions and resolutions	194—197
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	197
Transfer of Property (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	198
Resolution <i>re</i> stabilisation of the price of wheat, cotton, etc.—Negatived	198—214
Resolution <i>re</i> increase in number of cadets admitted to the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun—Negatived	214—234
Resolution <i>re</i> Indo-British Trade Agreement—Moved	234
Statement of Business	235

Saturday, 26th February, 1938—

Cutchi Memon Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	237
Presentation of the General Budget for 1938-39	237—245

Wednesday, 2nd March, 1938—

Member Sworn	247
Questions and Answers	247—261
Ruling <i>re</i> Supplementary questions	261—267
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	267
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	267
Standing Committee for Roads, 1938-39	267—268
Manceuvres, Field Firing and Artillery Practice Bill—Considered and passed	268—272
Destructive Insects and Pests (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	272—273
Resolution <i>re</i> Draft Convention and Recommendations relating to safety in the building industry—Adopted	273—278

Friday, 4th March, 1938—

Questions and Answers	279—283
Standing Committee on Emigration	283
General Discussion of the General Budget for 1938-39	284—307

Monday, 7th March, 1938—

Questions and Answers	309—318
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	318
Resolution <i>re</i> Indo-British Trade Agreement—Withdrawn	318—344
Cutchi Memon Bill—Considered and passed, as amended	344—346
Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	346—354
Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill—Introduced	354
Resolution <i>re</i> construction of a railway between Dacca and Aricha—Withdrawn	354—359
Motion <i>re</i> amendment of the Standing Orders—Disallowed	359—360
Standing Committee on Emigration	360
Standing Committee for Roads, 1938-39	360

Thursday, 10th March, 1938—

Member Sworn	361
Questions and Answers	361—366
Resolution <i>re</i> distribution of Defence expenditure between the land, sea and air forces—Negatived	366—383
Resolution <i>re</i> reduction in Defence expenditure—Negatived	383—401

Thursday, 10th March, 1938—contd.

Resolution <i>re</i> establishment of a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeals— <i>To be continued</i>	401—406
Statement of Business	406—407

Thursday, 17th March, 1938—

Member Sworn	409
Messages from His Excellency the Governor General	409
Indian Finance Bill, 1938, laid on the table	410

Monday, 21st March, 1938—

Questions and Answers	411—441
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	441—442
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	442
Resolution <i>re</i> establishment of a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeals— Withdrawn	442—456
Resolution <i>re</i> surcharge on railway freight on coal—Negatived	456—462
Resolution <i>re</i> Government recruitment and unemployment—Withdrawn	462—481
Statement of Business	481

Tuesday, 22nd March, 1938—

Questions and Answers	483—489
Central Advisory Council for Railways	489—490
Indian Finance Bill, 1938—Considered and passed	490—499

Wednesday, 23rd March, 1938—

Member Sworn	501
Questions and Answers	501—502
Indian Tea Control Bill—Considered and passed	502—503
Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed, as amended	503—507
Standing Committee for Roads	507
Central Advisory Council for Railways	507—508
Statement of Business	508

Friday, 1st April, 1938—

Members Sworn	509
Questions and Answers	509—518
Congratulations to the Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart on his appointment as Officiating Governor of Bihar and to the Honourable Mr. A. G. Clow on his appointment as Officiating Member of the Governor General's Executive Council	519
Presentation of a mace to the Council of State by the Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga	519
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	520
Statement laid on the table	520
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	520—521
Messages from the Legislative Assembly	521
Standing Advisory Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	521
Trade Disputes (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed, as amended	521—543
Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	543—547
Central Advisory Council for Railways	547—548

Monday, 4th April, 1933—

Member Sworn	549
Questions and Answers	549—565
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	565
Standing Advisory Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	566
Central Advisory Council for Railways	566
Resolution re declaration of the birthdays of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh as holidays—Negatived	566—567
Resolution re subjection to income-tax of the interest on sterling loans and pensions paid from Indian revenues—Negatived	567—585
Resolution re discrimination against Indians settling in the Highlands of Kenya—Adopted	585—593
Resolution re formation of a national army recruited from all classes and provinces—Negatived	594—606
Indian Succession Act (Amendment) Bill—Motion to refer to Select Committee, adopted	606
Statement of Business	606—607

Thursday, 7th April, 1933—

Member Sworn	609
Questions and Answers	609—613
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	613
Message from the Legislative Assembly	614
Sugar Industry Protection (Temporary Extension) Bill—Considered and passed	614—616
Sind Salt Law Amendment Bill—Considered and passed	616—617
Indian Coffee Cess (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	617
Standing Advisory Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	618

Friday, 8th April, 1933—

Questions and Answers	619—623
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	623
Statement laid on the table	624—665
Standing Advisory Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	666
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	666—667
Trade Disputes (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	667
Delhi Joint Water Board (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	668
Child Marriage Restraint (Second Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	668—689

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Thursday, 24th February, 1938.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DEPUTATION THAT WAITED ON SIR AUBREY METCALFE IN CONNECTION WITH INDO-AFGHAN TRADE.

119. THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : (a) Did a deputation of about a dozen members of the North-West Frontier Chambers of Commerce see Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, the Foreign Secretary, on 22nd January, 1938 and put before him the grievances of the Indian traders against the Afghan Government's Indian trade policy ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, what steps have been taken by Government to redress the grievances of the Indian traders ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : (a) Yes. I may however state that the Afghan Government's trade policy is not directed against Indians but is applied to all foreigners alike.

(b) Government have the matter under consideration.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS.

120. THE HONOURABLE MR. B. N. BIYANI : (a) Are there any political prisoners in the Centrally Administered Areas ?

(b) If so, how many and under what law have they been prosecuted ?

(c) What is the term of imprisonment which each of them is to undergo ?

(d) Do Government contemplate their release ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN SMITH : (a) to (c). I am making enquiries and will lay a reply on the table of the House in due course.

(d) I will be prepared to answer this question when the answers to these enquiries are received.

CELLULAR JAILS IN THE ANDAMANS.

121. THE HONOURABLE MR. B. N. BIYANI : Will Government lay on the table a statement containing the following information in respect of the Cellular Jails in the Andamans :

(a) How long have these jails existed ?

(b) The number of ordinary and political prisoners sent there from India ?

(c) The number of ordinary and political prisoners who died from malaria, consumption and the other diseases of the equatorial region ?

(d) The number of ordinary and political prisoners who died an unnatural death ?

(e) How many ordinary and political prisoners are there at present ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN SMITH : I lay a statement on the table.

(a) The Cellular Jail was completed in 1911.

(b) Figures for three years are given below :—

Total number of prisoners in the Andamans on—						Number of prisoners sent to the Andamans during—					
1-4-33		1-4-34		1-4-35		1933-34		1934-35		1935-36	
Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.
6,791	94	5,986	162	5,341	228	589	76	449	74	1,229	88

(c) During the three years from 1933 to 1936, the number of deaths among the convicts in the Andamans was as follows :—

	1933		1934		1935	
	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.	Volun- teer convicts.	Terro- rists.
Average convict population	6,623		5,749		5,351	
Deaths due to malaria	17	nil	9	nil	7	nil
Consumption	14	nil	12	nil	8	nil
Other causes	84	3	62	nil	37	nil

(d) I have no information.

(e) There are about 6,000 volunteer convicts in the Andamans at present. There are now no terrorist prisoners.

COTTON CONTRACT PRICES DISPUTE.

122. THE HONOURABLE MR. B. N. BİYANI : (a) Have Government made any enquiry in view of the representation that the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, made with regard to the arbitrary fixing of the cotton prices by the Japanese Cotton Spinners' Association ?

(b) If so, with what result ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : (a) and (b). Government are in correspondence with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on the subject.

RETURN TO INDIA OF MR. ALLAHDITTA.

123. THE HONOURABLE MR. B. N. BIYANI : (a) Is Mr. Allahditta of the Punjab restrained from returning to India ?

(b) If so, why ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN SMITH : (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

INTERPRETATION OF THE PHRASES " BRITISH SUBJECTS " AND " BRITISH SUBJECTS OF INDIAN DOMICILE."

124. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DATTA SINGH : (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the two advertisements published in the press (*vide the Hindustan Times*, dated the 7th February, 1938), over the signature of the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Delhi, inviting applications from " British subjects of Indian domicile " for the posts of Parasitologist Sugarcane Insect Pests, and Veterinary Deputy Superintendent, Biological Products Section, respectively ?

(b) Does the expression " British subjects of Indian domicile " denote both Indians and Englishmen ?

(c) Will Government state why in many of the advertisements of the Federal Public Service Commission " British Subjects " are only mentioned and not " of Indian domicile " ?

(d) What is the scope and significance of the two forms of advertisements ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN SMITH : (a) Yes.

(b) to (d). I invite attention to the answer given on February 17th last by the Honourable Mr. Roy to part (b) of the Honourable Member's question No. 94.

ENFORCEMENT OF KHADDER (NAME PROTECTION) ACT, 1934, BY PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

125. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DATTA SINGH : Have Government received any information from the Provincial Governments or otherwise to show which of them have put into force in their respective territories the provisions of the Khadder (Name Protection) Act, 1934, and from what date ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : According to the information received by the Government of India only the Government of Madras have so far brought into force in their Province the Khadder (Name Protection) Act, 1934, with effect from the 17th August, 1937.

PROPOSED APPOINTMENT OF MR. SALT.

126. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : (a) Is it a fact that one Mr. Salt will be brought from England to India for research work

in entomology, with special reference to sugarcane pest ? If so, was this post advertised in India ? If not, why not ?

(b) What are the special qualifications of Mr. Salt to study sugar ; and what steps are being taken to prohibit the import of foreign sugarcane pest, if any, into this country, in the interests of the Indian sugar industry ? Is there any evidence to show that foreign pest has been doing damage to Indian sugarcane crops ?

(c) Is the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in receipt of any financial aid from Government and, if so, how much ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) The post is being advertised in India.

(b) The first part does not arise. As regards the second part attention is invited to the Destructive Insects and Pests Act, 1914, and the rules framed thereunder, copies of which are available in the Library of the House. The answer to the third part is in the negative.

(c) I am presuming that the Honourable Member has in mind the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and, if so, it receives a running grant of Rs. 5 lakhs a year from the Central Government.

RULING RE IMPROPRIETY OF PREMATURE PUBLICATION OF QUESTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Perhaps it will be in the recollection of many of the old Members that in 1933 I brought to the notice of this Council the undesirability of the premature publication of questions and resolutions before they are placed on the List of Business. I am compelled again to refer to this matter as very recently there has been a flagrant contravention of the ruling I gave then, which is rather a sad matter. I cannot specify the resolutions here or name the proposers of those resolutions in the public interest. But I should like to repeat my warning again on this occasion for the benefit of new Members who are probably not aware of the existence of my ruling and the existence of two other rulings of the Central Legislative Assembly. This is a very important matter and as you all know the right of interpellation is a privilege and that privilege is to be exercised according to convention and rules. In the House of Commons it has been held an offence for an Honourable Member of the House to publish his resolution before it comes on the Order Paper. Order Paper means the list of business there and Speakers from time to time have seriously dealt with not only with members by ordering their exclusion from the House and sometimes by suspension but also they have taken serious notice of the press gallery who publish those questions in anticipation of being placed on the list of business. The same practice has been observed here. Such communications are opposed to public policy and in the nature of a breach of privilege. We have been trying to establish a convention and I shall refer to my own ruling as well as the rulings of the two most illustrious Presidents of the Legislative Assembly on this point. I know there are difficulties in the way. Partly it is the fault of the Honourable Members, partly it is owing to the representatives of the press having access to the notice room where questions and resolutions are put up for information

which have been ballotted for. But you must have noticed that in respect of those matters it is mentioned in the circulars that they are not admitted by the President. As you are aware the ballot takes place before even the President admits these questions in many instances and merely it is a notice of the resolutions which have been ballotted for ; nothing more than that, not that they have been accepted or anything else. These questions and resolutions before they are admitted by me, as you are aware, have to be modified sometimes ; sometimes some portions of them have to be deleted before I admit them and sometimes I am powerless in the matter and under the rules I have to refer the matter to His Excellency the Governor General for his order whether he would admit the question or not. Therefore you will see the great inconvenience and the anomaly of publishing these questions before the President sanctions them or they are permitted by the Governor General who in his discretion has the right also to withhold his sanction under rule 8 (2). This principle was laid down long ago in the Central Legislative Assembly by the first and most distinguished President of that Council, Sir Frederick Whyte. I will read the whole of that concise ruling which is to the point :

" The admission and disallowance of questions is placed by the provisions of Assembly procedure in the hands of Mr. President. The Governor General in Council has therefore no concern in the matter. I propose to answer this question in order to clear up doubts which appear to exist in certain quarters. A question, before it can be admitted, must satisfy the conditions laid down in the Rules and Standing Orders ; and the Government of India have no concern with a question unless and until it is admitted. The Secretary to the Legislative Assembly, moreover, is only authorized to publish a question, i.e., to publish it on the Admitted List, when it has passed the scrutiny of the President. In the technical sense, therefore, publication only takes place when a question appears on the Admitted List. The convention referred to in this question clearly refers to this official practice ; and it is somewhat misleading to suggest that any new departure has been made in 'establishing' it. If any confusion has arisen over the matter, it is due to the fact that some Members of the Assembly give publicity to questions which they hope to ask before they have actually been admitted. Whether this ought to be regarded as an infringement of privilege is a question on which I need not pronounce at present ".

Later, in 1933, I myself gave a ruling which I shall also read :

" Another matter I also wish to refer to with a considerable amount of disappointment and sorrow. I feel that a practice is steadily growing among Honourable Members immediately they send their questions to the Legislative Department to have them published in the newspapers. This is a very objectionable and reprehensible practice. Honourable Members are probably not aware that the publication of questions in the newspapers—and I hold in my hand today several questions which were disallowed by the Chair and have been published in the newspapers—is a practice which would not be tolerated for a moment in the House of Commons. I wish to draw the attention of Honourable Members to the important fact that until and unless the questions are admitted by the Chair and published in the List of Business they are of a confidential character and it is a breach of privilege to give publicity to such questions or resolutions. I also wish to point out that unfortunately the Chair has no power in this connection to deal with such infractions of privilege or duty. In the House of Commons both the House as well as the Speaker have the right to deal with such infractions and take notice of the conduct of Honourable Members and also deal with the offending editors and proprietors of newspapers. We have no such convention or practice here. The practice in the House of Commons has grown up under a convention and I would like very much that convention to grow up in this Council. I would therefore appeal to Honourable Members that they will see that both in respect of their questions and resolutions no publication in future takes place before these questions and resolutions appear on the list of business and I would leave it to their good sense and judgment to respect such well-established conventions which are observed in the House of Commons. I have no doubt the Honourable Members will endeavour their very best to see that this convention grows up in a salutary manner and I feel confident there will be no occasion for me hereafter to refer to this matter as the Honourable Members themselves are as anxious as myself to maintain the dignity and the traditions of this House ".

[Mr. President.]

Again, another President of the Legislative Assembly, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, observed as follows :

" It is a well-established convention of the House of Commons that a Member who gives to the press for publication questions or resolutions before they are admitted by the Chair commits a serious breach of the privilege of the House. The House of Commons and the spokesman, the Speaker, of the House have got ample powers to deal with Members who do not observe that convention but unfortunately neither this House nor its spokesman have such powers. In the absence of such powers, the Chair can only appeal to the Honourable Members that this well-established convention, which is observed in the House of Commons, should also be observed as one of the conventions of this House ".

I myself am loth to go in for a modification or amendment of our Rules and Standing Orders, and I would leave the matter, after this warning, to the good sense and sound judgment of my Honourable colleagues who I am sure will for the dignity of this House maintain in future the convention which I have referred to.

As regards the press, I must also from this Chair give a distinct warning. Though I have no power whatsoever to stop the breach of privilege when committed by a Member, I have the inherent authority and power to remove from the press gallery any representative of a newspaper whom I find deliberately committing a breach of this privilege. I do not want to adopt the same procedure which Sir Evan Cotton in the Bengal Legislative Council established some years ago, by threatening to exclude all representatives from the press gallery of the newspapers which had been habitually guilty of the breach of this privilege. I earnestly hope the Press will co-operate with me in my attempt to establish a sound tradition by declining to publish communications of this nature. I think I have said enough on this occasion and I wish again to repeat that I hope I shall not on a future occasion have to refer to this matter again.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : On a point of information, Sir, may I ask a question ? If our constituencies want us to bring before the House certain matters of public interest by way of a question or a resolution and our questions or resolutions are not admitted, what is the manner in which we have to communicate to our constituency that we have done our duty. There are many important matters in which we want to tell our constituencies that we have taken some steps to bring the matter to the notice of the House. What is our remedy ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Well, the practice in the House of Commons is as I have informed you, that no Member of the House of Commons whose question has been rejected by the Speaker and does not appear on the Order Paper is entitled to have recourse to the public press in order to communicate the information to his constituency. It is considered a violation of privilege and I think when a question is refused by the President of the House or by the Speaker of the House it must be for very good reasons. The Speaker must have exercised his statutory powers as defined in the Standing Order, Rules and Regulations, which are framed under the statutes of the House of Commons or the constitution of the Assembly. I personally think it would not be right on the part of the Honourable Members to communicate such information to the newspapers. The only possible remedy, if there is a remedy, is for the Honourable Member to come and see the Speaker, and

ask him privately why his question has been rejected, and I think probably in all cases the Speaker will be able to satisfy the Honourable Member.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : The head of the Government in England does not disallow any questions or resolutions. So therefore the convention in the House of Commons, Sir, cannot apply here where the head of the Executive Government takes upon himself to disallow questions in what he considers the public interest.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Well, a very distinguished President, Sir Frederick Whyte, who was a Member of Parliament for many years and was selected when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came into operation and sent out here as the first President, gave the ruling which I have quoted and which states that the principles and convention of the House of Commons ought to apply to the Legislative Assembly.

INFORMATION PROMISED IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS LAID ON THE TABLE.

MUSLIM WAQFS IN THE CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN SMITH : Sir, I lay on the table the information promised in reply to question No. 205 asked by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam on the 29th September, 1937.

List of Muslim Waqfs in the Centrally Administered Areas governed by the Religious Endowments Act, 1863 (XX of 1863), together with details of their management.

Ajmer-Merwara.

(1) *The Durgah Khwaja Sahib, Ajmer.*—The endowment is managed by a committee appointed by the Provincial Government under section 7 of the Religious Endowments Act, 1863 (XX of 1863). The committee consists of five members, of whom two are representatives of the Khadims, one of the family of the Dewan, one of that of the Mutwalli, while the fifth, who is also the President, is an independent Musalman of Ajmer. As the Durgah Khawaja Sahib Act, 1936 (XXIII of 1936), has now been passed, a committee, to be elected in due course under this Act, will take over the management.

(2) *Durgah Meeran Sahib, Ajmer.*—The Waqf was managed by a hereditary Mutwalli till about 1905, when he was convicted under section 409 of the Indian Penal Code. It was then administered by the Court of Wards as Receiver, and thereafter by a committee consisting of three members, two of whom are elected by the Khadims of this Durgah and the third, who is also the President, is appointed by the Court from among independent Muslims. This procedure is prescribed by a scheme framed by the Court under section 92 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908.

(3) *Chilla Bara Pir, Ajmer.*—This Waqf is managed by a hereditary Mutwalli.

The Religious Endowments Act is not in force in any of the other Centrally Administered Areas.

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY (East Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce :

“ A Bill further to amend the Transfer of Property Act, 1882.”

Sir, various legislations have been passed for the protection of agricultural tenants from eviction from their holdings but no such law has yet been passed to protect tenants in non-agricultural lands, either in the mofussil or in municipal areas, where the Bengal Tenancy Act does not apply. The object of my Bill is to provide such protection for such tenants who occupy lands in non-agricultural tracts and in municipal areas from which the operation of the tenancy legislation is excluded. I therefore move, Sir.

The Motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY : Sir, I introduce the Bill.

RESOLUTION *RE* STABILISATION OF THE PRICE OF WHEAT, COTTON, ETC.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH (Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, I beg to move :

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that an expert committee be appointed to work out a scheme with the object of stabilising the price of wheat, cotton, gur, sugar and other agricultural products.”

Sir, it is with some diffidence that I take the liberty of moving this Resolution. I wish somebody more competent and familiar with the subject had moved it. My only excuse for moving this Resolution is that I have experienced and the class that I represent has been effected by the fall in the prices of agricultural produce. The classes have suffered and the masses have been deprived of the little purchasing power they had. The effect of the less purchasing power is clearly reflected in the Government of India budget and Government reports. The income of those who depend on agriculture has been halved, to which publications of Government itself bear witness. I must repeat that I am not going to do more than draw attention to the gravity of the situation and leave to those who know to find ways and means to relieve the situation. I represent the patient, and can only describe the symptoms. It is for the financial physicians to suggest remedies. If they say that the patient must endure what can not be cured, they will only reveal the bankruptcy of their own pharmacopœia and would stand condemned.

There is no civilized country large or small which has escaped the epidemic but all except India, have applied remedies which were considered expedient. It is only in India that we have been asked to accept without murmur the results of the financial policies of other countries without making any adjustments. Perhaps as the doctors are not directly effected their springs of sympathy are dried up by a spirit of self-satisfaction. For they have all they need, and are not effected in any direct way by the misfortunes of those of whose interests they are the custodians. It would be interesting to hear from the

spokesman of the Government his diagnosis of the disease, and the measure which they have worked out to meet it.

It is said that the prices depend on the world production and world markets. Perhaps Government will be able to throw some light on this aspect of the problem, and indicate what India has had to place in the markets of the world in the matter of gur, sugar, wheat, cotton and rice every year for the last ten years.

If England, America, France, Germany and even Sweden have adopted both preventative and prophylactic treatment, have the Government of India been the wisest in doing nothing and what are the fruits of this wisdom? Men like Sir Montagu Webb have cried and cried in vain for action but the Government have observed dead silence, content with the thought that the disease will kill or cure.

Sir John Russell was specially invited by the Government of India, and his findings on production of food and the nutrition required have direct bearing on the problem. He gives production figures per head of population for each province, in ounces, of all grains including pulses and oil-seeds. It is as low as 18 ounces per head per day for Assam, with nitrogen contents of 7 grammes and for the Punjab and United Provinces is 21 and 22 ounces respectively with nitrogen contents of 12 and 13 grammes. This gives a daily caloric value of about 2,000 and a nitrogen supply of 12 grammes. In Europe and America, it is held that 3,000 calories with 18 to 20 grammes nitrogen are required to give the people nutrition. It is clear that if people were properly fed, there would be no surplus food available for outside markets. My point is that India does not depend on foreign markets. It can consume all that is produced in the country itself. Autarchy can be more easily realized in India than in any other country, as we have the increasing population and large resources awaiting development.

The fall in agricultural prices represents a loss in purchasing power of about 50 per cent. which means a loss of millions of rupees.

The Government of India in its publication *India in 1934-35*, a report that is presented to the Secretary of State, speaks of the economic conditions. The wholesale index number which was 143 in September, 1929 touched the low water mark 82 in March, 1933, and though it fluctuated within two points above or below and mounted up to 94 but by the close of the year under report, had dropped to 87. I am not sure if it is not now at about 82. In *India in 1929-30* it was held that income per capita in rural areas was somewhere near Rs. 85. Taking the fall in prices given by the two index numbers, the fall in income per capita comes to about 48 or a loss of Rs. 37 per head, which multiplied by population comes to a huge figure of 1,095 crores. The sources of supply of money have dried up, while money demands on the purse of the people remains. Is it not the result of this that provinces have been forced to seek debt relief by legislation and the loss to the trade of England and India has been incalculable?

It was hoped that depression was passing. There was some improvement last year, but this hope has not been fulfilled. Cotton that rose up to nearly Rs. 240 a bale last year again went down to Rs. 150. Wheat which rose to Rs. 3 is again going down and is now in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2-8-0 a maund. Indian sugar price is ranging round Rs. 6-8-0 and Rs. 7 while imported sugar is Rs. 10. The price of gur, a very expensive crop to grow, on account of the low level of sugar price is selling at almost the same price as wheat. Rice

[Sardar Buta Singh.]

prices are similarly low. These are facts and must be within the knowledge of the Government of India.

I am only asking that the problem be examined by a small committee of experts, and I hope in the larger interests of the people, Government will accept my Resolution and I will receive the full support of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. W. YEATTS (Government of India: Nominated Official): Sir, this is the first time I address your House and I hope I will have its indulgence.

This Resolution has found a home in the Department of Education, Health and Lands because of the blessed word "agriculture". The three subjects which form the title of the Department I have the honour to belong to could it is true be held to cover the whole life of India. But in matters like this, this comprehensiveness leads to difficulties. If, for example, the Honourable Member had used the single word "commodities" at the close of his Resolution it would have put the departmental position in a much clearer focus, and incidentally it would have put his own Resolution and what I think he has in mind in much clearer focus also. For after all, what the Honourable Member has in mind could be better described as commodities than agricultural produce. Our endeavour as a Department is to make two blades grow where one grew before and where those blades carry grain to make them carry better and more grain. But there is a distinction between the plants in the ground and the transformed crop; broadly speaking the harvested crop becomes a commodity and once it does it enters a far wider field. It is not possible, for example, to mention sugar without an eye on Java and India's present heavy customs tariff. I have mentioned this instance in order to bring out the question that the matter of sugar stabilisation is inseparable from very serious considerations of tariff, and this would apply to practically all things produced in any quantity and the subject of general demand. It is true that some crops are more or less a monopoly, but even so, monopolies can be replaced by substitutes, and in taking any wide view of prices one must if one is wise bear in constant consideration also this matter of substitutes. I remember discussing the groundnut question some years ago with a member of a famous firm which handled groundnuts in great masses from the Madras Presidency. I had been talking of how Indian groundnut production compared with that elsewhere and the possibilities of competition or development. My friend remarked that so far as his firm was concerned, all they had in view was sources of fat; that is they looked on groundnuts merely as a source from which they could extract fat and Indian groundnuts therefore in their eyes had to compete not only with other countries' groundnuts but with all other sources from which fats could be taken. I mention this point to show how far the kind of action the Honourable Member has in mind would have to be taken to secure the end he has in view. Where a substitute or an alternative exists, it would hardly be possible and certainly not wise to consider stabilisation in its regard apart from the price level of the competing substances. And the efforts of science are being increasingly directed towards the search for alternatives.

The Honourable Member's object is, I take it, to devise some system that will give the ordinary cultivator of India some means of knowing more or less when he sows a crop what he can expect to get from it when it has been harvested. Government have every sympathy with this and have bent their efforts towards devising means of helping the Indian ryot and will continue

to do so. We have every sympathy with schemes designed to provide greater return to the producer and eventually to expand India's internal and external trade. It is desirable, however, to get things in proper sequence, and more efficient production and better marketing could be regarded as the necessary preliminaries to any effective stabilisation. Strictly speaking, these are matters in which it is for the Provincial Government to take action, for the power of legislation is in their hands, and it is a fact that, with regard to sugar for example, some Provincial Governments have undertaken legislation. It might be argued too that before we can stabilise prices we ought to stabilise qualities. The Government of India have appointed an Agricultural Marketing Adviser to design and co-ordinate marketing schemes and surveys have already been made in regard to a very large number of agricultural products. The Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act was passed just one year ago and several Provincial Governments are taking steps along these lines to improve marketing conditions. So this line of approach to improving matters for the cultivator is being actively followed up. Encouraging illustrations of the benefits this may bring are afforded, *e.g.*, by tobacco where proper grading and marketing have resulted in Indian growers obtaining considerably better prices than hitherto. Developments of protection against deterioration, notably in the case of fruit and perishable crops, would add greatly to the cultivator's possibilities of gain and these points too are under investigation by us.

I think if one considers this question for a moment, stabilisation would be seen to be really inconceivable without control of production. Many hard things have been said about economists, some of them with reason, but there is an eternal value in their simplification of the supply and demand issue down to a division sum. I leave it to the House to imagine the dimensions that any all-India control over agricultural production would assume, quite apart from the political and other difficulties involved, and incidentally, the expense. There is a further major consideration that more and more it is world conditions that govern prices as the Honourable Member himself said. Even an Indian monopoly like jute is in competition already with substitutes. If world production is to be kept in mind, then clearly the treatment of outside commodities enters, and similarly the position of Indian commodities outside India arises at once; for it would be necessary always to provide for the exports finding a home; in other words it is the whole tariff and financial position of the country that enters. I do not propose to dwell on these points which fall outside the scope of the Department for which I speak. There are others on these Benches more qualified than I, but I am bound to mention them because of their bearing on the general position apart from their treatment in detail.

Stabilisation is, as I said, much in the air and possibly the Honourable Member has in mind the gigantic experiments taken in the U.S.A. But wherever outside factors beyond the immediate control of the country desiring stabilisation enter, the validity of stabilisation schemes is immediately affected. I may mention that the experience of other countries, however they may differ in other details, is identical in one respect, *viz.*, that attempts to stabilise or raise the prices of agricultural produce without regulating production have been almost invariably costly. The best known instance is the action taken by the U.S.A. during the last few years to bolster up cotton prices. Enormous sums of money were spent and the whole scheme has now been defeated by a bumper crop in 1937. This was due only to a very small extent to an increase in area; the main cause was an absolute record yield.

[Mr. M. W. Yeatts.]

per acre. The method now being adopted practically amounts to subsidies to the grower in order to secure a reduction of area and this whole case shows how difficult it is even for a very wealthy industrial country to continue such a process in the case of a commodity which is sold on world markets, even though America occupies a dominating position as a producer of cotton. One inevitable result of such activities, to which too little attention is apt to be paid, is that the result of restricted production and higher prices is to encourage increased production in other countries. In cotton this took place notably in Brazil and America has seen its share in the world's total production of cotton fall. Actually Indian cotton is not usually far from world parity price and often above it. It did not fall so much as in America and the recent achievement of parity was mainly because of an American rise. The efforts of our Indian Cotton Committee to improve quality and secure a better balance between the various staples grown and a variety of other activities have all in mind this very fact, the improvement of the grower's position.

The Honourable Member has referred to what has been done in other countries. I do not propose to give any kind of exposition of that, but broadly speaking in the United Kingdom the position is very different. There action has been taken with regard to commodities in which the home production is very very much smaller than the import, and payment is made on a limited and specified quantity. And in the case of sugarcane there is an actual limitation of area. In Germany the position is really that they have endeavoured not so much to raise prices as to keep them from going higher and the entire life of the country is directed to that end. I will not follow that, however, further, because I doubt if the Honourable Member himself would like India to go on that road and at any rate it is a very big question. Another point there is the all-important necessity of Germany to reduce imports. That again follows, or is mixed up with, her exchange position. I mention that to illustrate my point of how far the Honourable Mover's Resolution would take us.

Then, to mention certain other individual crops, there is the case of wheat. At present Indian wheat is close to export parity and future prices at Rs. 2-10-0 a maund are not so low as to call for serious comment. Indian production and consumption are nearly equated. The crop this year is estimated at 9½ million tons, practically all of which India could absorb. Actually nearly half a million tons have been exported, and I do not think it will be held that there is a serious case for stabilisation in wheat.

Gur is rather a different crop; it is consumed entirely within the country and the fall in prices is due entirely to over-production of sugarcane. To attempt to raise artificially the price of either wheat or gur would I think simply be to reduce consumption. An interesting point about gur is that due to improvements in sugarcane the actual yield of gur itself has been increased. In the United Provinces, for instance, it has reached 45 maunds an acre against the former 40.

Another crop that might be mentioned is, say, coffee. Now that is certainly experiencing lean times, but perhaps this commodity illustrates better than any other the potent influence of world causes and it is difficult to see how any scheme of the kind the Honourable Member has in mind could ever have any practical effect on such a commodity. Brazil's predominance is such that inevitably it tends to swamp all others.

The Honourable Member's Resolution refers to stabilisation, but I gather from what I heard that his object is rather the raising of prices ?

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH : I want the Committee to find out whether prices should be higher or they should be kept at present levels.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. W. YEATTS : That is taking us still further. Some one has to pay, but not all consumers or the most needy growers. At any rate we want to be clear what we are about and clear where we are going. I notice that he made a calculation reaching the astronomical figure of 1,095 crores loss. He got that by taking the highest and the lowest index figures and applying the percentage reduction shown by these to a figure of annual income. Since the latest index figure is 100 which is considerably above the minimum he took, he ought to have made provision for the fact that approximately 690 of the 1,000 crores have been got back on his own calculation. However, that is merely a point by the way.

One might say, the logical conclusion from the fact that it is world production that really dominates prices is that world production should itself be controlled and possibly in H. G. Wells' future we shall come to this ! For the present, however, our only experience is in such matters as the international control schemes, of which we have had recent experience, but even where practically all the important producing countries are associated in such a scheme it is not always possible to maintain a given price level. A case in point is the recent drastic changes in the production quota made by the International Rubber Restriction Committee. It is true that this Committee does not fix prices ; it controls production. But one of its main objects is price stabilisation and yet in the course of little over a year it has had to alter quotas drastically and even so the price of rubber is definitely below that at which by general consent stabilisation would be desirable. In fact "unilateral" action by any one country is becoming less and less a practicable solution of the difficulties which afflict the world.

I mentioned the American cotton position as due to an absolute bumper yield in a particular year. This illustrates one of the marked and continuing difficulties that arise when we are dealing with agricultural crops. Every crop has its own peculiarities, variations in quality, variations in the uses to which it is put and variations in marketing problems. In addition there are the vagaries of climate and pests and as I showed in one single year a crop by electing to give its maximum yield may upset all the predictions on which price schemes were based. It is essential to remember that in dealing with crops, we are dealing with an article which retains a pronounced degree of individuality. This individuality calls for specialisation in treatment and it is impossible to contemplate with equanimity a single Committee attempting to cover the range contemplated in this Resolution.

India is already well supplied with committees. There is an Indian Central Cotton Committee, and an Indian Central Jute Committee ; the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which includes virtually all the experts on all the crops in India, has its Wheat Committee, its Sugar Committee, its Rice Committee, and many others. It is true that these Committees do not work on stabilisation schemes in particular, but their whole object is presumably the same as that of the Honourable Mover, namely, to improve the return which the producer gets for his toil. The question of prices must always be in the forefront in the deliberations of these bodies and it is noteworthy that no general demand has come from them for stabilisation. I do.

[Mr. M. W. Yeatts.]

not think it is correct to say—in fact it is not—that India has done nothing. To mention only one instance, some years ago when the wheat price slumped so much a prohibitive duty was put on which remained on for a considerable time and only came off not so long ago. But our action has been in the right direction of improving the quantity and quality and resistance of crops and figures which are available in public documents will show that.

I would like to mention one point which to me is of great personal interest. The Honourable Mover mentioned nutrition and gave figures of calories, etc. He said that India could consume all her crops—edible ones. Surely the answer to that is that by improving the strains and yields we are starting at the right end for that very purpose. Figures exist to show that roughly 81 per cent. of the sugarcane area, and 21 per cent. of wheat and cotton, are under improved varieties as a result of Government effort and these varieties give better quality and a higher yield, and following up this nutrition point, it might be held that the larger the amount of foodstuffs the better, for as I said before not all consumers are growers.

The Honourable Member asked for figures of India's production in various articles. These can all be found in documents which are in the Library. He referred to the pronouncements of Sir Montagu Webb. I am not very clear what he has exactly in mind unless it is Sir Montagu's ratio and bimetalism theories but I hardly think that everyone would share these views and in any case they are not really for me to speak of.

Briefly, Sir, I would sum up our position as that we are second to no one in desiring that the ryot should receive a proper outcome for his toil. We shall follow up every means whereby the quality of crops and the position of the grower can be improved. The production of crops is, however, a provincial matter and its control can only be done through provincial agency, not to mention the Indian States. In the crops which arouse main concern, the general tariff and financial position enters at once and with it problems of major importance. It is desirable that a great problem should receive adequate ventilation, but the Honourable Member's Resolution is not really practicable. It is not a question just of a Committee sitting down and drawing up schemes. We have to go much further in the way of investigation and experiment and the experience of other countries is a warning to go carefully, for the indications are that grandiose schemes of control have something in common with the will-o'-the-wisp; they are always pursued but never attained.

I shall close now, Sir. As it happens the Honourable Mover and I have been sitting side by side for the last day or two and I think even on this question we are not so far apart!

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, from the speech of the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution I have not been able to see what actual steps he suggests to stabilise the prices of agricultural commodities.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Is it humanly possible ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Yes, Sir, I quite agree with you that it is not humanly possible and that is what I want to come to. He has given no suggestions himself as to the nature of the enquiry which he proposes this expert committee to make. At what level is

the price of the commodity to be stabilised? Does he want a minimum price to be stabilised, because after all as a zemindar himself he will not like that the commodities should be sold at the lowest price. I think, Sir, his aim is that as the condition of the zemindars and the cultivators has considerably gone down economically he wants relief for them in some way or other. I myself hold, Sir, that Indian prices are not at parity with world prices and the chief reason is that the exchange ratio goes against India. On every export of any produce that we make to any foreign country, we get $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less in price because the payments have to be made in pounds sterling. Sir, I need not go into that question in detail for the people of India already know that by forcing on us the 1s. 6d. ratio India, and particularly the agriculturists, have been made to lose crores of rupees.

Then, Sir, another point is that the prosperity of any country depends on its exports. As far as wheat is concerned, the Honourable Mr. Yeatts has said, if I have understood him aright, that half a million tons of wheat has been exported this year. But notwithstanding that export, instead of prices going up they have gone down. At the time the export was going on fast, the price was in the vicinity of Rs. 3 per maund and now that the export has practically finished, the price has gone down to Rs. 2-10-0.

Sir, another point which the Honourable Sardar Buta Singh has made is that he wants that the prices should be stabilised and fixed at a certain level. In case that is his idea, 85 per cent. or more of the people of India live on agriculture, and if you stabilise the price at a lower level you will make them all lose but if you stabilise at a higher level they will gain. As the Honourable Mr. Yeatts has said, there are a good many commodities to which he has referred, such for instance as jute, cotton, groundnuts and a number of other things, which we do want to export, particularly cotton, and that in order to induce the exporters to buy these articles we must have prices at parity with world prices. Therefore, Sir, I would urge that the Government for the benefit of the agriculturists should consider and revise the exchange ratio.

In the second place, wherever any export from a foreign country forces the prices of foodstuffs or agricultural commodities to fall below the normal level, an import duty should be automatically imposed. The Government of India has been good enough in the past to impose an import duty on wheat which I think has done India a great deal of good. But, at the same time, our higher prices of wheat caused thereby have deprived India of the export of wheat and wheat flour which used to be supplied to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ports. Sir, I endorse what the Honourable the President said, that it is very difficult to stabilise prices. But the object underlying the Resolution of the Honourable the Mover can be achieved in the manner that I have suggested.

Another plea which the Government of India and the gifted Governor of the Punjab in order to ameliorate the economic conditions of zemindars has introduced a new system of revenue assessment in the Lyallpur district. When I visited the Dutch East Indies a few years back, I enquired into the question as to how revenue assessment was made there. I understood in recent years there had been a violent fluctuation of prices. I found there that at the time of assessment, the Government selected a field and another field was selected by the cultivators and the yield of both those plots was determined and the assessment was made on the average quantity and the then ruling price of the commodity. In that way the cultivator was always left a certain amount of margin of profit. What do we find in India, Sir? I can well speak of my own province. In the Punjab in a number of districts a 20-year settlement is

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

made and in certain other districts a 30-year settlement is made and the revenue is assessed upon the average price of a certain number of years. In the Punjab wheat and cotton are the principal commodities which we produce. The price of wheat used to be in the vicinity of Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 some years back and now I know that the price of wheat in the rural areas has gone down as low as Rs. 2-10-0. The price fell to Rs. 1-4-0 per maund a few years back. I say for myself, Sir, as a landholder I had to pay land revenue out of my pocket for some years and I had to advance money to my cultivators because they

12 Nov.

had nothing left. So, I do feel the pinch that the Honourable Mover does. But, Sir, it is impossible to find a right solution. The only solution that can be found for the amelioration of the condition of the cultivating classes and the zemindars is for Government to revise the exchange ratio and revise their system of revenue assessment. The Honourable Mr. Yeatts has also spoken about the restriction of production in other countries of the world. Here, in India, we are doing otherwise. He himself has said that the Agricultural Department is trying to add to the yield. That is a very ticklish question. When prices are down we increase the production of commodities from the agricultural areas, and when there is over-production, prices are bound to fall because the supply exceeds the demand. So, Sir, the Government of India has to come to a decision as regards the question whether at the present time it is advisable to increase cultivation by colonising more land and by adding to the yield of agricultural produce. I am glad, Sir, that to various countries India has sent Consulars and Trade Agents. But, so far, I do not think there has been any material increase in our exports to those countries. I think the time will come when, through the efforts of those Consulars and Trade Agents, if their advice is accepted, better exports will result. So, the Government ought to tackle this question in another manner and solve the underlying object of the Honourable Mover of the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Madras : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I congratulate the Honourable Mr. Yeatts on his maiden speech, which surveyed the conditions of the market and the steps the Government of India have been taking in order to assist the agriculturist. I am not a little surprised at the speech of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, which was characteristic of a capitalist and an industrialist and not that of an agriculturist. Obsessed as he is with large profits and obsessed as he is with conditions of wealth and capital, he is unable to see the market condition of the cultivator. He has not been able to bend low enough in order to see in what strait the agriculturist is. I am sure that he feels it, but he is not able to give expression to it. It is a great pity that the Leader of the Opposition should not be able to see the rationale underlying the Resolution of the Honourable Sardar Buta Singh. It is very necessary that there should be an attempt by the Central Government to stabilise the prices of both what are called the cash products and other agricultural products—the industrial crops as well as the food crops. I would draw the attention of the House to the condition of things in the provinces and in the rural areas. The majority Governments in the provinces feel that there should be not only Debt Conciliation Bills in order to improve the economic condition of the agriculturists and the cultivators, but they are also having Debt Redemption Acts passed and pressed in hot haste in several provinces in order to bring relief to the agriculturist and wipe out all the debts of the past and improve the conditions for the future. The circumstances which give rise to this necessity indicate that the condition of the agriculturist is in a very uneconomic state. Therefore, the majority Governments in the

provinces feel that their first duty is to wipe out all debts of the agriculturists incurred for the purpose of helping themselves at a time when the prices were very low.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Have they not suffered owing to the prices of produce being very low ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : I do not know what the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition means by the interruption because I do not think that he really understands the point which I am making. The point which I make is this. The agricultural situation in the rural areas is such that a close examination of the reasons which have led to the present position is very necessary.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : That is a matter for the provinces,

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : Yes. I am coming to that. It is therefore necessary to examine the conditions which have led to this, and hence this Resolution. Fall of prices is one of the things which this Resolution says requires to be attended to. It is not a case of only provinces. It is the case for the whole of India. The Central Government has to take up the problem of regulating the prices of the various commodities. It is through the agency of the Central Government that this could be done better. Take, for instance, the groundnut crop, which was referred to by the Honourable Mr. Yeatts. If you take the price of groundnuts for the last five years, and the restrictions on import and export, you will find there are now only three firms which purchase groundnuts from the Madras Presidency, one from Calcutta and two in Madras. They are the persons who dictate the price, who control the price and the market. A large part of the Ceded Districts and the Northern Sircars produce the groundnut crop. It is not a question of competition with South African groundnut that enters the European market. But the internal market here is regulated and controlled by these three purchasing firms. It is in such cases that the Government could intervene and say what should be the price. Now, internally, the groundnuts could be consumed. Recently, many mills have been started for the purpose of drawing oil and *punnak*, which are now being used for cultivation of the sugarcane crop. The oil is used for many purposes—for lubricating purposes. Therefore, encouragement of the internal consumption of the groundnut crop is one of the functions of this Government. The Resolution suggests that a committee should be appointed with a view to see that the provinces take up the question properly. With regard to paddy and rice, for instance, the price of rice varies in different markets. It is not merely a question of supply and demand, but it is a question of a few capitalists having the whole monopoly and controlling the rice market. It is this that the Resolution suggests should be regulated and the prices standardised. In the case of rice, in the southern districts, the price is standardised at a particular rate. Now the same merchants forming a sort of syndicate come up to the north and regulate the prices in that locality. Therefore it is in order to avoid control by such capitalist agencies and in order to benefit the ryot that this intervention on the part of the Central Government is necessary. I quite realise that the factor of supply and demand and production has very much to do with regard to prices in local areas. But so far the Government spokesman has not indicated whether they accept the Resolution or reject it. They have a diplomatic way of saying things but we are matter-of-fact people and we want to know whether it is "Yes" or "No". The Government say they have been

[Sir A. P. Patro.]

doing things in the way of agricultural investigation and that several sub-committees are working which have an eye to prices and therefore it is not necessary that this *ad hoc* committee should be appointed. I realise that they are investigating conditions of production, but not so much in regard to regulation of prices, and therefore it is necessary that there should be a committee to regulate and stabilise prices throughout India of agricultural commodities. How is the condition of the agriculturist to improve unless he can sell his produce at a proper price. The cost of production and the price must at least be equal. Today the cultivator is not able to realise that. How should Government help him? That is the whole problem. The solution rests with the Governments, perhaps most with the Central Government, who can advise the Provincial Governments as to how to regulate prices. They cannot do this by passing these Conciliation Acts. They are all temporary. Today you may wipe out the debt of the cultivator and tomorrow he will again go to the *sahukar* and borrow perhaps at a higher rate. You may regulate interest, but the cultivator will effect a secret and private arrangement whereby, instead of Rs. 100, he will get Rs. 60 and Rs. 40 will be deducted initially for interest and profits by the *sahukar*. Therefore these are temporary palliatives, and what is necessary is that the economic condition of the agriculturist should be improved by giving him an adequate price for the produce which he raises.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I have profound sympathy with the Resolution and I appreciate the interest and solicitude which the Honourable Mover has displayed for agricultural interests. I also realise the sympathy which the Honourable Mr. Yeatts has expressed. The Resolution as framed is such that not only the Honourable Mr. Yeatts but every Mr. Eats and every Mrs. Eats will have sympathy with it, for it seeks that prices should be stabilised and if they are stabilised every person who uses the commodities—and we all use agricultural produce—must welcome it. It is a very modest request which the Honourable Mover has made. He wants prices to be stabilised, he does not say that they should be stabilised at this or that level. I assume that he wants they should be stabilised at an economic level, which will pay the producer for his labour and leave him some margin.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : But will that level always continue to exist ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : That is exactly what I am going to deal with presently. He wants that we should find out some economic level. As these commodities are world products the question is whether any attempt can be made and how far it can succeed in stabilising prices. Attempts have been made in different countries and so far they have met with very little success.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Have you fixed the level of cotton in Bombay ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : He does not want an absolute level.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : And will that level apply to all provinces ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : We are at a disadvantage if we have to argue with the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I am just helping you to clarify the position.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Yes, Sir. The Chairman of the French Chamber so helps the discussions, and if you will help us we shall be very much obliged to you. To resume the thread of my speech what I wish the House to realise is that the Honourable Mover of the Resolution does not ask for an absolute level of prices but a level which will pay the agriculturist for his labour and leave him some margin. Of course we know the difficulties, but when the committee is appointed it will consider this question, and as these are world produce, they will realise that there must be a certain amount of fluctuation. But the real point is, should any steps be taken to improve the prices? That, as the Honourable Mr. Yeatts also understood, is what the Honourable Mover wants, viz., that the prices should be improved and stabilised. All he wants is a committee to be appointed for this purpose. We have been told that Government have made various efforts and those efforts were made through various committees, but so far as I have been able to gather their efforts have been directed towards improving the quality of the produce and the quantity per acre of the land on which they are sown. But those committees have not, useful as their work has been, tackled the problem of improving prices, at any rate in regard to their relative level with world produce. If prices can be stabilised at a relative level with world produce it will help the agriculturist who is in a very sad plight. As another Member who very rarely supports popular propositions has out of his appreciation and understanding of the difficulties of the cultivator pleaded that some effort should be made by the Central Government in this respect, we are, Sir, in sympathy with this Resolution for the reasons I have given.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU (Madras : Non-Muham madan) : Sir, the Resolution raises a very difficult question and one of great complexity. I may at once say that the House must feel thankful to the exceedingly helpful survey of the situation made by the Honourable Mr. Yeatts. We do not doubt the interest the Government of India takes in regard to the promotion of the agricultural interests of this country, especially after we have been told this morning in answer to a question that the Government of India are bringing a Mr. Salt to study sugar in India !

Sir, the question of stabilisation of prices is one which is being tackled by every country. It is no doubt a very difficult question. Everybody understands that fluctuation of price levels is the greatest disturbing factor in the economic conditions of any country. Now, what is happening today ? The low price of agricultural products is resulting in the transfer of wealth which ought legitimately to belong to the agriculturist to the pockets of those who have got cash incomes. The agriculturist has to sell a large quantity of produce to procure the same amount of money. Therefore the classes who have got steady cash incomes are being benefited uneconomically at the expense of the agriculturist. If prices rise abnormally the opposite will happen. What ought legitimately to belong to those who have cash incomes will go into the pockets of agriculturists. That was what happened when prices rose abnormally during the Great War. Therefore a serious fluctuation of price either way will lead to an economic disturbance in the condition of the people.

[Mr. Ramadas Pantulu.]

Therefore every country is tackling that problem and whatever may be the difficulties we have also got to face it in India. I think the Honourable Sir A. P. Patro has done less than justice to my Honourable friend Lala Ram Saran Das in regard to what he has said. It is true that price levels depend to a large extent on the law of supply and demand; but they also depend, as everyone knows, upon the value of money itself. The price of commodities has a bearing on the value of money itself. Therefore my Honourable friend Lala Ram Saran Das has pointed out that the manipulation of currency and exchange is a very vital factor in determining the price levels of commodities of a country and therefore he pleaded for a more equitable manipulation of currency and exchange in this country in the interests of agriculturists. That is a perfectly understandable position. Again, though the law of demand and supply governs the price levels, everybody knows that much depends also on the purchasing power of the consumer. The agriculturist who is the largest consumer in this country must have enough in his pocket to purchase the articles produced in this country and therefore my Honourable friend Lala Ram Saran Das has emphasised upon the land revenue policy of the Government and the need for reform of that policy in such a manner as to leave more money in the pockets of agriculturists who consume these products. Therefore land revenue policy and the manipulation of currency and exchange have a very vital bearing on the price levels in any country and so in India too.

There are other Central policies of the Government which have an equal bearing on this. The Honourable Mr. Yeatts is no doubt right in saying that the Provincial Governments can do something in this matter; but what I feel is that the Central Government can do more than anything that the Provincial Governments may be able to do in this matter if they take a very progressively national view of the situation. For instance, industrial policy has a great bearing on the price levels. If they help the agriculturist and the agriculture industry to have their products processed in India and to minimise the exports of raw products from this country, a great deal can be done to stabilise the price levels. My Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro rightly referred to the necessity to have oilseeds produced in this country crushed here in order to minimise the export of oilseeds and promote the oil industry. That is only one example. Therefore a progressive and a nationalist industrial policy will also have a bearing upon the price levels. So also the transport policy of our Railways on which I need not now dwell. Again, a great deal can be done to regulate the import and export trade of this country by a tariff policy entirely conceived in the interests of this country. Again, the Government of India can help the agriculturist to stabilise prices or to improve prices by their trade agreements with other countries. When they negotiate with other countries in regard to trade with India they can stipulate for favourable conditions for the purchase of our raw products by other countries in return for the manufactured goods from other countries. I am not discussing now whether they are or are not doing these things. I am only saying that more lies to be done at the Centre than in the provinces. An investigation into these and allied matters will be helpful.

Sir, with regard to one of the products mentioned by the Honourable Mover, namely, sugar, we in India are not satisfied that the Government have done what they should have done. Their hasty conclusion of the International Convention, for instance, has given a setback to the promotion of the sugar industry in this country. I think that India could have produced more sugar to export to other countries but for this Convention and we have now to wait

for five years in order to manufacture more sugar than will merely suffice our internal consumption. With regard to the statement I heard more than once in the course of this debate, namely, that these products being world products much will depend on world markets, I am bound to say, as a humble student of economics, that the internal prices and the world prices do not always move together. I have had occasion to go into this matter in dealing with the Sugar Convention. In the countries which have got a quota for sugar export to free markets under that Convention the internal price of sugar has no relation to the external price or the world price of sugar. I can quote the instances of various other commodities in which the internal price of a commodity in the country of production and the world price do not move together. That is an elementary principle which I think any student of economics can vouch for. They have of course some relation; they do not always or necessarily move together. Therefore to make a fetish of it and say we can do nothing here because these are world products is not a proposition to which I can subscribe. Therefore, Sir, a great deal can be done by the Government of India by their currency and exchange policy, by their industrial policy, by their transport policy and their tariff policy, to stabilise prices in India.

There is just one thing which I should like to say with regard to the attempts made to improve marketing by the Provincial Governments. I have some knowledge of the marketing surveys made by the officers of the Government of India as well as the Provincial officers. A very vast amount of useful work has been done and I know, as one connected with some of the marketing associations in the co-operative movement, that agriculturists have been helped to some extent by those surveys; but their progress is very very slow I must say. It is some years since they have started and whenever we ask for information and when our marketing societies ask for help, the reply is that the matter is still under investigation. The Marketing Officers are instructed apparently—I do not know whether by the Local Governments or by the Government of India—not to make any information available till their surveys are complete and final orders have been passed by the authorities concerned on the results of that investigation. At least if the investigation in regard to each product is isolated and results published separately and we get information about particular commodities without waiting till other commodities are taken up and investigations completed, it will be very useful. For instance, in regard to fruit marketing when we ask for information we are told: "We have finished some varieties of fruits but we have not finished one or two varieties; therefore we cannot now give the information". Therefore the results of these surveys, good as they are, are not made available to the agriculturist and to the marketing organisations, which are engaged in helping the agriculturist. I think something should be done to make these results available to us as quickly as possible. One other handicap which we feel in regard to raising of prices is the absence of storage or warehouse accommodation. Products can be held up for a favourable market and agriculturists can be helped to get higher prices, provided there is suitable warehouse accommodation. Most of the agriculturists have no facilities for storing their produce for a favourable market. They generally have to sell it at a time when the Government kist is paid and the market is glutted with agricultural produce from all sides. I think Provincial Governments and the Government of India between themselves ought to do something to create warehouse and godown facilities for agriculturists. A loan by the Provincial Government or the Central Government for capital expenditure on the construction of godowns will not be a bad business proposition. It will pay its way. The agriculturist can be asked to pay a reasonable amount of rent for these godowns and I am

[Mr. Ramadas Pantulu.]

sure if a suitable scheme is devised and the marketing officers are made to interest themselves in warehousing schemes, their labours will bear better fruit.

Sir, I do not wish to take up more of the time of this House. I have great pleasure in supporting this Resolution. All that it asks for is that the advice of an expert committee should be taken. But I hope that when such a committee is appointed, whether it be in pursuance of this Resolution, if it is accepted, or not, that the Government will see that it is composed of Indians who are familiar with conditions in this country and with the position of our agriculturists and not of experts from England—not a case of a Salt from England coming out to study sugar in India!

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIE JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, my Honourable friend Sardar Buta Singh belongs to that class, somewhat long-suffering and patient, the class of landholders; and I think what he feels is that on account of the slump in prices since 1931 the income of this very deserving class has been very considerably reduced, and in his despair he has framed this Resolution and has got somewhat involved in economic phraseology. I think his object is that as the income of the agricultural classes has been considerably reduced, something should be done to improve their financial position. In his despair he has thought of a committee of experts. He failed to realise, I am afraid, that the class to which he belongs is in somewhat bad odour at present and I should not be at all surprised if this expert committee, faced with a problem of such magnitude, of such complexity, and finding no easy way out of it, suggest that the easiest solution is to abolish the landlord altogether! I have a sort of suspicion that my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro considers the villain of the piece to be the capitalist and that if this gentleman could be got rid of things would be very much better for the farmer! So that I am a little doubtful even from the point of view of the landholders about this expert committee. But apart from that, I think in the very lucid and very exhaustive survey which my friend Mr. Yeatts made in his maiden speech, on which I congratulate him, he showed the difficulties of dealing with a large number of agricultural commodities, how other countries very much better organised than ourselves had found it difficult, and he showed that this is a problem which has baffled others and that the line of advance lay in other directions.

My Honourable friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu in dealing with this question emphasised the point that the Central Government could do more than the provinces. I think that was the burden of his argument. Well, I do not propose during the course of this discussion to go into the many big issues that he has raised; the question of the industrialisation of the country, the question of currency, the question of the way in which an international agreement should be made, and so on; but I should like to emphasise for a moment that even at the present prices, we find that between the producer and the man to whom the article is sold the margin is very great, that there is a good deal which disappears in the process by the time that the product is sold and that a great deal could be done even at existing prices to improve the position of the producer. The whole question of improving the standard of living of the cultivator is involved: communications, education, health, marketing. All these, even with existing prices would improve his condition. Then, there is the question of land tenancy, there is the question of land settlement, there is

the question of dealing with debts, there is the question of providing the cultivator with proper finance and there is also the question of making his attitude such that people may be willing to lend him money, that is to say, that he should be credit-worthy. All these are questions, as Honourable Members will realise, essentially for the provinces, and I am glad to say that the provinces are tackling these questions in all seriousness. We have a number of most important legislative measures which are either before the Provincial Legislatures or which are about to be discussed; measures dealing with the relations of landholders and tenants, measures dealing with their indebtedness, and so on. Therefore, the point that I wish to emphasise is that the great bulk of the work has to be done in the provinces. So far as the Government of India is concerned in the Agricultural Department—and I do not propose to deal with questions which are outside my own Department—Mr. Yeatts has shown that through the efforts of researchers in the past, both the quality and the yield of certain crops have very considerably increased. For instance, in sugarcane nearly 81 per cent. of the area now sown is under a better type of sugarcane. As regards wheat and cotton, over 21 per cent. of the area is now under the improved varieties. With regard to marketing reports, I quite agree with Mr. Ramadas Pantulu that it is desirable that the reports should deal with separate articles. That is exactly what we are doing. But the reason why information is sometimes not communicated at once is that we want to make sure that the information that we give is accurate, that we do not publish things which may be found on subsequent investigation to be incorrect, and that is the reason that there has been a certain amount of delay in issuing the reports. As this is a new venture in this country, naturally it takes a little time and there is no use publishing reports on which little reliance can be placed. I think the general sense of the House is that a committee will really do no good. The matter is much too complex for a committee to deal with. It is unnecessary for me to say, as I am myself a fellow-sufferer with the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution, that nobody would be happier than myself, if the class to which I belong survives the present storms and alarms and excursions, if the price of agricultural produce could be raised, but I do not think that the remedy he has suggested of an expert committee is going to help us. I therefore must, with regret, oppose his Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH: Sir, I have listened with deep interest to the debate that has taken place on my Resolution. It has followed the lines which I anticipated. Those Honourable Members who are in touch with the realities of the situation have given me their support and I am very grateful to them. I will content myself with affirming simple facts. A man has the right to obtain enough from his work to support himself and his family in some comfort. He ought to get an adequate price for his produce and the prices of agricultural produce should be related to all other prices so that agricultural wage may correspond with the cash wage which is paid by other industrial concerns. The fact is that wrong prices are at the bottom of the depression; the stagnation of agriculture and other industries is reflected by our money in circulation. I am not sure but it is my impression that no silver has been coined for years and many crores have been withdrawn from circulation. Perhaps, my Honourable friend the Finance Secretary—he is not here at the present moment—will be able to say if the circulation of money is at a higher level than it was before 1929. If not, then there can be no stronger evidence of stagnation. My simple request to appoint a committee is turned down. I would be content and ask for no examination of the problem. If the Honourable Mr. Yeatts or the Leader of the House could give me an assurance that prices will adjust themselves both for the raw and manufactured

[Sardar Buta Singh.]

articles in the course of a year or so (*An Honourable Member* : "How can they possibly do it?") I think it is the duty of all those who represent the people to have the problem examined by the appointment of a small committee to increase prices, on which the agricultural interests should find full representation.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Then you press for the Resolution ?

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH : From the reply given by the Honourable Mr. Yeatts, it appears that Government do not see their way to accede to my modest request. I have therefore no alternative but to leave my Resolution to the good sense of the House.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Resolution moved :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that an expert committee be appointed to work out a scheme with the object of stabilising the price of wheat, cotton, gur, sugar and other agricultural products."

Question put and Motion negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CADETS ADMITTED TO THE INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY, DEHRA DUN.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, the Resolution that stands in my name runs thus :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the number of cadets admitted in the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, be raised from 60 to 120."

Sir, the House is aware that the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference in their Resolution recommended that the pace of Indianisation in the Army in India be accelerated and for that purpose they recommended the appointment of an expert committee to work out the details for establishing a Sandhurst for India. The Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, in their Resolution, clearly stated that the defence of India is to be to an increasing extent the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone. Sir, this particular part of their Resolution clearly indicates what was in the mind of the Sub-Committee then. They wanted a substantial improvement over the position as it then existed, and if I may say so, they wanted to accelerate the pace of Indianisation of the officer ranks in the Indian Army and make the army self-sufficient within a very short period and therefore they clearly said that the defence of India is to be, to a great extent, the concern of the Indians and not of the British Government alone. Let us see what steps were taken by the Government of India and the Expert Committee which was appointed after the passing of the Resolution by the Defence Sub-Committee. For a few minutes I would like to take the House through a summary of the discussions that took place before the Defence Sub-Committee. In a sentence, I would say that almost all the delegates of India who sat on the Defence Sub-Committee, gave out in clear terms—especially Mr. Jinnah—that the Committee should lay down definitely the period during which the officer ranks of the Indian Army should be Indianised. It was

unanimously agreed (Mr. Jinnah dissenting) that this proposition as laid down by the Defence Sub-Committee would certainly give an incentive to the Government of India to accelerate the pace of Indianisation of the officer ranks. Now, Sir, immediately afterwards, a Committee was appointed on which Sir Philip Chetwode, the then Commander-in-Chief, presided. At the very first meeting of the Committee, Sir Philip Chetwode gave out his views on the number of cadets to be admitted annually to the Military Academy at Dehra Dun. He told the Committee at the very beginning that the Government of India with the consent of the British Government had decided to take annually 60 cadets, 30 by open competition and 30 from army officers. The non-official members of the Committee, especially the Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim and Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, resented this declaration of the Commander-in-Chief, as they thought that the Committee had full rights to decide the number to be taken annually and that it was not the concern of the Government of India or of the British Government. Dissenting notes were written by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir Abdul Rahim and others on this proposal but the Committee with a majority decided finally on this point and the College was started.

After that this House in 1933 on the Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Maharaj Pandit discussed this question. The then Commander-in-Chief Sir Philip Chetwode declared in that debate that the requisite type of young men were not available and therefore he could not give serious consideration to this point. The same Resolution was again discussed in this House in 1935 and at that time Sir Philip was more frank and to some extent we thought he had some sympathy with us but he had certain limitations and therefore he could not agree to our proposal. Of course we on this side of the House could not subscribe to his view that a vast sub-continent like India could not produce the requisite type of young men to the extent of 60 annually. India has a glorious past tradition in military matters and therefore we could not bring ourselves to think that the view taken by Sir Philip Chetwode was correct. But, assuming for argument's sake that what he said then was correct, this House discussed another Resolution when the present Commander-in-Chief gave us to understand that he was satisfied with the type of men that come up for the examination for entry into the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, but that he wanted a larger number of young men to compete for each vacancy. I would just like with your indulgence to read one sentence of what His Excellency then said when this question was discussed in this House in another form. He said :

"In short it is the quality and not the quantity of the candidates that is in issue and I welcome this opportunity of letting this Council know what we have been doing in this matter."

He further said that there was no need of appointing a committee to find out ways and means to give an incentive to the proper type of men to come to the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, and that the officers who would come out of the Academy would themselves encourage young men in India to take to this career. He further said that he was satisfied with the quality and with the type of men passing out of the Academy. However, Sir, His Excellency on our request appointed an *ad hoc* committee and though we made certain recommendations some of the more important of those recommendations were not given effect to by Government on account of alleged administrative difficulties. Then the question before us is whether we can get the right type of men for admission to the Military Academy from this vast sub-continent, and if we do then have the Government a real desire to take the people of India into their

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

confidence and make them share the responsibility of defending India and encourage young boys to take up a military career for the defence of their country.

Now, I should like to state briefly why I chose this year again to repeat this Resolution. Two points struck me when I made up my mind to table this Resolution. The remarks of the Skeen Committee that the position should be reviewed in 1938 about accelerating the pace, and the remarks of Sir Philip Chetwode before the Indian Military College Committee that the position should be reviewed again in 1938 when the authorities would decide whether to increase the pace of Indianisation by allowing more cadets into the Dehra Dun Academy encouraged me to table this Resolution this year. Sir, in order to show to the House the stand taken by Sir Philip Chetwode at

1 P.M. the time when the Indian Military College Committee was in session about the pace of Indianisation, I will read a sentence from his speech. He said :

"At the present moment the young Indian officers in the eight units have seven years' service. That is obviously not long enough for us to tell whether they are going to be fit to administer and train a unit in peace and lead it in war. In seven more years, however, they will have had fourteen years' service, and by that time, I feel pretty certain we shall be able to give a definite opinion whether they are going to be a complete success or not ; and we need not wait until a further period of seven years ".

In 1931 he made those remarks and this is exactly the period when the Government have to decide on this point one way or the other. This is the remark not of an armchair politician but of an expert of the British Government and I hope it deserves serious consideration by the present Government—whether the Government of India or the British Government. Then, Sir, when they fixed the number at 60, as I said, there was resentment. Some of the non-official Members of the Chetwode Committee stated definitely in their notes of dissent that the Committee had even rejected the proposals made by the Government of India Committee in 1922 about the annual intake of cadets in Dehra Dun. That Committee, Sir, had fixed a period of 30 years for Indianising the officer ranks of the Indian Army and they divided that period of 30 years into three periods and according to them for the first period of 14 years an annual average of 81·4 of officers ought to have been commissioned ; for the second period of nine years they recommended that an annual average of about 182 officers per year was necessary ; and for the third period they recommended that an annual average of about 227 officers was necessary. If the figure that was supplied to the Defence Sub-Committee about the number of officers of the Indian Army, that is 6,854, is correct, then, Sir, according to the recommendations during the first period, the Government of India ought to have taken over 81 cadets and during the second and third periods they should have increased that number. These recommendations were ignored by the Chetwode Committee, and the result was that there was a lot of agitation throughout India and an impression was created in the country that the Government of India or the British Government do not want Indians to share the responsibility of the defence of their country ; but the Government of India and the Committee did not like to take into confidence the public men of India and they did not attach any importance to their views. Now, Sir, when the question was discussed in the year 1935 an argument was trotted out that the requisite type of material exists in India but it is not coming forward. Then we on this side of the House said if really the requisite type of material exists but is not coming forward " Please suggest some ways ". We said that the number that appear for the entrance examination has been increasing, that a large number

of young men of the requisite type have been coming forward for the last five or six years and so the Government ought to reconsider the situation and decide to agree to my humble request made in this Resolution. Sir, I know it will be rather boring to the House, but I have to mention some facts in this connection and I shall state them as briefly as possible. In October, 1933, 200 candidates appeared for the examination for entering the Military Academy. The House knows that there were only 15 candidates to be taken and for those 15 vacancies 200 candidates appeared. In March, 1934, 91 candidates appeared before the Board. I know that the number is small but the reason for the number being small was and is that in March the young men have to appear for their academical examination, so a large number do not come forward. Then, Sir, in October, 1934, 201 candidates appeared for the examination. In October, 1935, 131 candidates appeared in March, 1936, 89 appeared; in October, 1936, 120 appeared; and in March, 1937, 72 candidates appeared. So, from these figures the House will know that a large number of candidates appear before the Board for examination. Now, Sir, I want to cite the remarks made by the Interview and Record Board. In 1933, they stated as follows :

"In the present case, the Board had the satisfaction of having before them a small number of candidates whom they regard as exceptionally suitable and to whom they award the maximum of marks. Following these came a considerably larger number of good first class candidates, the best of them not much inferior to the best ones, and, thereafter, a somewhat smaller number of what might be described as good second class".

Then, Sir, in 1935, the Interview and Record Board stated that

"On the whole the standard had risen, that is, that there were more good candidates up, and that the best were rather better than before. They found further evidence, too, of the growing desire of the respectable business and professional classes to launch their sons on a military career. There is no doubt that this section of the population is becoming more alive to the advantage of the soldier's profession and are trying more and more to shape their sons' education and outlook so as to incline them to and fit them for it. There were many youths of this class who made a highly favourable impression on the Board, having clearly worked hard to fit themselves for life in the army and being animated by a genuine interest in a military career and military subjects. Some of these youths were given very high marks".

Those are the remarks, Sir, that I wanted to bring to the notice of the House in regard to the quality of the material that is coming before the Board. Now, Sir, it may be asked as to why I have fixed the number at 120. Why not more? Sir, I have fixed this number 120 because the information that was supplied to the members of the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference contained a statement about the annual wastage of officers and it was stated there that the annual wastage is about 120. If I remember aright, Sir, Mr. Jinnah then stated definitely that we should fix this number of 120 for annual admission into the Dehra Dun Academy. But, Sir, that question was not clearly decided by the Sub-Committee and so now, Sir, taking a hint from that discussion, I have fixed the number at 120.

So, Sir, the position is this; that you have got the right type of material and the material is coming forward, and people who were not taking an interest before in a military career for their boys, have begun to take an interest in it and you are getting a large number of the requisite type of men for your army. It is you now who have to decide as to what action should be taken in this connection. Sir, there is a feeling in the country—and I think the feeling is justified—that the narrow scope of Indianisation on which the Government has launched—and I am referring to the scheme for the Indianisation of one division only—is also to some extent responsible for there not being many candidates for one vacancy. Though the number that is coming forward is quite sufficient, I must admit

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

Sir, that, if they decide upon increasing the number, a large number of young men who are quite fit for a military career will come forward.

Finally, Sir, I would give a piece of information to the House which I gathered on my personal visit to Dehra Dun last year. I had a talk with the staff of the Dehra Dun Military Academy, and I was extremely glad to find, Sir, that the teachers there certified to the fine quality and the industrious habits of our young boys. I put a straight question to the staff whether they noticed less industry in Indian boys as compared with British youths and I was extremely glad to hear from them that our boys were quite up to the mark. In short the position is this. The experts have decided that the type of material you get is quite excellent, and the number you get is overwhelming and increasing every year. You are pledged to a policy of accelerating the pace of Indianisation of the officer rank of the army. Where is the hitch in increasing the number now? If any financial considerations come in your way, we, the elected Members of the House, will certainly support your demand if you want more money for taking more numbers in the Military Academy.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Please bring your remarks to a close.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: One word more and I have done. I appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at this particular moment that he should not only take credit for giving support to my proposition but he should also give encouragement to the young people of India by telling them that they have a responsibility for the defence of their country and that they must come forward to take up that responsibility.

With these words, Sir, I move my Resolution.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Kunzru, you have an amendment which is rather in the nature of a substitute Resolution, but you can move it now.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadian): Mr. President, I move:

"That for the words and figures 'the number of cadets admitted in the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, be raised from 60 to 120' the following be substituted, namely:

'the minimum number of cadets admitted annually to the Indian Military Academy be 120 and that if qualified candidates are forthcoming in larger numbers they should be admitted up to the limit of the requirements of the Indian Army'."

Sir, we are all desirous of quickening the pace of Indianisation in the army of our country, the expenditure on which is defrayed entirely from our revenues. The only difference between the Resolution and my amendment consists in the fact that I ask immediately for a recognition of the principle that there should be no artificial restrictions on the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the army. If Indians of the proper qualifications are not forthcoming in requisite numbers appoint other men in their place by all means, but so long as qualified Indians are forthcoming there is no reason whatsoever for saying to them: "Thus far shall you go and no further". Let me also remove a misapprehension and make it clear that I am not asking that the quality of the

cadets should in any way be lowered or that if cadets of the requisite qualifications cannot be had they should still be selected for admission to the Academy. I ask in the first instance that the number of cadets to be admitted annually into the Academy should not be less than 120. I mention this figure simply because we have to let the public know that there is a definite number of cadetships in the Academy which Indian boys can compete for. We cannot simply say to the public: "Send up your sons for the competitive examination, we shall take as many as are successful". You have to fix some number in order to give definiteness to your decision. But when that has been done you can make it clear that this number is not to be something which will last for all time or which will even be a bar to the admission of qualified Indians immediately should they be forthcoming in larger numbers.

Having explained the meaning of my amendment I would venture to bring a few salient facts to the notice of the Council. At present 60 candidates are admitted into the Military Academy, 30 of whom are chosen on the result of a competitive examination. Honourable Members will recollect that the Skeen Committee had practically recommended that the number of cadets for training at Sandhurst should be raised from 10 to 30. Since that Committee recommended it has been decided that in the units to be Indianised there shall be no Viceroy's commissioned officers and that their places shall be taken by commissioned officers of a higher rank. This decision has led practically to the doubling of the higher officers in a battalion. Consequently where 30 officers were wanted formerly 60 are wanted now. The Chetwode Committee therefore in raising the number of cadets to be admitted annually to the Indian Military Academy from 30 to 60 has by no means shown any generosity. The position is exactly what it was when the Skeen Committee submitted its Report. I draw the attention of the Council to this important fact because it has been said here time and again that the number of cadets has been largely increased and that it is up to Indians now to show that they can fill the places accorded to them with youths possessing the necessary physical and educational qualifications. Another fact which the House would do well to remember is that it is admitted that the required number of candidates can be obtained every year. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is not fully satisfied. I shall deal with his point a little later, but for the time being it is sufficient for us to remember that the number of candidates wanted by us annually is forthcoming. And a third fact we should bear in mind is that these cadets obtained by competition have received high praise at the Indian Military Academy both from Sir Philip Chetwode and the present Commander-in-Chief. The question then naturally arises whether the number of cadets admitted to the Academy should not be raised? You are getting the requisite number of cadets annually now and they have been found to be of the proper stamp at the Academy. What is there to prevent you then from going forward? My Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar pointed out that both the Skeen Committee and Sir Philip Chetwode practically stated that the position should be reviewed a few years, probably five years, after the establishment of the Indian Military College. That time has now arrived and judging by the opinions expressed both by the highest Military authorities and the Commandants, the past and present Commandants of the Indian Military Academy, we need have no fear now with regard to the quality of Indian youths who may be admitted to the Academy.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, while admitting two years ago that there was no difficulty in obtaining 30 cadets annually, pointed out that there was not sufficient competition. He wanted that the

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

number of candidates possessing high qualifications should be much larger than it is at present so that there might be keen competition between them. I should ask the House to remember in this connection that not long ago only 10 Indian cadets were selected every year and we were told that even that number was not forthcoming. Notwithstanding this objection on the part of the Military authorities, the number was raised to 30 and we have been able to provide suitable young men up to this number. Need we have any fear then that if the number is increased now youths of requisite qualifications will not be available? Had the theoretical objections raised by the Military authorities been regarded as valid there would have been no advance at all: we would still have had to be content with the selection of 10 cadets annually. The increase in the number has, however, justified itself and I think we may feel fairly certain that if there is another increase it will not be found to be beyond the resources of India in the matter of supplying well qualified youths for military training.

Our critics, however, say that there is a great contrast at present in the number of young men offering themselves for admission to the Military Academy and those appearing for competitive examinations relating to the various civil services, particularly the I.C.S. That is so. The people are familiar with the civil services and some of them, particularly the I.C.S., have enjoyed a prestige much above that of the other services. But, apart from this, Sir, India is not the only country where the requisite number of men or officers may not always be available. Take England itself. We know that both the Regular Army and the Territorial Army are below strength at present. According to the Report of the Army League Committee, the army had to find 47,000 new recruits and 1,000 officers during the year to bring its actual strength up to that of its authorised establishment of 168,000. The Regular Army in England is thus more than 25 per cent. below its sanctioned strength. If there had been a foreign Government ruling in England, it could well have said that the people of England did not seem to have any martial spirit at all and it was necessary therefore that men of other races should be brought there for military service. But there is a national Government in England. It is doing all it can to make up the deficiency as quickly as possible and I understand from the papers that the special efforts that have been made in this direction have been very successful. Now, if the Military authorities will be as sympathetic to the aspirations of Indians as the national Government in England is alive to the need for rousing the martial spirit of the English people I have no doubt whatsoever that any increase that they might make in the number of cadets to be chosen annually would be thoroughly justified. If I may give one more illustration in this connection I would refer to the "Dufferin" cadets. A maritime career is far more new to Indian boys than a military career. Yet there has been no difficulty in obtaining young men for training on the "Dufferin" and it has been stated by the highest authority that these young men have proved thoroughly efficient.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Your time 15 minutes is already up.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: If, however, Sir, the Military authorities still feel doubtful about the ability of India to furnish a large number of cadets annually, it is up to them to take steps which would increase the number of men qualified for a military career. With this object in view I made certain proposals last September, but not one of them met

with the approval of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The U.T.C., or rather the University Division of the Officers Training Corps, is regarded as a valuable ground for the supply of officers in England. I suggested that something might be done in India to develop the U.T.C. on the same lines and in particular that steps should be taken to remove the disabilities under which the U.T.C. labours at present. I asked that the warrant and non-commissioned officers of the U.T.C. should be declared eligible for nomination to the Indian Military Academy. His Excellency could not accept this. I asked that the "B" certificate examination should be instituted in order to add to the efficiency of the U.T.C. cadets. Even this was looked upon with disfavour by His Excellency. Then I asked that at any rate the recommendations of the Shea Committee should be carried out and the introduction of military drill and the formation of cadet corps in schools be encouraged. This too was resisted by His Excellency. If the Military authorities doubt the capacity of India to supply a larger number of cadets and at the same time refuse to take the steps which would naturally result in increasing that number, then I say that the responsibility for the present state of things rests with them.

I will deal with just one criticism of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. In objecting to young men being chosen from the U.T.C. for admission to the Indian Military Academy, he said he saw no reason why they should not enter the Academy through the door of competition. 3-5 P.M. Well, let us consider for a moment what the practice of the British Government is in regard to the selection of candidates for important services in India. Not long ago, Sir, all recruits for the I.C.S. were chosen by competition. It was found, however, that the number of British recruits desired by the British Government was not forthcoming. Consequently, a number of young men will now be admitted through the door of nomination so that the number of Indians might not increase. Take again, the I.M.S. There too, the competitive examination has been stopped and it has been laid down that two-thirds of the annual recruits must be British. Now, if nomination can be resorted to by the British Government in the case of these important services, what objection can there be to His Excellency nominating a few men qualified men, from the U.T.C., men who have been reported on favourably by their officers, to the Indian Military Academy? The U.T.C. would be a valuable source of supply and it should be fully utilized by the Military authorities.

Before I sit down, Sir, I would like to remind the Military authorities once more of their own responsibility in connection with the present state of things. When the Army was reorganised after the Mutiny, we all know there were only six or seven officers in a battalion. Since then, the number has been practically doubled and what has been the result? Indians who could formerly command squadrons and battalions have been deprived even of the limited opportunities which they enjoyed of rising to positions of trust and responsibility. It is up to the British authorities, therefore, to undo the injustice that they have done us. They have done all in their power practically to crush the martial spirit of the country. We have been told time and again that we can do nothing without British officers, that such achievements as the Indian Army has to its credit are due to the splendid lead given to it by the British officers. We have in every way been impressed with an exaggerated sense of our own deficiencies. If Englishmen were to be placed in that position, would they be able to give as bright an account of themselves as they do now when they are encouraged in every possible way and supported by every authority from the highest to the lowest. Sir, the Military authorities ought to have a little

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

sympathy and imagination. If they will only be a little more liberal minded and courageously make up their minds to make India self-supporting in matters of defence, I have no doubt that any appeal which they make to the youth of India will meet with an immediate and enthusiastic response.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Amendment moved :

"That for the words and figures 'the number of cadets admitted in the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, be raised from 60 to 120' the following be substituted, namely :

'the minimum number of cadets admitted annually to the Indian Military Academy be 120 and that if qualified candidates are forthcoming in larger numbers they should be admitted up to the limit of the requirements of the Indian Army'."

The debate will now proceed simultaneously both on the original proposition and the substituted Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, I rise to support the amended Resolution. The Honourable Mr. Kunzru and the Honourable the Mover of the original Resolution have dealt exhaustively with the subject. Before, Sir, I take part in the debate I would ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to kindly let us know how many Viceroy's commissioned officers retire every year and how many qualified cadets from the Dehra Dun Military Academy are taken in their place and how many other places are being filled by promotion from the army ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : It is unusual for you to put so many questions when making your speech. You should make your points and let His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief reply to them.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Very well, Sir, then I will go on the information I have and speak subject to correction by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. My information is, Sir, that about 4,000 officers enjoy the Viceroy's commission, and that even in case we take five per cent. of them to retire every year it will mean that 200 of them will retire yearly. So, Sir, in order that the pace of Indianisation of the officers of the army be accelerated, we expect that as Viceroy's commissioned officers retire every year, they should all be replaced by qualified cadets from the Dehra Dun Military Academy. Sir, I understand that due encouragement is not being given to qualified cadets of the Military Academy. In the first instance, Sir, their status was lately reduced owing to racial discrimination. Sir, I deplore that even the Government of India should adopt the policy of racial discrimination. The self-respect of the Indians is now fast reviving and any racial scheme which differentiates discriminates or adversely affects their position is now vehemently resented. Sir, when you have reduced the status of the qualified cadets of the Dehra Dun Military Academy, where is the justification for your charging the same amount for their training as is the case at present ? If I mistake not, a heavy sum of about Rs. 4,000 or more are charged for a cadet's training. I consider it a just demand that as their status has been lowered, their high cost of training should also be lowered. Also, in case the Government of India really wish to make India military-minded, as was the case in the past they ought to increase the pace of Indianisation in the army. Some time back His Excellency told us that a good number of suitable candidates could not be had. I should like to know from His Excellency what solution he has found for this and how that solution has worked ? My Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru has observed that due encouragement is not given to U.T.C. candidates. I gave the other day an example of how these candidates

were being treated, and I should certainly endorse what the Honourable Mr. Kunzru has said on this point. A certain number of nominations ought to be made from members of the U.T.C. who are well reported on and who are found efficient in their army career. As regards martial tribes, I observed the other day that it was simply a question of training, and that military service makes one military-minded. I explained certain facts and said that sons of shoemakers and tailors were given the King's commission. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the other day, challenged my statement. I did not like to reply then, because I wanted to be sure of the names of some of them and I can now state on the floor of the House that one Mr. Roberts, son of a shoemaker of Lahore, is a King's commissioned officer, another Mr. Ruck, son of a Lahore tailor, is also an officer in the Royal Air Force—all direct recruitment from England—and then, another, Mr. Phelps, also son of a tailor, is a King's commissioned officer. I do not object to the granting of commissions to such classes but I say that in case you give proper training to anybody, whether he is a cobbler or sweeper or from martial tribes or is anybody else, he can prove a success in his army career. So, when people of all British classes from the high to the low become competent army officers, how on earth is it impossible that Indians recruited in that manner should not be a success? Sir, the present number of recruits from the Dehra Dun Academy is so small that it will take centuries before Indians can in the near future be put in fair number as commanders of various units. My information is that my gallant friend Lt.-Col. Sir Hissamuddin Bahadur who is sitting here, has successfully commanded an Indian regiment, although he began his life as Viceroy's commissioned officer if I mistake not.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. Under the Standing Orders, you must not make any personal reference.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Sir, I am only relating a fact. I am not making any personal reflection.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : No reflection or even comment or any personal charge is allowable.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : I gave that name simply to show that even Viceroy's commissioned officers have proved as successful commanders and that is a great credit to that service. Unfortunately, Government have seen their way to abolish these commissions. India holds that that is a very bad sort of reward which has been given by Government to the martial tribes which comprise most of that service.

With these words, Sir, I support the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Madras : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, if I rise at this moment, it is only to make a few observations with a view to elicit some information from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The principle underlying both the Resolution and the amendment is the policy of the Government of India, which was declared unmistakably in the Despatch of the Government of India on the White Paper. It was stated therein that the defence of the country is the increasing concern of Indians themselves. That being the policy and that being the goal to which the defence policy would be directed, my question is, "What is it that the Defence Department have done to realise the important principle which they enunciated so unmistakably?" Before the Despatch, the Government of India was aware of the

[Sir A. P. Patro.]

facts ascertained and matters recommended by two Committees, the Skeen Committee first and the Shea Committee later. These two Committees had gone into the matter thoroughly. There were dissenting minutes also from the Indian non-officials. It was made clear that an increasing recruitment of Indians was absolutely necessary. Now, Sir, the object of this Resolution is that admissions to the Academy should be raised from 60 to 120, and that of the amendment is that the minimum should be fixed at 120 and, later on, if necessary, further admissions should be made. This is a very modest request in view of the circumstances and the speeches made before that Indians would be given opportunities of being trained so that they may be responsible for the defence of their own country. It is the legitimate desire of every Indian that he should be in a position to defend his country and his people. What has been done in order to assist Indians in that matter? The training that is now afforded in the Dehra Dun Academy is such as qualifies him to be an officer. If 60 be increased to 120, or if 120 is made the minimum, where is the cost to come from? I am sure, Sir, that the increased expenditure in this direction would be gladly borne by India and India herself. At the present moment, when nationalism is so very strong, and when it has occupied such a strong position in men's minds, it is not to be expected that the Legislatures would demur to such increased expenditure. In all the three defence arms, the army, the navy and the air force, India desires that her sons should be trained gradually, consistently with quality and efficiency. Such a desire must be realised. Now what has been the case in other countries. Sixty years ago what was Japan? British officers and German officers trained the people there; the French have trained them and experts of other nations gave them their training. They were as uneducated as some of the people in India are today. In spite of that, in the course of 60 years they have acquired such efficiency that Japan is the wonder of the world, and it is an Eastern country. It is the admiration of the civilized nations. What then is wanting in the Indian character that its material cannot be developed and improved in the same way as was done in another Eastern country and enable it to form a strong army? We want the British element, we want the British association to help us and guide us in this matter, and we want our own men to be trained up to the standard and efficiency which is absolutely necessary for modern warfare. We understand, Sir, that modern war is absolutely different to what it was a few years ago. But I have knowledge of men who have retired from the army, subadar-majors and subadars, who belong to the depressed classes. These men who are despised as untouchables by the higher castes have attained to those ranks and rendered yeoman service in the army and have been commended by their superiors and received the highest encomiums and certificates. And those are men of the depressed classes, some of whom have retired and others are still serving. Therefore it is not a question of caste or creed. It is only the way in which the men are handled and prepared. It is the training that you give and the capacity that you discover in the course of training, therein lies the way of success in preparing men for the future. And this Academy is the training ground and more men should be admitted, when proper young men are available. We have seen the figures; large numbers of competitors apply for admission, but only a few are selected, according to the capacity of the officers available for training them. What is necessary is that you should broaden the basis of recruitment; arrange accommodation in such a way that there may be room for more of them. Employ more staff to give them the necessary training. Therein lies the solution. But expenditure may be great. India is prepared to shoulder the bill in that regard.

It is an absolute necessity. Times have changed and the spirit is running strong in the country. You cannot resist it very long. It is necessary that you should get hold of it and train that current in such a way that you can divert it into proper and fruitful channels. Statesmanship lies in that, and not in running counter to the national aspirations.

Sir, it has been said from where would the material for admission come ? It was suggested that the U.T.C. men who are approved by their adjutants may be admitted into the Academy. That is one source. Another would be the regularising of what is now the Irregular Reserve of Officers. These men have been trained but they are kept apart from the Regular Army. Why cannot they be admitted into the Academy and there given the necessary training to qualify them as officers ? The position is that the recruitment of men and officers is absolutely necessary. I do not only advocate the recruitment of officers, but men of all castes and classes ought to be recruited to the army, the sole criterion being their efficiency and education. The ground of cost and on the ground of non-availability of suitable candidates for admission to the Academy are not sustainable.

It will be a great disappointment if this simple Resolution which really embodies the aspirations of Indians for opportunities of training for defending their own country should not be accepted. I am sure that the difficulties, if any, could be overcome, without any detriment to the principles of the army. It is not for us to run away from difficulties but to face them and modify things in such a way that they may be converted to the best advantage of the country. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has got much experience of other countries and other men. He knows the material in this country whether it can be trained as in any other country. It was pointed out that recruitment for the army even in England was not up to the standard. But there every one is interested in the defence of the country and is going about preaching and encourage recruitment for the army. See how the armament preparations are going on now. And why is that ? Because the people feel their responsibility. Similarly we see danger to our own country, danger from the East and danger from the West. And we know that we cannot for ever depend upon the British forces, the British Army and the British Navy to protect us. Not always can we be children. We are growing up into manhood and we must stand on our own legs today or tomorrow or the next year. The time must come when we will have to stand on our own legs. It is absolutely necessary therefore that the British Raj which has been helping us all through should help us now with a view to train us and make us into soldiers for defending our own country. It is our legitimate right. Therefore, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the principle underlying this Resolution, namely, that recruitment to the Academy should be enlarged even at great cost. It is a matter on which I feel very strongly, that we should not have been given the opportunity till now in spite of the recommendations of committees with experts in their personnel who knew this country very well and with non-officials who knew the aspirations of the people. But here is an opportunity for His Excellency to mark his regime in this country by having this Academy strengthened and improved so that Indians may have greater opportunities of being trained and made fit to hold their own when the time comes.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : Sir, the Honourable Member's Resolution represents a renewed attempt to accelerate the pace of Indianisation. As has been stated, a similar Resolution was discussed in this House five years ago and the speech of my predecessor on that occasion clearly showed his anxiety that the great experiment should be successful. He said, however, that there was not the slightest good in blinking th

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

fact that those responsible for the safety of India were taking some considerable risk in this matter and mentioned the fact that there was not yet in India a large supply of educated young men with long traditions of service in the army behind them and with traditions of leadership and public school experience. Now, in this connection I must remind the House—and you will see the importance of this point which no one so far has mentioned—that the wastage among King's commissioned Indian officers who at that time were all we had to go by, has been abnormally high.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Why, for what reason ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : I am afraid I can not answer that question. I do not rule the wastage of officers. Presumably they did not want to stay. Indeed, since my predecessor made his speech in 1913 many have disappeared from the army. This has been a distinct disappointment to me and it has tended to show that a life-long military career has not in practice appealed to many of those who in the first instance took it up with apparent enthusiasm. I earnestly hope that the same will not be found to be the case with the remainder of the King's commissioned Indian officers and especially with the new officers from Dehra Dun, but it is obviously still too early to come to a decision. In this connection I may state that at present the competition for the vacancies offered is not what I could describe as very keen. In fact only 60 reasonably good candidates a year is just about all we are getting at present and I suggest that my Honourable friend the Mover of the amendment should have recognised these facts seeing that he himself was a member of the last Interview and Record Board in which, incidentally, he did very good work for which I am most grateful to him. We are not therefore yet justified in going beyond the present policy which is directed towards the Indianisation of the officer ranks of a complete infantry division and cavalry brigade with the full artillery and all ancillary services required for these formations. The present intake of 60 cadets a year is sufficient for this purpose. If we were to increase the intake we should have to agree to the Indianisation of additional fighting units of the Army in India before we are really able to judge the efficiency of those which are now being Indianised and in which the process is by no means yet complete. The first output of Indian commissioned officers from the Indian Military Academy (these are the ones we are getting now), has now only four years' commissioned service and though many of them are doing well and showing great promise, it is not possible to say definitely at this stage whether they will be able to train troops in peace, lead them in war and above all obtain the full confidence of the men they command.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : How long will you have to wait for it ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : May I just finish ? Further—and this is a most important point to which I have already referred—we are not yet in a position to say that the majority will be content to serve on in the army until they have reached a stage at which their real worth in responsible and independent command can be gauged. In the British Service no decision is given that an officer is fit to command a battalion until he has

had from 20 to 24 years' service. To increase the pace of Indianisation at this stage would be to prejudice the issues on insufficient data and I am afraid I cannot agree to it. I have now in mind, however, the possibility of increasing the opportunities for Indian commissioned officers for serving in what we call the Services and Departments with a view to affording them a greater diversity of military employment and training provided that this can be done without detriment to the overriding claims of the fighting formations to which they are posted.

I propose now, Sir, to answer some of the points raised in the speeches that I have heard. I have not had very much time to consider them, so I must apologise for the meagreness of the answers. I will first refer to the points raised by the Honourable Mover. He indicated that many more candidates present themselves for examination than are admitted. I would remind him that the criterion is the number that are fit to enter and not the number who wish to enter. In this connection the percentage of those who qualify compared with those who sit is as follows ; over the last four years 35 per cent., and over the last three years 29 per cent. As regards those who enter I am delighted to hear that the Honourable Mover has received such satisfactory reports about them but the fact that this is so is due to the way they have been selected. To take his second point. I am quite aware that in the past certain tentative figures were given as regards the future progress of Indianisation. These were obviously provisional and without any experience upon which to base them. We have since had this experience and we are bound to give full weight to that factor.

I come now to the third point. The Honourable Mover stated that announcements have been made that this question would be reviewed about 1938. I may say that this has indeed taken place and the question has received the most earnest consideration ; the decision of Government in the matter is as indicated in my main speech.

The last point raised by the Honourable Mover that I have noted is this. He appealed to me to give these aspirants my personal encouragement. Surely the preparation of would-be entrants is hardly my job ; it is I maintain much more that of the Honourable Mover.

The next point I should like to mention is a point raised by my friend the Mover of the amendment. He has brought my name into his excellent speech more than once and has accused me of very unsympathetic treatment of certain proposals he made last session. I can assure him that I have not in any way been unsympathetic, I have made due note of them all. But as I have already indicated, the time has not yet arrived to use these facilities for producing more aspirants. When and if the occasion arises, I am quite sure that the suggestions made by my Honourable friend may prove most useful.

Another point is one raised by Sir A. P. Patro. I am very glad to hear that if and when I want more money for this purpose, it will be available.

Now, as regards the availability of candidates in larger numbers ; I would draw my Honourable friend's attention to what he said, I think, only two or three days ago. I have no doubt that I could get any amount of people but you cannot get captains and majors and colonels in two minutes. That is the trouble. He himself the other day pointed out that everybody wanted to be captains and majors straightaway. That is not possible ; you cannot progress with this great experiment until you get a regular gradation.

Now, the final remark in my digression is that I must emphasise two points. o make this experiment a success we not only want efficient candidates,

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

but those who are determined to stick to their job when they have got their commission and to maintain their efficiency when they reach the higher ranks. Unless these two points are assured, there is, so far as I am concerned, no way of judging of the success of the experiment as a whole. That is where I want your help. Assist me to get hold of these lads and get them to go into the army; tell them to stick to their profession and not abandon it when they have got four or five years' service. In this way you can help me; there is no question of my not helping you.

Finally, I must say, and I would remind the House, that I and my officers are doing our utmost to ensure the success of this great experiment which is intended to produce a cadre of officers drawn from all races and creeds and widely differing types of family and circumstance all over this great country, and so to weld it together that all differences will become immaterial and a single spirit of loyalty and service will animate the whole. Those of you who have visited the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun will, I am sure, admit that nothing has been left undone to give these lads the finest possible start as officers in His Majesty's army. When they have obtained their commissions no pains are spared to guide them and instruct them in the way in which they should go in order that the new Indian Army may hold its own with the old in loyalty, efficiency and devotion to duty. It follows, Sir, from what I have said that I have nothing to add on the subject of the amendment, which goes far beyond the terms of the original Resolution. I hope that the Honourable Mover and the House generally will agree that the difficulties in pace of a rapid and incautious advance are real and that they can be solved only by the constant labour, skill, care and forethought of all concerned. I have no option, Sir, but to oppose the Resolution, though I do so with regret and with understanding and sympathy for the Mover and for his object. I also, Sir, oppose the amendment.

*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the speech which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has just delivered has been disappointing in certain respects. We had thought, Sir, that the door had not been bolted, that there was some hope of better sense prevailing in the counsels of the Government of India. But we now find that we were hoping against hope and we thought the impossible would take place. The basis of fixation of the numbers was that the Government at that moment stated that they were unable to throw open the doors to Indianisation in the same manner as they had done in the case of the I.C.S., where there used to be formerly only competitive examinations and afterwards a fifty-fifty basis was fixed. The Indian element would have liked to have a similar provision in the military service. But we have been assured—and for that we have the Report of the Indian Military College Committee—that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's predecessor, Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, thought that 60 would be a suitable number to start with and that within seven years, as has already been mentioned by the Honourable Mr. Kalikar, the question would be looked into again. It was no doubt a distinctly backward step compared to the Report of the Skeen Committee. Nevertheless, it held out some hope, but we have just now been assured by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that the matter has already been examined and it was found that we could not proceed further. I wish this statement had been

* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

made by the British Government at the time when the number was fixed. Then we should have known once for all that this is the absolute maximum which the Government is prepared to consider for 20 years. Are we, Sir, to think that words do not convey the meaning which is ordinarily found in the dictionary, and that statements are made when it is known that for 20 years you cannot form an opinion? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was quite explicit on this point that you cannot know whether an officer is capable of commanding a battalion or not until he has served at least between 20 and 24 years. Why not tell us this at the beginning in 1931? Why give us false hopes? Words are made to convey other meanings than are ordinarily to be found in the dictionary. Sir Philip Chetwode, in that note on page 20, has said that ordinarily 'the period required is 14 years, but that in the case of Indians in seven years more they will have had 14 years' service, and by that time he was pretty certain that they will be able to give a definite opinion whether they are going to be a complete success or not. I want that statement to be made by His Excellency, whether it has been a failure or a success? We are not content with the statement that nothing definite can be said now. How long are we to remain in expectation of your finding out the state of affairs? Would the Heavens fall if a few more Indians are admitted into the Army? We had the war block and you had more officers in certain services than you could possibly find places for, and you offered them voluntary terms of retirement. Cannot that be done for Indians also? If Indians are found incompetent, cannot you have recourse to that method? Have a block, and do not permit them to go after a certain stage. Say that promotion after that stage is on a selection basis, and is not on the basis of seniority. Again, you have another method by which you can keep out undesirable people. I refer to the age limit. You can say that after a certain age people cannot get command of battalions. That is why I ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to tell me the reason why there has been wastage in the higher ranks of Indian officers? When they found that they could not command and that people younger than they were being put in, they gave up their commissions.

I should like to refer, with some emphasis, to the dearth of material available. We have been so long deprived of a military career that it is impossible to produce any record of our service. All that we can do is to come up in the examinations, oral as well as written, as high as is possible for you to expect. We have been handicapped, not by our own action, but by the fact that Government closed the doors of officer ranks to us. India in the past had commanders, and commanders of high repute, and we all hope that in the future, if opportunities are given to us, we will come up to that standard, if not to a better standard. In England, after such a long period of military education and military traditions, in the entrance examination, a minimum is fixed which is much lower than the figure fixed by the Government of India. The minimum figure fixed in 1931 was 175 for the Interview and Record Board and 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or 500 for the written examination. That gave us 675 out of a total 2,000 marks. In England, for the best examination, that is, for Woolwich, the percentage out of 1,700 is 660 and for Cranwell it is 510. That is the minimum pass mark. Initially, we fixed our figure at 675, that is, higher than the highest. Not content with the plea that the supply is not greater than the intake, and in order to camouflage the facts and to state that there is not enough competition, the Military Department have increased the minimum marks from 500 to 900 for the written examination *plus* 175 for the oral. So, the minimum pass mark in India now is 1,075, and I find from the Report of the Civil Service Commissioners that on this basis, in England, only four boys have passed

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

out of 100 boys who were admitted to these three Colleges. That is the pass mark which our students are expected to obtain and they obtain those marks and still are rejected, and yet it is said that a sufficient number of boys are not forthcoming! Now, is the number 60 sacrosanct? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief complains that there is a wastage and that people go out before they have completed their service. That is all the more reason why you should increase the number. The basis on which you built your whole hope was that you will continue to have 60 officers every year. Now you are not getting, you say, those 60 officers. Any prudent man, any man who was willing to do what he said would at once take into account the wastage that is taking place and would increase the intake in order to maintain that we always have 60 men available. If there is a wastage of 10 per cent., then the number should be increased to provide for that. If there is a wastage of 20 per cent., the number should be increased by that much. The great difficulty that His Excellency trotted out was that if he increased the intake of Indians, he would have to Indianise further units. Is that such a great calamity that it cannot be looked in the face? Is that such a preposterous demand that it cannot be met? Is that so outrageous a thing that it cannot be considered for a minute? Are you not seeing that the world is going in a topsy-turvy manner? The world is advancing by strides. We have during the last few days seen how the tables are turned and re-turned, and things which would have been thought impossible in the past have become every-day occurrences in the world and in India? Is it no reason why your decision of 1931 should not be revised? This statement which I have made about the past would explain why there has been a fall in the number of the candidates qualifying from 35 per cent. to 29 per cent. to which His Excellency referred just now. The minimum has been increased by nearly 60 per cent., from 675- it has gone up to 1,075.

Now, Sir, I come to a matter which is not of great concern but it may in

4-5 P.M.

some way help the consideration of the question. I refer to the fact that in India there is a distinction between the martial and non-martial classes. Though it is not said in so many words, I think there is an implied meaning that because the officers' rank is open to all there is a possibility that undesirable elements are entering in the officers' rank and that people who are really not capable of leading the army are getting into the army in that rank. That is implied in the distrust which is expressed on the official side. Now, out of the numbers you take in, half are from the army itself and they belong to the martial classes and they have their military traditions. Men of that class have risen even to the rank of colonels and have been found satisfactory by the Defence Department. The question then only arises about the remaining half who are taken by open competition. In that half, as it is not closed to the martial classes, a good few of the martial classes do come in. Therefore the largest unreliable element which can be entering is not more than 25 per cent. of the officers rank about whose record you can say you have no knowledge. The 75 per cent. are people whom you know and found capable of serving in and, if need be, of leading the army. But my contention is that even that 25 per cent. are not open to question, and my reason is that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has the right to nominate a certain number of candidates from those who appear in the open competitive examination. I am informed that, barring one or two instances, since 1932 His Excellency has not exercised that power of nomination. All the people in the order of merit in which they appeared in the examination have been

taken in by the Commander-in-Chief. That shows that His Excellency has complete confidence that the examination gives the best possible result and there is no necessity of using what has been technically called his individual discretion.

Knowing, Sir, that the opinion of the Official Bench is not going to change, we cannot by our arguments convince it that a change is necessary. But at least we can convince our own constituents that we have done our best.

Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I listened with very close attention to the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I must confess that the impression it left on me is that the same old note has been running throughout his speech, a note of sympathy and encouragement so far as words go, but the same old policy of specious pleas and smooth excuses when we come to facts. The Resolution and the amendment which our friends on the right moved was so modest that we were expecting that since year after year Government have been making promises and holding out hopes of recruiting more and more Indian officers they will accept it. But it has been argued that it is not possible to increase the number of cadets. Sir, where there is a will there is a way and where there is no will there is no way. To be told that Indians who make good soldiers cannot make good officers is something which is very difficult to appreciate. Various military authorities have borne testimony to their valour and capacity as soldiers, but when it comes to increasing the number and making them officers we are always told that there are not a sufficient number of men of the calibre required. This is an argument which has been repeatedly advanced and rebutted every time it has been put forward. Left to themselves Government, I am afraid, might continue to advance the plea for another century. They claim the exclusive right to judge the pace of Indianisation of officers' ranks in the defence forces of the country. We question their right. Sir, it has been admitted that a large number of young men did come forward for the required examination. To this the Government's answer is that it is not the number of persons who wish to qualify themselves that counts, but it is the fitness of candidates which is the deciding factor. This point has been effectively disposed off by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. As he pointed out, the qualifications fixed were so high that it made it practically impossible for Indians to satisfy those tests. I would, in this connection, recall what Mr. Lloyd George observed in his War Memoirs. Though I do not remember his exact words, the substance of what he said was, that it was not only the old officers in the army but the new officers, who were freely recruited without applying strict tests, proved equally successful in the war. Had they been asked to satisfy the high percentage of marks fixed for candidates in the Dehra Dun Academy, as stated by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam, they would have been certainly rejected.

Sir, I support the amended Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : Sir, if there is any impression created by my speech that I want to impair the efficiency of the army by taking a large number of cadets in the Military Academy, I should at the very outset say, Sir, that I do not subscribe to that view. The efficiency of the army must be maintained at any cost. The point is, whether we do get the right type of men or not ? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has testified to the good work done by our colleague Mr. Kunzru, and therefore, Sir, I would like

to ask my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru whether as an examiner he could not find the right type of men for entrance to the Military Academy at Dehra Dun ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : His opinion in that capacity does not count here for the present. Will you proceed ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : Sir, I am very sorry to hear those remarks from you, but his opinion has counted with experts.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You cannot ask a Council Member for his private personal opinion. You are making your speech. Say what you have to say.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : I submit I am not asking his private opinion. His opinion is incorporated in the Report of the Interview and Record Board. I maintain, Sir, that I am not stating before the Council his private opinion, but the opinion which is incorporated in the Report of the Board and which is supplied to us. That is a published document. So, it is no use now telling us that we do not get the right type of men. They say about the wastage. My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam has tried to demolish that argument completely. I have heard complaints for the last four years about the ill-treatment that is being meted out to the Indian commissioned officers, but I did not myself believe it. I did not take notice of it. But then, Sir, the Leader of the Opposition and Mr. Hossain Imam have clearly stated that the wastage is due to some sort of racial discrimination. If that is so, Sir, we are not responsible for it. The question is whether you want to trust us and whether you think that India is fit for her self-defence or not ? Your experts have given clear opinion on the point long ago during the war, that our officers and the rank and file of the Indian Army that went abroad proved very successful and quite up to the mark. After that you say that the scheme which I referred to in the beginning of my speech was a provisional scheme. That scheme was prepared not by laymen like me but by your colonels and lieutenant-generals who have experience of the army for a very long time and who could judge of the merits and demerits of the scheme. Further the extract which I read from Sir Philip Chetwode's speech which he made before the Indian Military Committee clearly shows that 14 years' time was quite sufficient for you to make up your mind. He says clearly in that speech that we need not wait more. If that is so, the stand you now take is quite inconsistent with your previous declarations. You should state straight off that Indians cannot be trusted for the defence of their country. All these pious declarations that you have been habituated to make for such a long time are not kept up ; and you do not keep up the pledges which you have given in the past. Sir, it is a cause of great agitation in India. Times have changed. My Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro has said that times have changed. There is re-armament in every country. They may sacrifice Mr. Eden or they may sacrifice Sir Samuel Hoare, but times have changed and you ought to look to the situation. During the war you started schools at Indore and some other place which I do not exactly remember now and you had to train temporarily officers for serving your purpose. I submit India is ready not only for the defence of her country but for the defence of the Commonwealth of Empire and it is in your own interest to train Indians for that very purpose. I therefore submit that you are committing a grave error in not revising the policy at this time. This sort of distrust of Indians you have been showing for a very long time. People have come to recognise now that you are not honest and free in your statement. Sir, I thank all the Honourable Members who have supported my cause—in fact this is the cause of the youth of India. I am very

sorry, Sir, to see the attitude—whether of the Government of India or Whitehall I do not know—but I am very sorry to find that even a modest proposition like this is not supported at the proper time when it was said long ago by an expert that this was the time for reviewing the position. I, therefore, Sir, have no other alternative but to move my Resolution and press it to a division.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : With your permission, Sir, I want to make one point clear. Since I made my main speech, the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam has raised a point with which I particularly wish to deal. He indicated that it would be many years before anything further happened. This is not what I said, nor is it what I intended to convey. I wish to make it quite clear, without attempting to pose as a prophet, that, provided the senior King's commissioned Indian officers serve on, maintain their efficiency, and, in due course, are found fit to hold command, the units which are now in the process of Indianisation will begin to be totally Indianised in about seven years' time. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam said that it would be necessary to wait 20 years. This is not the case. It is always dangerous to prophesy, but I wish to make it quite clear to the House when it is thought that Indianisation on the present basis will begin to be complete.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I will first place before the House for their consideration and vote Pandit Kunzru's substituted Resolution :

“That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the minimum number of cadets admitted annually to the Indian Military Academy be 120 and that if qualified candidates are forthcoming in larger numbers they should be admitted up to the limit of the requirements of the Indian Army.”

Question put : the Council divided :

AYES—14.

Buta Singh, Hon. Sardar.
Hossain Imam, Hon. Mr.
Kaliker, Hon. Mr. V. V.
Kunzru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.
Mahtha, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sri Narain.
Motilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.
Muhammad Husain, Hon. Haji Syed.

Niamatullah, Hon. Chaudhuri.
Pantulu, Hon. Mr. Ramadas.
Ram Saran Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala.
Ray Chaudhury, Hon. Mr. Kumarsankar.
Roy Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Susil Kumar.
Sinha, Hon. Kumar Nripendra Narayan.
Yuveraj Datta Singh, Hon. Raja.

NOES—23.

Akram Hussain Bahadur, Hon. Prince
Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad.
Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.
Chinoy, Hon. Sir Rahimtoola.
Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the.
Conran Smith, Hon. Mr. E.
Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.
Devadoss, Hon. Sir David.
Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.
Govindaohari, Hon. Rao Bahadur K.
Haider, Hon. Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-
Din.
Hissamuddin Bahadur, Hon. Lt.-Col.
Sir.

Ihtisham Hyder Chaudhury, Hon. Khan
Bahdur Syed.
Ismail Ali Khan, Hon. Kunwar Haji.
Jagdish Prasad, Hon. Kunwar Sir.
Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.
Menon, Hon. Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.
Mitra, Hon. Mr. D. N.
Muhammad Yakub, Hon. Sir.
Mukherjee, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sir Satya
Charan.
Nixon, Hon. Mr. J. C.
Roy, Hon. Mr. S. N.
Russell, Hon. Sir Guthrie.
Yeatta, Hon. Mr. M. W. M.

The Motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the Council the original Resolution of Mr. Kalikar:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the number of cadets admitted in the Military Academy, Dehra Dun, be raised from 60 to 120."

Question put: the Council divided:

AYES—14.

Buta Singh, Hon. Sardar.
Hussain Imam, Hon. Mr.
Kalikar, Hon. Mr. V. V.
Kunzru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.
Mabtha, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sri Narain.
Motilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.
Muhammad Hussain, Hon. Haji Syed.

Niamatullah, Hon. Chaudhuri.
Pantulu, Hon. Mr. Ramadas.
Ran Saran Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala.
Ray Chaudhury, Hon. Mr. Kumarsanker.
Roy Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Susil Kumar.
Sinha, Hon. Kumar Nripendra Narayan.
Yuvraj Datta Singh, Hon. Raja.

NOES—23.

Akram Hussain Bahadur, Hon. Prince
Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad.
Chhuranjit Singh, Hon. Raja.
Chimoy, Hon. Sir Rahimtoola.
Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the.
Conran Smith, Hon. Mr. E.
Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.
Devadoss, Hon. Sir David.
Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.
Govindachari, Hon. Rao Bahadur K.
Haider, Hon. Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-
Din.
Hissamuddin Bahadur, Hon. Lt.-Col.
Sir.

Ihtisham Hyder Chaudhury, Hon. Khan
Bahadur Syed.
Ismail Ali Khan, Hon. Kunwar Haji.
Jagdish Prasad, Hon. Kunwar Sir.
Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabsada.
Menon, Hon. Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.
Mitra, Hon. Mr. N. D.
Muhammad Yakub, Hon. Sir.
Mukherjee, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sir Satya
Charan.
Nixon, Hon. Mr. J. C.
Roy, Hon. Mr. S. N.
Russell, Hon. Sir Guthrie.
Yeatts, Hon. Mr. M. W. M.

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam, please read your Resolution so that you may not lose your priority. You can discuss the Resolution on the next non-official day.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muham-
madan): Sir, I move:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to give notice of termination of the present Trade Agreement with Britain, if His Majesty's Government do not accept the terms offered by India on the advice of non-official advisers."

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House): Sir, with your permission, I propose that the following official business which is pending before the House may be taken up on Wednesday, the 2nd March and I therefore request that you may be pleased to direct that a meeting be held on that day for the purpose.

(1) Motions for the consideration and passing of the Manœuvres Field Firing and Artillery Practice Bill.

(2) Motions for the consideration and passing of the Destructive Insects and Pests (Amendment) Bill.

(3) Resolution regarding the Draft Convention and Recommendation concerning safety for workers in the building industry.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I may also mention that on the 2nd March, I shall give my ruling on the question of supplementaries.

The Council then adjourned till Half Past Five of the Clock on Saturday the 26th February, 1938.