

Tuesday, 13th September, 1938

THE  
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME II, 1938

*(5th September to 22nd September, 1938)*

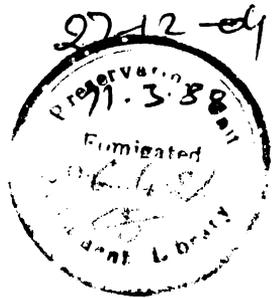
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FOURTH SESSION

OF THE

FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1938

Chamber Fumigated...*18/X/38*...



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

*Tuesday, 13th September, 1938.*

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

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MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. Dharendra Nath Mitra (Nominated Official).

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

SITUATION IN WAZIRISTAN.

102. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh) : Will Government make a statement on the military situation in Waziristan, with special reference to the recurrence of hostilities, the steps taken to cope with the situation, and their financial implications ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : As regards the first portion of the question, I refer the Honourable Member to the press communiqué issued on the subject on the 30th August, 1938.

The extra expenditure actually incurred from the 1st April to the 31st July, 1938, is about Rs. 12 lakhs.

SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABANDONMENT OF THE  
ABATTOIR AT LAHORE.

103. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Will Government state whether all the claims in connection with the abandonment of the Lahore Cantonment abattoir have now been settled ? If so, what are the details of such claims settled under the various heads.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : With the exception of one small item (of Rs. 10,000) all claims in connection with the abandonment of the abattoir in Lahore have been settled. Claims on contracts amounting to Rs. 32 lakhs have been settled by payment of Rs. 24½ lakhs.

## GHIRTHS, BAHTIS AND CHANGS OF THE PUNJAB.

104. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Will Government state how the Ghirths, Bahtis and Changs of the Punjab acquitted themselves during the Great War as combatants and whether these tribes are now eligible as combatant recruits in the Indian Army or not? If not, why not?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: I refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me to question No. 228 asked by the Honourable Member himself on the 5th October, 1937. There has been no change since that date.

## ANNUAL CAMPS OF UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS, ETC.

105. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Are officers required to live in the mess during the annual battalion camps of the University Training Corps?

(b) Is it possible for an officer to take his wife and children along with him to the camp?

(c) Will Government state whether an adjutant in the 3rd United Provinces Battalion University Training Corps lives outside the camp area and takes his family along with him?

(d) Did the adjutant ever consult the University authorities in connection with the expenses of the companies incurred by him during the battalion camp?

(e) Did he ever enquire from the University authorities whether they were in a position to incur such financial expenditure?

(f) Who gives contracts for messing in the officers' mess of the 3rd University Training Corps?

(g) Has the practice that the contracts should be given by the president of the mess committee been adhered to in the 3rd Battalion University Training Corps? If not, why not?

(h) Have certain officers from Lucknow and Allahabad resigned? If so, what are the reasons for their resignation?

(i) Was an officer of ten years' standing holding a responsible position in the University and the rank of captain in the University Training Corps discharged without a thorough enquiry?

(j) What is the length of service of this adjutant in the army and what are his particular qualifications for the post?

(k) Was this officer only able to pass the promotion examination for captaincy only after several attempts?

(l) Do Government propose to appoint in future as adjutant only such officers who have held the rank of captain in the Regular Army for

at least three years prior to their appointment in the <sup>211</sup>University Training Corps ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : (a) No.

(b) While an officer cannot take his family into a camp, there is no rule which prevents him having his family residing outside the camp provided he makes arrangements at his own expense.

(c) No.

(d) and (e). Government have no information.

(f) The matter is arranged by the local military authorities.

(g) Government have no information.

(h) Yes : two during the current year. Both applications were voluntary, one in accordance with paragraph 31 of Regulations for the Indian Territorial Force and the other as he was unable to devote to the work of the Indian Territorial Force the amount of time necessary for it.

(i) One officer of the rank of captain was discharged under the provisions of rule 11 (2) (c) of the Indian Territorial Force Rules after the matter was fully considered by the military authorities concerned.

(j) The adjutant has 15½ years' service. He fulfils the necessary requirements for the appointment as regards length of service, capability and satisfactory reports.

(k) This officer passed the necessary promotion examination for captaincy in March, 1930, that is with seven years' service which is above the average in the service taking it all round.

No mention is made of the officer prior to that date and therefore if he sat for any previous examination he did so under arrangements made by the War Office.

(l) Officers of the ranks of lieutenant and junior captain are eligible for employment as adjutants of an University Training Corps unit of the Indian Territorial Force. I have no intention of amending this rule.

#### SUPPRESSION OF SLAVERY IN THE TRIBAL AREAS OF ASSAM.

106. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh) : Will Government make a statement regarding the steps taken, including the military expedition which was despatched to suppress the practice of slavery in the tribal areas in Assam, and the results achieved ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : Attention is invited to statements on the subject which appeared in the Press in 1937 and 1938 and copies of which are laid on the table of the House for ready reference.

Issued early in 1937.

India is a party to the Slavery Convention, 1926, and has undertaken to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the complete abolition of Slavery in all its forms. It was however found necessary to make a reservation in respect of certain outlying and inaccessible areas bordering on Assam and Burma where it was thought, it would be difficult to implement our undertaking effectively. Recently the Government of India have agreed to the reservation being withdrawn in respect of certain areas including the tribal areas East of the Naga Hills District in Assam. As a first step towards the fulfilment of the requirement under the Slavery Convention to bring about the abolition of Slavery in this area, the Government of India, at the request of the Government of Assam, agreed to an expedition, headed by the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, and composed of a column of Assam Rifles. The object of the expedition was to acquaint the headmen of the villages with the determination of Government to suppress the practice of Slavery and, if they persisted in an attitude of defiance, to punish them. This action was rendered imperative by the conduct of one of the villages in that area, namely Pangsha, which, with the assistance of certain other villages, had been raiding and destroying the weaker villages in their neighbourhood and holding their captives as slaves in defiance of warnings from Government. The expedition was a complete success; and the following report of the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, is released for the information of the public.

I left Mokokchung on November 13th with two and a half platoons of the 3rd Assam Rifles under the command of Major Williams, and 360 carriers under the command of Mr. Smith. Dr. von Furer-Haimendorf of Vienna University accompanied the expedition as an anthropologist. On the 19th Panso came in to see me at Chentang and their friendly overtures relieved our anxiety regarding our flank. On the same day there arrived a truculent challenge from Pangsha. On November 20th we reached our advanced base at Chingmei where the loyalty of my old friend Chingmak was of inestimable value. There we found that Pangsha had handed over to him all their slaves but one; they still desired us to visit them, and I found they had terrorised the whole neighbourhood, threatening to destroy any village which helped us. My first object was to visit Yimpang. They had already returned the only slave they held to Mokokchung when they heard that a column was really coming out, and they had had some reason for raiding Kejuk, who had abetted Tuensang in their treachery—or rather the treachery of Saiyo a notorious rogue whom the decent elements in Tuensang now talk of killing for the good of the village. I wished to show Yimpang that when we intended to visit a village we did so, but that we harmed no one with whom we had no quarrel. This I accomplished on November 22nd, returning via Waoshu, a small village which had been dragged into the Saachu raid against their will out of fear of Pangsha. Noklak had sentries watching us from the range to the East of our camp and sent an armed force to move parallel to us on our way to Yimpang; their men walked into Yimpang as we walked out, and announced that they had been ready in case Yimpang wanted any help.

On the 24th the column, with as few loads as possible, when to Noklak on the way to Pangsha. Noklak were evidently terrified at the thought of offending Pangsha and refused to clear the path for us. Most of it was a narrow, overgrown ledge along a precipitous cliff. Not only was it guarded by "panjis" (bamboo spikes) put there owing to their war with Chingmei, but additional "panjis", newly sharpened, had been planted for our benefit. In spite of the utmost care one advance scout was spiked right through the foot and one lance-naik and another scout were gashed. It was long before we could get in touch with the Noklak men and when we saw them they were very nervous. Eventually some were persuaded to come forward and talk. I knew that their hostility was due to pressure by Pangsha, and it was important not to have a hostile village behind us when we passed them. I therefore promised safety.

On November 25th we proceeded towards Pangsha and camped in the bed of the Langnyu River below the main village. Our route lay along the flanks of the hills on the west bank. Pangsha being on the slopes of the East bank. Soon after passing the Noklak-Pangsha boundary we saw a small, unarmed party of Pangsha men in the distance. Four were induced to come and speak to us, and brought with them a goat and a chicken. They asked whether we would make peace. There was not the slightest doubt as to the only possible answer. To have made peace, turned back, and abandoned the remaining slave at the price of a goat, a fowl and some smooth words would inevitably have been interpreted as a sign of weakness. Friends who had helped us would have been massacred and raid would have continued. I therefore told the envoys that I did not believe their statement that they could not produce the slave girl, and that I was going to punish them for their conduct and insults to Government. I then sent them safely away.

By this time a very large armed party was already on the move to cut us off. We saw them crossing the Langnyu valley and out manoeuvred them by cutting a path straight down to the river, and moving upstream in open ground. While getting into camp an armed body appeared

above us and were dispersed, probably without casualties. Then three men rushed down to get ahead from the coolies cutting bamboos. They were fired on and turned back. Two fell, but poked themselves up.

On November 26th we burnt the main village, nearly losing four coolies who struggled against orders. In the afternoon we moved down stream to below the separate Wenshoyi "khel". Next morning the baggage with one platoon was sent straight back to Noklak, and one platoon with a few scouts and dobashis went up to burn the "khel". We were very heavily attacked on our way down in a last effort by Pangsha to wipe us out. It was only the skill and coolness of Major Williams and his force that enabled us to make a safe withdrawal to Noklak, without losing a man and after inflicting losses on the enemy, whom ground and cover enabled to charge to within 50 yards before they were stopped.

That evening Chingmei and Noklak made peace, Noklak being no longer in any doubt as to the safer side of the fence. I also fined Noklak for their previous hostility. Ponyo, who may have sent a contingent to help Pangsha, also came to see me. I sent word through them to Pangsha that if they would come and talk to me at Chingmei their envoys would be safe. This they did two days later. They admitted defeat and promised to stop slave-raiding and to return the remaining slave. All three villages swore an oath of friendship and were sent home with presents of salt. Pangsha kept their word and the slave girl was sent for and brought to our camp at Chentang on December 7th and is now safe with her parents.

Ponyo produced him at my request. He is now a freed man married in Ponyo and ignorant of a single word of Chang. He is perfectly happy and has no wish to return to Chang relations whom he cannot remember. I therefore sent him back to Ponyo at his own request, with an assurance from Ponyo that he is perfectly free to leave the village if he should ever desire to do so. The next task was to deal with Nokhu. We arrived at Panso on December 3rd and were given a great welcome as the conquerors of their sworn foes Pangsha. I got in touch with Nokhu, and representatives of every 'morung' came to see me. They confirmed, what I had already heard, that of the three slaves they captured one died, and two were returned to their relations as soon as news came that a column had really started. Enquiries left me no reason to doubt the truth of their statement and it can be accepted. Nokhu said they had no wish to suffer the fate of Pangsha and asked to be regarded as friends.

While at Panso I heard of yet another slave, a child captured by Sanglao from an unknown village called Phang, somewhere on the Assam side of the Patkoi to the South.

A Naga messenger from Panso takes a whole day to get there and a whole day to get back. A column from Panso could not have dealt with the village earlier than on the 3rd day. There are no local supplies at all, as no rice is grown, and with the rations we had it was impossible to undertake such a further unexpected extension of our tour. I therefore tried to negotiate with Sanglao. This was able to do indirectly, though not directly, since no messenger from Sanglao ever got beyond the huge rabbit warren of Panso village and had always left by the time we heard he had arrived. The village sent in daos as a sign of friendship and has promised to try and get the child from his owner Dhingmak of Chingmei will continue to emphasise the seriousness of the message I sent that a column would certainly go out and destroy Sanglao if the slave is not handed over. From Panso we returned via Chentang and Tuensang to Mokokohung, arriving there on December 13th.

*Summary of results.*

- (I) All the slaves captured by Yimpang and Pangsha, for the recovery of whom the expedition was originally sanctioned, have been rescued and restored to relations or friends.
- (II) Steps are being taken to recover the slave held by Sanglao, of whom information was only received when the column was about to return.
- (III) A hitherto unknown Chang slave now at Ponyo was brought in by that village. I satisfied myself that he is free and perfectly happy.
- (IV) By the punishment of Pangsha a reign of terror over a wide area has been ended, at any rate for some time, and possibly permanently.

(Issued in the cold weather of 1937-38.)

"India is a party to the Slavery Convention, 1926, and has undertaken to bring about progressively, and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms. It will be remembered that a successful expedition was sent to the Pangsha tribal area in Assam in 1936 with a view to informing the headmen of the villages that Government were determined to suppress the practice of Slavery in those parts. After the 1936 expedition it transpired that certain villages in the tribal area still held slaves in spite of repeated warnings, and at the request

of the Assam Government a further expedition to Nokhu and other villages in the tribal area was agreed to by the Government of India in 1937. The expedition was successful and the following report of the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, is released for the information of the Public :

After the 1936 expedition to Pangsha, it transpired that the village of SANGLAO still held one slave and in spite of constant warnings refused to release the slave. The Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, accordingly asked for permission to warn Sanglao that unless the slave were released the village would be visited and punished. Government permission was accorded to this action. It subsequently transpired that the village of NOKHU had not released their slaves in spite of their affirmations to the Deputy Commissioner last year, and that the village of PESU, south west of Sanglao the position of which was then unknown, held at least one slave. It was not known whether villages further South held slaves or not. The sanction to the expedition was duly obtained from the Government of India. Throughout the rainy season constant attempts were made to get the villages concerned to release their slaves but although it was reported that Sanglao had obeyed Government orders, Nokhu and Pesu remained obstinate.

Accordingly on the 1st November a column composed of the 3rd Assam Rifles with a Civil Officer and other necessary staff left Nokokchung with the object of releasing the slaves, and suppressing slavery for the future.

Chingmei village was reached on the 7th November without incident. All villages en route were most friendly. The 8th and 9th November were spent at Chingmei and loads were divided, as it had been arranged to send the surplus baggage and carriers to join the main column at Zungki River on the 19th November. The baggage column subsequently had an uneventful journey except at YIMTSUNGAENRR village which refused to supply carriers. The neighbouring villages however promptly turned out to help, and the original programme was adhered to.

On the 10th the main column reached Nokluk and on the 11th a last attempt was made to get Nokhu to release their slaves. Ever since the 6th November at Chentang, Nokhu had been sending in various deputations each with a different story as to where the slaves were, but alike only in saying that the slaves were not in the village. Each deputation had been told that the slaves must be produced. Up to the 11th however no slaves had appeared. Nokhu believed up to the last minute that as Government had not visited their village last year, they would not be visited this year.

The 11th November was spent in visiting Nokluk, a most friendly and interesting village, and in having a good look at the approaches to Nokhu and on the 12th November the column moved to Nokhu. On the way up to the village four slaves were produced. They had, of course, been in Nokhu the whole time. The column with the slaves moved up to a camp site close to Nokhu. The various messengers were then told to go back to the village and warn all concerned, that last year and this year they had lied consistently to Government. Their village would accordingly be burnt the following morning and any one found in the village would be regarded as hostile and shot. Next morning the village was attacked. Nokhu had left three sentries in the upper khel to give warning of our approach. One of these was shot dead and the other two wounded. We were told afterwards that this unexpected loss caused the main ambush waiting for us to leave the upper khel in panic and that there were many casualties caused by the panjis laid for us on the path we did not take. On the 13th and 14th November we halted at Nokhu, and got in touch with the villagers who were all secreted in various nallahs through the good offices of HANUNG of Langyok, a most useful and intelligent ambassador. Finally the fine exacted was paid and Nokhu swore a most impressive oath of future fealty to Government.

We halted for both the 13th and 14th November at Nokhu as I thought it advisable to realize a fine from Nokhu as a sign of submission to Government and to make peace formally.

On the 15th we started out for Sanglao. We had nowhere been able to get a glimpse of the village and it was a good deal further than we had thought. The path ran over the top of every hill on the ridge and it was a tiring march. Sanglao were overwhelmingly friendly. They had previously had one slave which they had handed back to Chiliso village on receipt of Government orders (Chiliso subsequently confirmed this).

We spent the 16th at Sanglao trying in vain to get in touch with Pesu, and recover the slaves. Owing to the efforts of Chilem, a Panso headman, three slaves were produced during the night but we failed to get in touch with Pesu at all. We could not afford another day's halt and accordingly on the 17th started for Pesu, the exact position of which was unknown. Just after going through Sanglao word was passed up that one of the slaves had vanished. The slave had been calmly lifted from the column by one of the Sanglao headmen as he had a claim against the slave's father. We were in consequence considerably delayed and unfortunately

had no time to deal with that headman. We were again delayed by finding a large crowd of Panso men fully armed, on look out for loot on our tail and nearly had to use violence before they would go home. Further delay was caused because Pesu at last sent a representative to meet us and we had to hear him at length.

The raid on WAPHARR or WONGPONG was admitted and there was no excuse offered. As the raid had taken place on the 2nd November, it had clearly been a gesture of defiance. Accordingly information was sent that we were going to burn the village and any one found in it would be regarded as hostile. I had to give the Pesu representative start of half an hour and we then proceeded to Pesu, which was much further down the slope than we had thought, and burnt it without opposition. There was no water near Pesu and we accordingly pushed on to Chiliso, the chief of which village was with us and made camp by moonlight.

RAILWAY BRIDGE OVER THE BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER, E. B. R.

107. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): (a) Will Government state whether the survey of the project for the construction of a railway bridge on the Brahmaputra at Pandu in Assam has been completed? If so, what is the result?

(b) When will the construction of the bridge be taken in hand; and what will be the approximate period of its completion, and also its estimated cost?

(c) Will there be any provision for wheeled traffic on the bridge?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: (a) Yes. The E. B. R. anticipate a return of about 5 per cent. on the cost.

(b) The project is now under examination by the Government of India. If it is ultimately sanctioned, construction would probably take three working seasons; the cost is estimated at about Rs. 71 lakhs.

(c) This matter is under discussion with the Assam Government.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: When do Government propose to take action on the construction of this bridge?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: After we have examined the estimates and seen if the scheme is likely to be a financial success.

INCREASES IN EGYPTIAN TARIFFS ON COTTON GOODS.

108. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): (a) Have heavy import duties been recently brought into force in Egypt on textile goods imported into that country which are more than double the old rates?

(b) Are Government aware that this increase in duty will cripple seriously the growing export market for Indian industry?

(c) What steps have been taken, or are proposed to be taken in this connection?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. SLADE: (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) The matter is engaging the attention of Government.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** What is the amount of trade in textiles between India and Egypt ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. SLADE :** I cannot give the figures, Sir. I must have notice.

**NAMES OF STATE PRISONERS CONFINED UNDER REGULATION III OF 1818.**

109. **THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU** (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh) : Will Government state the names of the prisoners confined under Regulation III of 1818, the provinces to which they belong, and their present places of confinement ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. J. A. THORNE :** A statement giving the information asked for by the Honourable Member, so far as the Central Government are concerned, is placed on the table.

*State prisoners under Regulation III of 1818.*

Serial No.	Name.	Country or province to which prisoner belongs.	Present place of confinement.
1	Sardar Abdul Azis Khan .. ..	Afghanistan ..	Calcutta.
2	Khan Baba .. ..	" ..	Belgaum.
3	Muhammad Ibrahim .. ..	" ..	"
4	Muhammad Hassan .. ..	" ..	"
5	Mohammad Ismail .. ..	" ..	"
6	Taj Mohammad .. ..	" ..	"
7	Ali Ahmad .. ..	" ..	Satara.
8	Sardar Abdulla Khan .. ..	" ..	Jubbulpore.
9	Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan .. ..	" ..	"
10	Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan .. ..	" ..	"
11	Khwaja Abdul Karim .. ..	" ..	Saugor.
12	Muhammad Nasir .. ..	" ..	"
13	Atta Mohammad .. ..	" ..	Chhindwara.
14	Sirdar Abdul Hakim Khan .. ..	" ..	Yercaud, Salem District.
15	Sirdar Amin Jan .. ..	" ..	Kotagiri in Nilgiris District.
16	Sirdar Ghausuddin Khan .. ..	" ..	Kodaikanal.

*State prisoners under Regulation III of 1818—contd.*

Serial No.	Name.	Country or province to which prisoner belongs.	Present place of confinement.
17	Rippudaman, ex-Maharaja of Nabha ..	Nabha, Punjab ..	Kodaikanal.
18	Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan .. ..	Afghanistan ..	Coonoor.
19	Sardar Muhammad Azam Khan .. ..	" ..	Dehra Dun.
20	Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan .. ..	" ..	"
21	Sardar Muhammad Afsal Khan .. ..	" ..	"
22	Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan .. ..	" ..	Allahabad.
23	Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan .. ..	" ..	"
24	Sardar Sher Ahmad Khan .. ..	" ..	"
25	Sardar Muhammad Umar Khan* .. ..	" ..	"
26	Sardar Nur Ahmad Khan .. ..	" ..	"
27	Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan .. ..	" ..	"
28	Sardar Muhammad Hasen Khan .. ..	" ..	Shahjahanpur.
29	Sardar Abdur Rahman Khan .. ..	" ..	Meerut.
30	Sardar Muhammad Umar Khan .. ..	" ..	Dehra Dun.
31	Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan .. ..	" ..	"
32	Sardar Abdul Ali Khan .. ..	" ..	"
33	Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan .. ..	" ..	"
34	Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan .. ..	" ..	"
35	Sardar Muhammad Mohsin Khan .. ..	" ..	Sitapur.
36	Ghulam Nabi .. ..	" ..	"
37	Mohammad Din .. ..	" ..	"
38	Mohammad Siddiq .. ..	" ..	"
39	Abdul Hakim .. ..	" ..	"
40	Abdul Majid .. ..	" ..	"
41	Muhammad Jan .. ..	" ..	"
42	Bhawani Sahai .. ..	Alwar State ..	Delhi.
43	V. R. Vaishampayan .. ..	Gwalior ..	"
44	Jwala Parshad .. ..	Ajmer-Marwar ..	"

\* Escaped from surveillance in October, 1937, and has not yet been traced.

## TRAVELLING TICKET EXAMINERS ON RAILWAYS.

110. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): Are Government aware that travelling ticket examiners on Railways are sometimes possessed of inaccurate and defective hand scales, with which they weigh the baggage of third class passengers in running trains, and thereby cause loss and annoyance to them? Do Government propose to take necessary steps to see that the passengers are not unnecessarily put to inconvenience or loss?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: Government have no reason to believe that the allegation in the first part of the question is justified and the second part does not arise; but if the Honourable Member knows of any specific cases, he would be doing a service by bringing them to the notice of the administration concerned.

## RETURN OF ANTIQUITIES OF BURMA TO BURMA.

111. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): Have the Government of India been approached by the Burma Government with regard to the return to Burma of Burmese antiquities, which include among other things, the lion throne of King Mindon, which is now in the Calcutta Museum, and a mat woven out of silver strips, which King Thebaw used on ceremonial occasions, and the Burmese historical records, and other antiquities? If so, what have the Government of India decided in the matter?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: The answer to the first part is no; the second part does not arise.

## ADVERTISEMENT FOR A LINO OPERATOR BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI.

112. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an advertisement published in the press (*vide the Leader*, dated the 3rd May, 1938), over the signature of the Manager, Government of India Press, New Delhi, inviting applications for the post of a lino operator? If so, why "the post is reserved for a Muslim" only?

(b) What are the instructions of Government with regard to appointments on communal basis in this Department?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: (a) Yes. Vacancies and not posts are reserved for communal representation. The vacancy in question is reserved for a Muslim in accordance with the orders on the subject.

(b) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the Home Department Resolution No. F-14/17-B/33, dated the 4th July, 1934, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Do Government publish the number of Muslims and non-Muslims recruited in this Department?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: I do not know, Sir.

MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES BY THE B. B. & C. I. R.

113. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): (a) By an Act of Parliament, was the B. B. & C. I. R. Workshop at Ajmer precluded from manufacturing engines for any other Railway administration in India? If so, what was the reason of this prohibition?

Has this prohibition been lately withdrawn?

(b) Is the Ajmer Workshop now engaged in manufacturing locomotive engines? If so, how many, and for what railway system?

(c) Have locomotive engines been manufactured by any other workshop in India?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: (a) The answer to the first and last parts is in the affirmative. In regard to the second part I cannot reasonably be expected to say what was in the mind of Parliament when it passed the B. B. & C. I. R. Act over 30 years ago.

(b) Yes. The construction of nine metre gauge locomotives is now approaching completion and work on ten others is being commenced. These are for the B. B. & C. I. R. Orders have also been placed with the Workshops for the manufacture of nine locomotives for the A. B. R. to be supplied in 1939-40.

(c) Yes, locomotives were at one time built in the E. I. R. Workshops at Jamalpur.

ADMISSION OF DOMICILED INDIANS TO PUBLIC SERVICES IN BURMA.

114. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): Will Government state whether Indians domiciled in Burma are disqualified from appearing for certain civil services examination, or employment in public services in Burma? If so, what steps have been taken to redress this disqualification?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to section 144 (1) of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, which prohibits the placing of such disabilities on Indians domiciled in Burma.

CONTROL OVER THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

115. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (on behalf of the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh): Have the powers of control over the Calcutta University vested in the Government of India now been delegated to the Bengal Government? If so, what powers have been delegated, and did the Bengal Government ask for such delegation?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: Yes. A list of the delegated functions will be found in the Education, Health and Lands

Department Notification No. F. 55-1 (vi)/38-E., dated the 7th April, 1938, published in the Gazette of India, dated the 9th April, 1938, copies of which are available in the Library of the House.

The reply to the last part of the question is in the negative.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: I do not wish to put question No. 116, Sir.

(Question No. 116 was not put.)

MR. G. M. HUDDAR.

117. THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a news appearing in the *Hitavada*, dated 12th August, under the heading "Nagpurian as Franco's Prisoner"?

(b) Has Mr. G. M. Huddar, an Indian of Nagpur, who had been to republican Spain in September last, been taken prisoner by General Franco's Government?

(c) Will Government state the steps taken by them up till now for securing the release of Mr. Huddar and other Indians who are Franco's prisoners?

(d) If the answer to part (c) is in the negative, will Government state the steps they propose to take for securing the release of Indians who are Franco's prisoners?

(e) Do Government propose to make representations to the Foreign Office in England for securing the release of Mr. Huddar and other Franco's Indian prisoners? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) Yes.

(b) to (e). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the answer which I would have given today to the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Datta Singh's question No. 116 if it had been put. But I can read out that answer. The answer is:—

"(a) and (b). Government have received no information regarding the alleged arrest but enquiries have been made from His Majesty's Government".

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Are Government aware of the fact that a Commission has been appointed by the British Government, of which Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode is the Chairman, for the exchange of prisoners?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: That does not arise out of this question but I have seen a press report to that effect.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Will Government make representations to that Commission to get Mr. Huddar's release?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He says it does not arise and so the supplementary question is not admissible.

**MEASURES AGAINST GAS ATTACKS.**

118. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** Will Government state what steps they are taking for protecting and for training the people of India, particularly in cities and towns, to deal with enemy gas attacks by aeroplanes or otherwise and whether they intend keeping a sufficient stock of gas masks and other relative articles to meet an emergency ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. J. A. THORNE :** I refer the Honourable Member to the reply which I gave to his question No. 2 on the 5th September, 1938.

**APPOINTMENT OF AGENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN CERTAIN COLONIES.**

119. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** Will Government state whether they intend to appoint their Agent in Trinidad, Tobago and New Guinea for safeguarding the interests of the Indians in those Colonies ? If so, when, and if not, why not ?

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD :** The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by me on the 5th September, 1938, to the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna's question No. 38. I may add that, as far as the Government of India are aware, there are no Indians in New Guinea and the appointment of an Agent in that Colony is not therefore under contemplation.

**SURCHARGE ON RAILWAY FREIGHT ON COAL.**

120. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** Will Government state whether they intend to withdraw the surcharge on railway freight on steam coal ? If so, when, and if not, why not ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL :** Government have no proposal at present under consideration for withdrawing the surcharge, as the financial position is not such as to justify the sacrifice of revenue which the withdrawal of the surcharge must involve.

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**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT (to the Honourable Mr. V. V. Kalikar) :** Do you wish to press your Motion for adjournment ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR :** As negotiations are going on between the leaders of the communities and the authorities for an amicable settlement, I do not wish to move.

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**DIVIDENDS AND INTEREST RETURNS BILL.**

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) :** Sir, I move for leave to introduce :

“ A Bill to provide for the submission of certain statements of companies incorporated in or carrying on business in India.”

The Motion was adopted.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Sir, I introduce the Bill.

RESOLUTION *RE* ENLISTMENT OF MADRASIS IN THE INDIAN  
ARMY AND INDIAN AIR FORCE.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated: Indian Christians) : Sir, I beg to move the Resolution standing in my name :—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps to enlist suitable men from the Presidency of Madras for the

- (i) infantry,
- (ii) cavalry,
- (iii) artillery of the Indian Army, and also for
- (iv) the Indian Air Force.”

It has been the declared policy of the Government of India for more than a quarter of a century to disband all Madras regiments and to cease to enlist to the combatant units of the army from the people of the Madras Presidency. The reason assigned is that the martial races of the north form better material for the army than the Madrasi. It is very difficult for us outsiders to know who invented this myth. Who defined a martial race ? What are their peculiar characteristics ? We have never heard the English and the Irish being styled martial races. Yet there is no finer or better soldier in the world than the English and the Irish. Evidently the Defence Department has a convenient memory. Has it forgotten all that the Madras sepoy has done in the past ? Who defended Arcot and offered to be satisfied with rice water so that the British soldier may have the rice grains ? The Madras sepoy. Colonel Malleon says that the foundation of the British Empire in India was laid in the successful defence of Arcot. The defenders were Madras sepoys with a handful of British soldiers. Who won the battle of Plassey ? The Madras sepoy. Who helped to quell the great Mutiny in 1857 ? The Madras sepoy. Who captured Burma in the early Eighties of the last century ? The Madras sepoy. Recently during the Great War the Madrasi acquitted himself creditably in Mesopotamia and other places. Such being the achievements of the Madras soldier in the past, why should his claims be ignored now by the Government of India ? Granting for argument's sake that the northern races have stouter bodies and stronger muscles, they do not count for much in modern warfare. Armies are seldom in sight of one another. We have heard it said that the Indian contingent went to the war in France in 1914, the Indian soldiers asked, “ Where is the enemy ? ” The enemy was miles off and only bombs and shells fell on them. The days when a cavalry charge decided the fate of a battle are gone for ever, never more to return. The army which has the largest amount of poison gas and incendiary bombs has the best chance of success. As I said some time ago in this House, the fate of nations is being settled in the laboratories of the chemist and the physicist. In modern warfare what is wanted is not heavy bodies and strong muscles, but unflinching courage, quickness in action and implicit obedience to orders. Has the Madras soldier been ever found deficient in any of these qualities ? If he is properly trained and properly led he will be more than a match for

Punjabi soldier. Let me read to the House the observations of the Madras Government on the Simon Commission report at page 18. They say :—

“ There is one other matter connected with the army upon which the Madras Government wish to stress, namely, the need for the revival of the old Madras regiments. In Volume I, paragraph 116 of the report the Commission notices the remarkable variations in the contributions which provinces make to the Indian Army. The Government of Madras would remind the Government of India that the pre-eminence of the Punjab and the United Provinces as recruiting grounds for the army is comparatively recent and has been the natural consequence of the gradual reduction of the old Madras regiments till there are now only three Madras regiments left. The Madras Army has a fine record of gallant and loyal service and military traditions are still strong in many parts of the Madras Presidency. If the North India recruit is admittedly superior in physique, the Madrasi claims superiority in intelligence which is likely to count for more in the future than it has done in the past. The Government of Madras consider that the interests of the province demand that the military tradition and the proved capacity of the Madrasi should be recognized by the restoration of the old Madras regiments. So long as the army is an Imperial concern it is obviously desirable that it should be associated by recruitment with as wide an area as possible ; and the revival of the Madras regiments may also help towards the attainment of the goal mentioned in Volume II, paragraph 211 of the report. The possession by a self-governing India of military forces of its own ; for the fact that at present such an overwhelming proportion of the army is recruited from the Punjab and the United Provinces is one of the obstacles to the formation of an Indian national army, on which the Commission has laid stress ”.

What are the consequences of this short-sighted policy of the Defence Department ? I say advisably “ short-sighted policy ”. You do not look to the future. You look only to the present. By stopping all recruitment to the fighting forces of the country you kill the martial spirit of the people. You want the major portion of India to be full of lotus eaters. As long as the strong arm of Britain protects them, much harm may not be done. But if the day ever comes for the British to quit the shores of India, Heaven forbid that such a day should ever come, I say if the British happen to give up India, the greater part of it will fall an easy prey to an invader if this policy is persisted in for long. The Government of India do not seem to realize the danger of making the army the close preserve of a few favoured races in the north. Suppose a soldier of fortune belonging to one of these races gets a commanding influence over the army and revolts against the Government, what will be the fate of India ? What a lot of trouble, bloodshed and loss a water carrier was able to cause in the neighbouring State of Afghanistan. I mentioned what follows for what it is worth. I am told that some time ago a company of Indian soldiers refused to fire against the enemy because the enemy belonged to their faith.

There is another important consideration—namely, the economic condition. When a career in the army was open to the Madras people many joined it and thereby were able to support their families and relations. You have taken away their bread from their mouths. The unemployment question in Madras is a very pressing question. Educated young men are starving for want of employment. Such men if drafted into the army the presidency as a whole will be benefited. Instead of pampering one province and spending all your money upon it, have different units in different parts of India and thereby promote the peace and prosperity of the country. The Criminal Law Amendment Bill which we passed the other day would be a dead letter if the Government would recruit to the army from all the provinces of India. Above all, the safety of the country should be the prime consideration of the Government

[Sir David Devadoss.]

of India and that can only be achieved by reviving and fostering the martial spirit of the various races that inhabit this vast sub-continent. It is a mistake to keep all the army, at least the most effective part of it, in the north. India is a vast country. It is nearly 2,000 miles from Cape Comorin to the Punjab. To leave the South of India practically unprotected is wrong. The Government have not learned a lesson from what happened about this time in 1914. The " Emden " bombarded Madras on one fine night about 9-30 p. m. On hearing the report of guns the military authorities there bestirred themselves and some enterprising person went and loaded an old gun. Lo, the charge would not fire! Meantime the " Emden " was miles away from Madras. This was not the state of things many years ago. There were several batteries such as the Napier's, Clive's, etc., on the seashore. When I was a college student there used to be gun practice. It was a beautiful sight to see the cannon balls jumping on the sea water and raising spray to a considerable height, at a distance of one or two miles. Now, Sir, the only guns that we see on the glacis of Fort St. George are those used for firing salutes. Is it wisdom, I ask, to leave the southern portion of India unprotected? If there is an air raid, by the time the army authorities in Simla wake up, rub their eyes, and ask what is the matter, cities on the coast like Vizagapatam, Madras, Negapatam and Cochin would have been reduced to ashes and not thousands but millions of women, children and inoffensive civilians would have been massacred. Let us learn a lesson from what happened in Abyssinia and what is happening today in China and Spain. Is the war a war of civilized nations? Is dropping bombs, poison gas shells and incendiary bombs on innocent women and children war? Is bombing the civil population war? When first class powers are at war, as Bertrand Russell says in his work, all attempts will be made to end it in a week by slaughtering innocent people and reducing large cities like London, Liverpool and Glasgow to ruins and by destroying aerodromes and munition factories and stores.

Sir, we are living in very anxious times. We do not know what a day may bring forth. There are wars and rumours of wars. The next war will be a world-wide war—an armageddon—and when that armageddon comes those who study the trend of events carefully are of opinion that Japan will not be on the side of England as she was in the late war. It is not to her interests to join hands with England in fighting the totalitarian powers. Such being the gloomy prospect before us, can I be charged with being an alarmist when I say that the coast towns and cities in South India will be targets for air raids from the Far East? There is no protection for any of them. Are there any anti-aircraft guns in any of them? Is there any protection against poison gases and incendiary bombs? The enemy will destroy the wireless stations first in order to prevent intimation of the raid reaching Simla or Delhi. The army in the north will not be of any service to the teeming millions of the Madras Presidency.

Sir, the Defence Department will not easily give up any policy which it pursues. Any one who has read the *Life of Florence Nightingale* would have observed how obstinate was the War Office in clinging to its way in spite of

clear proof that they were wrong. After the Crimean War she spent all the years of her long life in fighting the War Office so that it might mend its ways. After years have proved that she was right in all her charges against the War Office. The Defence Department of the Government of India is not likely to give up its cherished policy easily. In order not to antagonize it I will grant for the sake of argument that the so-called martial races furnish the best material for the three arms—infantry, cavalry and artillery. What about the air force? Strength of muscle and a heavy body are not required for raining bombs from the air. What is wanted for the air arm is intelligence, quickness of judgment and keen observation. The Madrasi is very brainy. He is very intelligent and admittedly more intelligent than the so-called martial races. You may say I am blowing my own trumpet. Let the Madras Government speak for me.

"If the North India recruit is admittedly superior in physique, the Madrasi claims superiority in intelligence which is likely to count for more in the future than it has done in the past"—mark the words "which is likely to count for more in the future than it has done in the past".

This was written eight years ago. Things have considerably changed since then, the air arm is becoming the most important branch of the fighting force. The Madrasi is the fittest person for manning the air force by reason of his intelligence, ready judgment and quickness of perception. Try him and see if he is not all that I claim him to be. Look at the Madras University Training Corps. What a fine set of young men they are. They need encouragement. They want opportunity for service. Don't be blind to his qualities and hug some fetish to your bosom.

Sir, I do not want to be a prophet of evil. But I fear that if the present policy is persisted in notwithstanding my earnest appeal for fair play and justice, a day will come when the Defence Department of the Government of India will repent sitting in sackcloth and ashes! Alas! it will then be too late!

With these few remarks, Sir, I commend my Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU (Madras: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name. The amendment runs as follows:—

"That after the word 'Madras' the following be inserted, namely:—

'and other provinces and areas not adequately represented in the defence forces'."

Sir, if you will permit me, I will speak on the amendment and the Resolution together. Sir, the Resolution raises a very important question of principle and policy regarding future recruitment and organization of the Indian Army.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: May I interrupt for one moment? I understand the Mover's amendment is objectionable because he has not given the ordinary notice; but I wish to say that I have no objection to that and so he can carry on. But I would like to point out that I only got the amendment last night and I have not had two days' notice.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Unless there is any special reason, my practice is always to allow these amendments.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : I do not object.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : I am thankful Sir, for His Excellency not objecting to it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You can move the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : I have moved it, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Do you wish to say anything in support of it now ? I am going to allow a simultaneous debate on the Resolution and the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : I will make a speech both on the amendment and the Resolution if you will permit me ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Yes, I have no objection. Please read the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : Sir, I move :

“ That after the word ‘ Madras ’ the following be inserted, namely :—

‘ and other provinces and areas not adequately represented in the defence forces ’ . ”

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Sir A. P. Patro's Resolution is almost similar to yours and may also be moved now, so that the debate can proceed on the original Resolution and both the amendments at the same time.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I move my amendment that is more or less in the same terms as that of the Honourable Mr. Pantulu :

(1) “ That for the words ‘ suitable men from the Presidency of Madras ’ the following be substituted, namely :—

‘ Suitable men from all presidencies for the defence forces ’ .

(2) That clauses (i) to (iv) be omitted ’ . ”

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : May I suggest, Sir, a verbal change—that “ provinces ” be substituted for “ presidencies ” ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Madras is always known as a presidency.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : But, Sir, the other provinces will be excluded if we say “ presidencies ” .

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Well, Madras, Bombay and Bengal will be included. However, it is immaterial. The debate will now proceed on the original Motion as well as the two amendments simultaneously.

THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU : Sir, the Resolution raises a very important question of principle and policy regarding the future

recruitment and organization of the Army in India. The aim of the Resolution, as I understand it, is to make the army representative of the whole country by drawing the men who serve on it as far as possible from all areas and classes. It is, of course, not the intention of the Resolution to prescribe any proportions for the several provinces on a population or any other rigid basis. Nor is it the intention of the Resolution to change the methods of recruitment in such a way as to affect the efficiency or discipline of the army. We also, Sir, make allowance for the theories that now obtain in the Defence Department of the Government with regard to recruitment. First of all, they say that the races which furnish the best sepoys are not those which exhibit the greatest accomplishment of mind. It may be a half-truth but for the purposes of argument I am prepared to concede that. I am also prepared to concede that units to be efficient should be fairly homogeneous and not heterogeneous. I am also prepared to concede that, having regard to the limited size of the Indian section of the army, namely, 150,000, recruitment on a wide basis from all areas and classes will not be quite possible without swelling the numbers to almost inconvenient size. I am willing to concede for argument's sake all these theories which obtain in the Defence Department of this Government. But I say they are half-truths and I do not admit their correctness; but so that I may not be confronted with these theories, I am only conceding them for argument's sake.

Sir, making concessions for all these considerations I feel—and I hope that my friends on this side of the House also feel—that the policy of recruitment to the Army in India is not conceived in the national interests or in consonance with national needs and requirements. It is still based on a distrust of nationals. And there is an evident desire running through the whole policy of recruitment to perpetuate differences between the races and creeds in this country as the ultimate safeguard of British interests and British domination in this country.

Sir, before I proceed to substantiate my points by reference to figures and facts, I would like to say a few words about the history of the Madras Army, and the vicissitudes of its fortunes. My friend the Honourable Sir David Devadoss has already dealt with the question in a masterly manner in his exhaustive speech. I will add a few figures and facts to his lucid exposition of the case of Madras. Sir, the Madras Army is a very old army. Next to Surat, the ports on the east coast of Madras were the earliest settlements of the East India Company. The first Madras Fusiliers of the old Madras Army could trace back their origin to 1748 when Major Stringer Lawrence arrived in Fort St. David and took over the command of all the forces of the Company in India. He was the first Commander-in-Chief of the British forces of India and first predecessor of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who is now adorning this House as a Member. In Madras, Sir, Indian sepoys were employed with great effect by all the European powers who struggled for supremacy in that part of the country, specially the French, the Portuguese and the British. Lord Clive and others testified to their loyalty and efficiency. It was said by Lord Clive, Sir, that in the Carnatic wars the Indian sepoy was content to live on the

[Mr. Ramadas Pantulu.]

gruel and leave the boiled rice to his British comrade, and fight unflinchingly by his side. Many soldiers and statesmen have testified to the bravery and discipline of the Madras sepoy. Sir, after the battle of Plassey when the army was reorganized, Indian sepoy were employed in all the three presidency armies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. And not only were sepoy employed, but all the subordinate officers were Indians. Again, in 1824, when there was a new reorganization of the armies in this country, dividing the native regiments into single battalion regiments, Bengal had 68 regiments, Madras 52 and Bombay 24. In regard to regular cavalry, Bengal and Madras had eight regiments each and Bombay three cavalry regiments. In Madras the Telugus, misnamed Teluganas, Tamils and Mussulmans supplied most of the sepoy. There is contemporary record to show that caste prejudices and other disruptive factors were not much in evidence in the Madras Army and it showed no inclination to join any of the forces which revolted against the Company's Government. Sir, there were only trivial revolts in Madras. The 1806 incident of the sepoy of Vellore was trivial and the mutiny was due to the prohibition of caste marks and ear-rings on parade and also shaving their beards. But it soon subsided. The real mutiny in Madras was by the European officers in 1809, three years later, which the Company found it much more difficult to suppress. Even after the transfer of the Company's forces to the Crown in 1858, Madras, Bengal and Bombay had their provincial armies and their history is so well known that I do not wish to go into it now for want of time. They all became parts of the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. But still, the Bengal and Madras Armies as reorganized, maintained their distinctiveness till 1893 when the British Parliament abolished the three Provincial Commands and combined the army, though it was not till sometime later that it was actually known as the Army of India technically for constitutional purposes. But after the Mutiny of 1857, the recruitment policy had undergone a change. Somehow or other, after 1886, the fortunes of Madras began to wane considerably in regard to recruitment to the army. Eight of the Madras battalions were permanently located at Burma which was then a part of the Madras Command. Of the three Provincial Commands, the Madras Command then included Burma also. So, they were drafted to Burma and further recruitment to the battalions that were transferred to Burma was from the north-western areas. From 1895 the recruitment of the Telugus to the army was completely abandoned, and between 1902 and 1904, Moplahs, Gurkhas and the Punjabis replaced the recruits to the infantry and cavalry of those regiments. So, Sir, Madras, and particularly the Telugu country, was practically wiped out from the recruitment map of India from 1895.

But the evidence with regard to the efficiency of the Madras and the Telugu sepoy is unchallengable and I do not think that any reliable authority can be quoted to show that he was not as efficient as any other sepoy. I will only quote one testimony, that of Sir Frederick Haines, then Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. What he said was—

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

Sir, I do not know what exactly is the reason for the change in the recruitment policy for some years past. The position in regard to the Indian Army, as disclosed by the Simon Commission's Report, is this. Out of a total of 158,000 troops at the time when the Simon Commission Report was prepared, 86,000 troops were recruited from the Punjab; 19,000 from Nepal, an independent country, 16,500 from the United Provinces, 7,000 from Rajputana, 7,000 from Bombay, 6,500 from Kashmir, 5,600 from the North West Frontier Province, 4,000 from Madras, 3,000 from Burma, 300 from Bihar and Orissa, a very small quota of 100 from the Central Provinces, nil from Bengal, nil from Assam, and Miscellaneous 1,900; in the Indian States, 700 from Hyderabad and 100 from Mysore. If you take all the provinces together, this shows that about 52 per cent. come from the Punjab, and if you exclude the Gurkhas, who come from an independent territory, Nepal, then 62 per cent. come from the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province. Sir, the present position, that is since the Simon Commission Report was written is still worse. It shows that 75 per cent. of the Indian Army comes from the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province and the United Provinces. These areas are all in the north-west of India and yet 75 per cent. of the army comes from these areas alone. Is there any justification for this? It is said that the Punjab is the province which can furnish the best material for the army. Sir, may I know whether the British had always the Punjab for them? They wanted the Indian sepoy from the other provinces not only to conquer the Punjab but also to lead them across the borders to fight those outside India. Therefore, the plea that only the north-west of India, namely, the North West Frontier Province, the Punjab and the United Provinces are the only proper recruiting grounds for the Indian Army does not convince us. I must not be understood as saying anything against the valour, the loyalty and the past services to the British Government rendered by the Punjab and the North West Frontier. But I hope that even those provinces will agree with me that in recruiting to the army, fair treatment should be accorded to all the provinces and areas of this country.

With regard to Madras I have one more submission to make. The Madras Army was put to a fresh test very recently during the Great War. In the Great War, recruitment was widely thrown open to all provinces and no province which was willing to contribute recruits was denied the right. What happened? Madras made the third largest contribution to the army which was recruited for the Great War. I would refer to page 97 of the Simon Commission's Report where the contribution in men which the various provinces made during the recruitment to the Great War is mentioned. I am only taking the combatant recruits. I am omitting the non-combatant recruits. Even if you take the total, Madras stands third. The Punjab came first with its 349,688; United Provinces with its 163,578 stood second and Madras with 51,223 stood third. Then came Bombay with its 41,272, and then the North West Frontier Province with its 32,181, and so on. Even if you take the total recruitment, combatants and non-combatants, Madras stands third with its 92,340.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Your time is up. Will you please bring your remarks to a close?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU :** If in 1914 to 1918 Madras could furnish recruits and could stand third among the provinces for contributing recruits, why and when did it deteriorate? Why Madras has been considered to be unfit for recruitment after the war, I really cannot understand. I do not think any case has been made out to restrict the recruitment only to a few provinces. If you want a national army, all parts of India must be adequately represented consistently of course with the aim of securing homogeneous and efficient units for the army. Whatever the spokesman of the Government in this country may say, we feel that the policy of recruitment is still largely guided by considerations other than those of the needs of India or the needs of the national interests of India. I do not wish to detain the House with any long quotations, with regard to the policy of the British Army in this country. It has certainly not been a policy of making India a nation with regard to the army. There are other countries in the world from which the British Government in India could have learned good lessons. For instance, take Italy, which in 1861 had no national army. There were all sorts of people—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** You cannot go into a new subject now. You have already exceeded your time. I will allow you three minutes more.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU :** I will finish within that time, Sir. I repeat that the policy of recruitment in India is not conceived in the national interests of India. There is no attempt to form a national army. In Italy, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Milanese, the Tuscans, the Neapolitans, people with their own dialects, their own customs and their own peculiar prejudices, formed the army in 1861. But what do we find today? The Italian Government have made an Italian army. Similar is the case with Japan. Every section of the Japanese people and not only the martial section of Samurai are now enlisted in the army. There is no such attempt made here. This is not a new policy which is being pursued. It is a very old policy. I will only give two extracts from a book which I hold in my hand by Captain G. V. Modak. One is a statement of Lord Elphinston, former Governor General of India. He said :—

“ I have long considered this subject, and I am convinced that the exact converse of this policy of assimilation is our only safe military policy in India. ‘ Divide et impera ’ was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours. The safety of the great iron steamers which are adding so much to our military power and which are probably destined to add still more to our commercial superiority is greatly increased by building them in compartments ”.

I will read only one more extract. It is a statement by Brigadier Coke. He says :

“ That in a rising of the Mussulmans, you would always have Sikhs, Dogras, Gurkhas, and Hindu corps to defend or *vice versa*. By mixing the castes in one corps they become amalgamated and make common cause, which they never do if they are kept in separate corps. The result of mixing them in one corps has been to make them all join against Government and not only the soldiers but through them the Hindu and Mussalman zamindars were incited to make common cause which they never would have done, had the races been kept in distant corps. Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunately) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. ‘ Divide et impera ’ should be the principle of the Indian Government ”.

Sir, I have got 25 more extracts from this book. I do not want to read them. Those which I have read fairly illustrate the policy of recruitment in this country. I do not wish to detain this House longer. The Government of India want to set up Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act. Even those who differ from them want a Federation, though not of the same kind. This question of responsible government for this country is inextricably intermixed with the formation of a national army. In denying recruitment on a national basis you are denying us responsible government. All the units of the Federation of India should be interested in the national army. Without the co-operation and consent of the various Federal units you cannot have a national army or real Federation, and no responsible government is possible. Therefore, Sir, the army policy in this country is indissolubly bound up with the question of the political independence of this country. Therefore, I appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to see the reasonableness of our Resolution. We do not commit him to any particular proportions. We do not commit him to any particular methods of recruitment. All that we ask is that the Indian Army should be made representative of the whole country by recruiting as far as possible from all areas and all races.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the scope of the Resolution is such that it does not conflict with any other province. The interests of the Punjab and the United Provinces are not at all affected and recruitment from those provinces is not discounted. What it aims at is the placing of a grievance before this House and before the Army Department that Madras has been treated very unfairly and justice has not been done to the people of Madras. That is what this Resolution aims at. This Resolution says that it is high time that the Defence Department saw things in a different light. They must avoid the ostrich attitude and face realities. What are the realities of the situation today? According to the views of the Commander-in-Chief recently expressed, it is difficult to remove the distinction between the martial and non-martial classes, that it is to be continued and that he would not like to have inferior material imported into the army and thereby cause it to suffer in efficiency. Those are the expressed views, and I know what is going to be the ultimate result of this Resolution. But we have a strong case for Madras deriving from its history and traditions and past services. Madras people sacrificed much in order to establish the British Raj in Southern India. What would have been the position of the British in Southern India but for the help of the Madras sepoy in the Carnatic wars. Sir, there is a very reliable official account published in what is known as the Manual of Madras, showing how the Madras Presidency gradually grew bit by bit and how territories were added to what was originally Madras Town and how ultimately it has come to be one of the biggest provinces in India. Sir, it was through the sacrifice and the shedding of the blood of the people of Madras, the Kalingas, the Telingas and the Tamils, as against their own countrymen, who stood firm by what they believed to be just and proper, that the British have succeeded. And after succeeding what is the attitude of the British? It is quite un-British like to discard the people who have helped them to build up their power in South India. Whatever may be the official

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view today, British officials must remember the contribution which the Madras regiments made to the success of the British not alone in the Carnatic wars but also in other important battles, you have got a vivid account of the paintings in Seringapatam on the walls of the Court House. The Fort was considered impregnable. It was the Madras regiments which first dared to cross the river and swimming across to the other side defeated the Mysore army. The Sultan's army was trained by a French captain, and he was present with all his force of artillery, and yet it was the Madras army which assisted in defeating them and captured Seringapatam. And on the walls of the Sultan's palace you have today a living record of the achievements and the glory of the Madras regiments. And there was no European army present on that occasion except a handful, there were not more than 150 Europeans in all. It was the Indians, the Madras regiments which defeated the Sultan. That must appeal to the Commander-in-Chief, the valour and courage and determination which the Madras regiments showed in conquering Mysore. What has become of that Madras Army? If the British be fair and just they cannot forget the achievements of the Madras regiments in Mysore and at Seringapatam.

Then, Sir, I would take a little more of your time and mention the Mahratta wars. Tanjore was a Mahratta centre from whence they governed. You again find the account in the palace at Tanjore. The Mahratta army was a trained force, again assisted by the French, and according to the standard of those days it was up to date. And it was the Madras Army which again helped the British to defeat the Mahrattas in the South and to conquer the Madura and Tanjore districts for the British Empire. Sir, it was no mean achievement for a force in those days to defeat the Mahratta forces, who were trained fighters. But the Madras regiments were equally heroic and disciplined, and it was they, who today are classed as non-martial, who helped the British to overcome the Mahrattas.

Now, my friend has referred to the Burmese wars. I had my people and relations serving in both the first and second Burmese wars. They gave us, then little children, accounts of how Mandalay was captured and how Thebaw the King of Burma was arrested. Now, the accounts will show what a difference there is today. When we went out to recruit for the army in 1914 and 1915 and those war years and travelled about the districts to recruit people for the army, the answer we got was, "Yes, we were found unfit all these years, and now you come to us for the purpose of helping the Government". That is the answer given by the present cultivators. It is not a few intellectuals who will save the country and the British. It is the peasant soldier who will ultimately stand by the British and by his own country—not the intellectuals. Therefore, Sir, beware if you do neglect the condition of the peasant population and the countryside, if you do not take note of the people who have served efficiently and loyally in previous wars, then your position will become very difficult. I would ask a question of the Defence Department. When did this love and affection for martial as against non-martial classes come

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about? Who fought the wars that raged in the Punjab and in the north? Did not the Madras regiments take part in the Afghan War? Did not the Madras regiments help the British in connection with the wars in the Punjab? Then, Sir, how have you forgotten the great sacrifices which the Madras regiments have made in establishing the British Raj in the Punjab and in the north?

Sir, as I said, this problem can be looked at from two points of view, namely, the past record of the Madras regiments, the testimony of impartial observers, military and civil, and also from the point of view of strategy and from the point of view of practical wisdom. Tomorrow suppose it happens, as unfortunately it happened some time ago, that there is unrest in the Punjab, what is to be the fate of the British in this country, if only they depended upon the loyalty, courage and heroism of the Punjab? Will that help them? An European army cannot be maintained according to the opinion of the Congress people today. The 30,000 or 40,000 people must be sent away and if the Indian Army is to remain according to their demands and requirements of a particular section of the people, then what will be the position of the British, what will be the position of the country? That is the question which must be considered from a strategic and practical point. It is a short-sighted policy always to depend on a particular province or provinces; there must be distribution throughout India in the matter of recruitment, and it must include those classes and communities which proved themselves to be courageous and martial in past wars. Therefore, I appeal in the name of those persons, the descendants of those who have shed their blood, who have sacrificed their men, their relations, in large numbers. Now, do not disappoint us, do not create discontent and resentment in our hearts. The peasant cultivator appeals to the British to recognize their services in the past. Would you deny that? Are you prepared to face the difficulties that will arise sooner or later in the matter of recruitment when you have got the peasant soldiers to be recruited? Therefore, Sir, these considerations ought to influence the judgment of the authorities in deciding this matter of martial and non-martial classes. Why did you demartialize the Madras people? Has any opportunity been given to the Madras regiments within the last 40 years to fight and can you say that these are inefficient and they cannot hold their own in the army. Under what circumstances are you able to come to this decision, namely, that the Madras regiments are non-martial and only the Punjab and the United Provinces are martial races? Sir, I think that the authorities are not at all just and fair in this matter. When did this question of recruitment from one province alone arise? I repeat the question. When the Punjab itself was in turmoil, when there was unrest in the Punjab, who were they that stood by the British? That is the question that they have to answer and they have to consider what will be the future. These records of the Madras regiments have been made by a very eminent military man assisted by a civil service man. They describe the great achievements of the Madras army in the past and the opinion of the Officer Commanding the Southern Army has also been expressed, namely, that the Madras sepoy is not behind anyone in the matter of courage, bravery and heroism. In the face of these opinions recorded in the past and officers

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in charge of these regiments expressing these opinions in unmistakable terms, what is there to prevent you from revising your decision, the unfortunate decision, which you came to 40 years ago? It is time enough for them to realize that other provinces also should have an equal share in the matter of recruitment. Well, on the one hand, we find in India a section of the people say that people should not be allowed to be recruited because of political reasons, on the other hand the descendants of the peasant soldiers who stood by the Government and who helped them to establish the British Empire are asking for recruitment; they drank the *kanji* and gave away the solid food to the British soldiers. It is therefore necessary to recollect and recall these exploits of the Indian Army. Sir, recently there was a tribal war in the agency tracts more or less like the one in the North West Frontier and Colonel Russell reported how with the help of these people he was able to conquer the tribes. It was the Telunga and the Tamil who fought and quelled the rebellion from Godavary to Gumsoor on the borders of Orissa. These are wild tracts, full of jungles and hills and rivers and most difficult country. Colonel Russell had the wisdom and the tact to enlist short service people and under the head of Bapan Patro and Sunder Singh who were given jagirs, these people helped Colonel Russell and ultimately quelled the wild races that inhabit the agency tracts. To forget such service is not just. The descendants of these people are now crying and they helped you to establish peace and order and to conquer and subdue their own people. It is not wise that this feeling should be rankling in their minds in the countryside. Do not judge by the few educated people you have got. Take the countryside and see what is the feeling today, if you try recruitment. You will find that recruitment will be extremely difficult not because of the political prejudice of the people, not because of the shibboleths that are set up by the people, but because they feel that the British Government has been very unjust and unfair, that they have ignored the legitimate claims of the descendants of the people who have shed their blood for establishing the British Empire in India defeating their own people. How are you going to remove that feeling unless you help them? I warn you from my experience of what took place during war time in 1914.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have exceeded your time.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Thank you, Sir. You have got sectional armies with their colours—the Surrey regiments, the Worcester-shire regiments and Essex and Yorkshire, and so on, in England. They are proud of their colours. Why not have a similar system in this country so that they may have their own colours? The Madras regiment may be divided into three parts and different commands may be established. And like the Surrey army, the Yorkshire army, and so forth, just as these people are recruited from the different districts, you could recruit men from the different provinces, and make a distinct unit of each. Then, Sir, you will satisfy the people. When unfortunately things happen to the detriment of the British Government, it is these people that will stand by you, not the intellectuals and the intelligentsia. Remember that it is the people of the

countryside, the cultivators who will stand by you and not the intellectuals in times of crisis. Therefore, I urge on the authorities that they must give up this idea of discrimination between martial and non-martial, that they have to go and look into whether there is or is not a competent and efficient element in the province or in the communities who have served the country in the past and stood by you and acquitted themselves gloriously.

Sir, I refer not only to the records of the past but to the Russell report also. The Russell report records also the courage, the bravery and the assistance which was given to the British Army by the people of the countryside who formed the Indian section. Now, Sir, the only question I have to place before you is, why did the army authorities allow this excellent spirit, dormant spirit, to go to waste and not utilize it for the benefit of the British Government, for the benefit of the people of India. Therefore, it is high time that they should desist from their ostrich attitude and face the realities that are now confronting them. People are very much disappointed. I remember an incident, Sir, in the time of the King's Jubilee, when ex-soldiers, sepoys, subadar pensioners, were all collected together. It was an excellent sight to see them. Old men of 70 and 80 years coming in from distant places in the villages. Why? Not that they were paid to come. Not that they were subsidised people. But it was their martial spirit which actuated them to travel miles and miles and come and show their loyalty. Now, Sir, why do you take away that spirit from them? It would be suicidal for you to destroy the spirit that has prevailed here. This feeling is dormant and it is wise and prudent that the policy should be revised and reconsidered. I know the views which His Excellency has expressed already but I am confident that in the light of the observations I have made, in the light of the evidence that I have placed before him, he will admit that it is time that the policy should be revised so that all the provinces and particularly the provinces in which the armies have distinguished themselves in the past in the wars of the Carnatic, Burma, Afghanistan, in helping the British Army in other parts of India, that the descendants of these people may be recruited again in the army. There should be no discrimination as between martial and non-martial. What is meant by non-martial? Is there not in the blood of these people whose fathers fought for the country and the Government, a martial spirit? Therefore, I cannot for the life of me understand the distinction between martial and non-martial in regard to these races and communities whose record is available, and therefore I say that it is high time that there should be a reconsideration of the whole problem of army recruitment. Otherwise may I in all respect and humility warn that it will be too late for you to enlist the sympathy of the peasant soldier in the countryside.

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**ANNOUNCEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE QUESTION OF DEFENCE.**

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF:** Sir, I have been asked, with your permission to make a rather important announcement in this

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House with regard to the question of Defence, which is being simultaneously made in the other House at this hour.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I will suspend the debate on this Resolution for a few minutes till His Excellency has made his statement on Defence.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: I think, Sir, that everyone here is aware of the discussions that have been taking place in London during the summer and I am now authorized to make the following statement by His Majesty's Government with regard to this question to indicate to you how the matter now stands.

As was indicated by Secretary of State for War in his speech on the Army estimates on March 10th of this year the Prime Minister at that time authorized the initiation of discussions regarding the role of the land and air forces in India in relation to defence problems of India and the Empire.

Both the military and financial aspects of this question have been considered in detail. The outcome of these discussions at the stage so far reached has recently been considered by His Majesty's Government.

The need for early action to place the defence organization of India on a more satisfactory basis is accepted. It has not been possible in the time available to reach agreement on all matters which have presented themselves for consideration in the course of these discussions. But definite progress has been made, and in the light of this progress, an offer has been made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, subject to approval of Parliament, to increase by £500,000 as from April 1st next the annual grant of £1,500,000 which has been paid to the Government of India since 1933, in aid of Indian defence expenditure in accordance with recommendations of the Garran tribunal. In addition His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom propose to ask Parliament to authorize offer to Government of India of a capital grant up to five million pounds for re-equipment of certain British and Indian units in India and in addition to authorize provision of aircraft for the re-equipment of certain squadrons of Royal Air Force. The precise scope and cost of these proposals has not yet been determined in detail. Further it has been agreed that four British battalions should be transferred from Indian to Imperial establishment; three battalions will be transferred at once and the fourth will follow as soon as it can be conveniently arranged. Finally, in connection with discussions which have taken place in London the Government of India have suggested that His Majesty's Government should send out an expert body of enquiry to India at the earliest opportunity to investigate the military and financial aspects of problems on the spot, and to submit a report before discussions between the two Governments are carried to their conclusion. His Majesty's Government have accepted this suggestion and appointed an expert committee with the following terms of reference:

"Having regard to the increased cost of modern armaments to the desirability of organizing, equipping and maintaining the forces in India in accordance with modern requirements and to the limited resources available in India for defence expenditure, to examine and

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report, in the light of experience gained in executing the British rearmament programme how these resources can be used to the best advantage and to make recommendations".

The expert committee, with which the Defence Department of the Government of India will be associated will be presided over by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield. They will leave England during October and it is hoped they will be able to report in early 1939.

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RESOLUTION *RE* ENLISTMENT OF MADRASIS IN THE INDIAN  
ARMY AND INDIAN AIR FORCE—*contd.*

\*THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SATYENDRA KUMAR DAS (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. President, I rise to support the amendments. As a Member hailing from Bengal I think it my duty to say something on behalf of the Bengali as would-be recruits to the Indian Army. Sir, there exists a strong feeling in Bengal in favour of recruitment of Bengalis to the Indian Army. To cite instances on the point, I would refer to the existence of the Dacca University Corps, the existence of the Calcutta University Corps and the services rendered by Bengalis in the last war in Mesopotamia. In this connection, Sir, I would also like to draw the attention of the Government to the Resolutions unanimously passed in the Bengal Council on the 28th February, 1934 and the 28th January, 1938 urging upon the Government of India the necessity of giving military training so as to form a permanent unit for incorporation in the army. Sir, in view of the support given to the above Resolutions by all sections of the House in the Bengal Legislature it will be evident that the demand for military training in Bengal is a genuine one. That being the case, Sir, I would like to know as to the steps the Government propose to take to enable Bengalis to participate effectively in the various measures of defence which the military authorities may have to adopt in the case of foreign aggression.

With these few words, Sir, I support the two amendments so ably moved in this House.

THE HONOURABLE SIR RAMUNNI MENON (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I cannot help feeling that a certain amount of emotion has been introduced—perfectly naturally—into the discussion on this Resolution. I venture to submit, without any disrespect to the previous speakers, that the Resolution can be supported by an appeal to reason and common sense. In the first place I am very glad that the Resolution has been moved by my Honourable friend Sir David Devadoss. He is not a politician any more than I am, and the fact that a Resolution of this kind has been introduced by a non-politician and is being supported by another might to some extent help in assuaging, if not completely removing, the feeling of suspicion that seems to exist in certain quarters that this kind of Resolution is always inspired by political considerations.

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\* Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Sir Ramunni Menon.]

Coming to the Resolution itself, previous speakers have gone into historical considerations either as affording an explanation of the existing state of affairs or as justifying the demand that is contained in the Resolution. For my own part I do not think that anything of value will emerge from these historical considerations. The position as it stands at present is simply this, that recruitment to the Regular Army is practically confined to a very limited area and certain specified classes of India, and other areas and classes are excluded from it. I am not aware that the official view has attempted to justify the existing state of affairs on the ground that suitable military material is not available in the excluded areas and classes. As far as I am aware, the main arguments that are advanced in justification of the present system may be briefly summarized as follows. The army has to be kept at a very small size on account of financial considerations. That being so, it cannot find room in it for anything but the most efficient elements. Experience has shown that the present enlisting classes furnish very suitable and efficient material. Further, the multiplicity of languages and creeds in this country makes it undesirable—almost impossible—to include more than a very limited number of classes in the army, and therefore the present system is practically the best. To these arguments I think it will be permissible to add another. The present enlisting classes seem to have acquired a kind of vested interest. They seem to feel that the army is practically their preserve and naturally enough they are opposed to any change which will reduce their opportunities for a career. I venture to say that all these considerations are important and they should be accorded their due weight. But they are not the only considerations which have a bearing on the question at issue, and they cannot by themselves be allowed to determine it.

Now the principle underlying the Resolution, a very general principle, is simple and that is this, that every national who possesses the necessary qualifications should be given opportunities for sharing in the defence of his country. That is a principle to which no exception can be taken and I do not imagine that any exception will be taken from the official side. The importance of that principle has been substantially increased by recent constitutional changes and the need for its application has become somewhat urgent. The very conception of provincial autonomy carries with it the implication that a province should be allowed to provide for the maintenance of its internal security and to have a share in the defence of the country. I do not think that anybody will be disposed to dispute these contentions on theoretical grounds, and it is only overwhelming practical difficulties that can be allowed to stand in the way of their application in the building up of the defence forces of the country. Nobody has ever suggested that the scheme now in force should be suddenly given up. All that is meant by the Resolution is that a beginning should be made and that at least a certain number of units should be recruited from areas which are not now included in the areas of recruitment. It does not follow from the Resolution that any existing military unit should be disbanded. Certainly not. While all those who are in the army at present have a perfectly legitimate claim for being retained in

the army, it cannot be argued that the classes from whom recruitment is now made have any claims for the continuance of recruitment. Therefore, as vacancies arise, it should be possible by some kind of readjustment to set free a certain number of units in course of time which can be recruited from other territories. That is all, as far as I can see, that the Resolution, if accepted, will amount to.

Now, it cannot be supposed for one moment that this Resolution or resolutions of this kind can be supported only on the ground of sentiment. There is another justification, probably a far more important justification, from the point of view that is put forward by people like us. In this vast country, with its variety of creeds and castes, it is somewhat of a surprise that about 85 per cent. of the army has its provenance from about 30 per cent. of the total area of the country. I have seen that statement somewhere and I believe it is perfectly true. Now, it is not a question of distrusting any particular classes or the inhabitants of any particular area. The objection to this state of affairs would exist in all its force if the areas of recruitment were shifted either to the east or to the south. The objection is to the system itself. I maintain that it would be a perfectly legitimate apprehension on the part of the inhabitants of this country if they feel that they cannot always depend for the protection of their lives and property and for protection from external aggression on an army composed in this fashion. It is all right to say that we must get over our religious and class differences. I perfectly agree. It is no doubt deplorable that we have these differences in this country. But nothing is gained by shutting our eyes to the actual fact; and as long as that fact remains, nothing but an army having a wider area of distribution and composed of units drawn from different classes, between which there is a proper balance and counterpoise, nothing but such an army can ensure the sense of security and freedom from internal disorder in this country.

I therefore feel that for these reasons a change in the present system is absolutely necessary. I do not suggest that the change should be introduced at once. All that I need say is that, if His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will make a sympathetic gesture and agree to have this Resolution considered at his leisure fully and thoroughly, I for one shall be perfectly satisfied.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Sir, I should like if I may to congratulate the Mover of this Resolution and the Movers of the amendments on their able speeches. It must be remembered that recruitment to the Indian Army is at present on a class basis and not on a provincial basis. In other words the military authorities have found by experience that certain classes do, as a whole, make shall I say the most efficient soldiers and these classes are recruited for the army without regard to provincial boundaries.

I do not for a moment wish in any way to decry the merits of the Madrasis as soldiers; they have for long, and still do, serve with distinction in the army. I thoroughly endorse the remarks which have been made in their praise by those who have spoken today. Again, I have no wish to criticize the maxim that no

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

citizen, from whatever part of the world he may come, should be debarred from taking his share in the defence of his country. In theory that maxim cannot be criticized ; in practice it is impossible to put it into effect in a country of the size of India, the army of which amounts to about one three-thousandth part of its population. Madrasis make very good soldiers indeed, particularly when they are fighting in suitable climatic conditions. Financial considerations make it imperative however that we should retain as small an army as we can consistent with the efficient discharge of responsibilities of defence and the sole justification for the present policy is that it guarantees the best possible material for each branch of the army and therefore the highest possible return for the taxpayers' money. No one will agree, I think, that it would be in any way justifiable to disband, especially at this juncture, a good regiment and substitute another which might not be so good in order to satisfy provincial feeling. If this principle were pushed to its logical conclusion, the result would certainly be that India would not I am afraid have anything like the best army she could have as a whole.

Madrasis are, I would remind you, however, among the classes authorized for recruitment. They are recruited now in the Indian artillery, in the Sappers and Miners and in the Indian Signal Corps and there are a few also in other arms. In all of these they are doing extremely well. The actual strength of Madrasis in the army at present is 4,545.

As regards the Indian Air Force, officer ranks are open as you know to Madrasis as to everyone else and the same, of course, applies to the officer ranks of the army. Competition for 30 vacancies annually is entirely unrestricted and no class or province is given any preference here at all. It is only where the rank and file are concerned that we have to restrict ourselves to those classes which do, in point of fact appear to us at any rate, supply the best military material in bulk.

While, therefore, I have every sympathy with the desire of Madras to be more strongly represented in the army than at present, I must, with regret, oppose this Resolution. In doing so, I wish again to lay stress upon the fact that the policy which dictates the composition of the army, has nothing whatever of a political nature behind it but is prompted entirely by the determination to secure the best fighting material available, up to the limit of our financial resources.

As regards the amendments, I have already made it quite clear that the over-riding considerations of efficiency combined with economy, make it necessary for us to select certain classes for recruitment. We cannot afford to expand our army beyond certain limits and no one, I think, can hold the view that provincial as opposed to national interests are so strong that the best troops that we can obtain should be disbanded and others of perhaps less military value substituted for them.

There is really very little more to be said on this subject but, at the risk of repeating myself, I wish again to emphasize the fact that financial considerations unavoidably limit the size of our army and within those limits it must

be the best that we can create out of the material available. Here, if anywhere, national interests must come before provincial.

It is therefore evident that the reasons I have given for not accepting the main Resolution apply with even greater force to the amendments and I regret I am unable to accept them.

\*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muham-madan) : Mr. President, the Resolution which is being discussed today is a justification of the attitude which we took up in regard to the Army Recruitment Bill. India is anxious to fill the army with soldiers not only from the Punjab but from the whole of India. It is not the intention of the Nationalists to cripple the strength of the army at present. It was only an attempt to prevent a future occurrence.

Coming to this Resolution, Sir, we have to regret that the Indian caste system has been given official sanction and approval by the Government of India in the Defence Department. It is being condemned all through the country but the Defence Department says that it should be perpetrated and should remain for all time to come.

(At this stage the Honourable the President vacated the Chair which was taken by the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.)

The Mover of the Resolution and others have not suggested in so many words that the Punjab army should be disbanded.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS : No.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : They have not suggested that recruitment from the Punjab should be stopped. What they suggest is that there should be a broad basis for recruitment of the Indian defence forces in future. There is a safety valve by means of which we can reconcile the interests of the Punjab with the rest of India. Even if we leave the Punjab alone, there is, Sir, the brown army of occupation known as the Gurkhas who have nothing in common with us. They are foreigners to British India ; they will have no place in the future Federation of India. To all intents and purposes they are mercenaries and an army of occupation. Now, when His Majesty's Government is prepared and has sanctioned the reduction of the strength of the British Army in India by four battalions, it would not be too much to ask that future recruitment of Gurkhas should be stopped and in place thereof people from other parts of British India should be taken. The Gurkhas form about 19,000 men in the Army in India. That is, Sir, a very large number. If it could be distributed to the provinces which are not represented or are poorly represented in the defence forces, you would for the present at least satisfy us, because I believe in the old saying first deserve and then desire. I agree with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's predecessor's statement that we cannot afford to tamper with the army and make an experiment with the army ; we must be on secure ground on those cases, but you cannot condemn out of hand without trial a whole people and say that they are unfit for military

\* Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

service. The plea has been taken that they get the best value for the money in the army which we recruit at present. That might be so, but surely other considerations also must prevail, economic considerations, political considerations, the prospects of the future. It would be unthinkable to have autonomous provinces which have no military strength in them. We wish that there should be military traditions in the provinces demilitarized. The future is supposed to be based on a Federal basis. It would be wrong that only one part should supply the defence forces of India and the rest should be deprived of it. I could agree to a proposition that the one province which has been tried and found to be more efficient to have a greater share than its population and other circumstances would justify. But, Sir, the question before us is whether in the larger interests of the country we should not make even experiments to find out the capabilities of the people of British India living in other provinces. I am not going, Sir, to sing the praises of the Bengal Army but I can only say that the foundation of the British Empire in Northern India was laid with the help of the Bengal Army. And the only reason, Sir, why we believe that this army has incurred the displeasure of the Defence Department is that it indulged in what is called the Indian Mutiny, or what some people prefer to call the First War of Independence.

Sir, that is the main cause because at that time (1857) the Punjab Army could be relied upon and therefore it had the favour of the Defence Department. Sir, it would be not quite human, it would be angelic, if they were to forget the past and if they were not to give a premium to people whom they found to be loyal at the time of need. And it is for this reason, Sir, that we on this side would support this Motion on the distinct understanding that it would not in any way mean the disbanding of the Punjab regiments.

(At this stage the Honourable the President resumed the Chair.)

But, Sir, at a time like this, when no one knows what may happen in the future, when conditions are so fluid and so precarious, it is wrong to condemn a whole population of about 200 million people who live in the non-enlisted areas as unfit for military service.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Who has condemned them ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Because they are not eligible for enlistment in the Indian Army.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : That is quite a different thing.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : There is, Sir, a recruitment station at Gorakhpur which recruits people outside British India—I mean Gurkhas—but the Bhotpuris who have proved their mettle in many wars from 1757 onwards are not eligible for enrolment in the Indian forces. People living next door to the recruitment officer are not eligible but people living across the border are eligible and he goes out of his way to recruit them. These, Sir, are things which may have had some justification at a time when the British Government controlled the destinies of the people of India. But with the

grant of provincial autonomy and the prospect of the establishment of a more democratic centre, it is necessary that the basis should also be broadened. We do not mind if the pace is slow. We would not, Sir, object if only a beginning is made but we seriously object, Sir, to condemnation without trial. It is this that is happening to people outside the recruitment areas. The defence of the country, Sir, is a privilege in which all of us wish to join. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief pointed out that the strength of the Army in India gives a ratio of one in three thousand. But, Sir, while the proportion may be so infinitesimal, the size of the provinces should also be taken into consideration. They are bigger than many of the European countries. One presidency, the Madras Presidency, has a larger population than England, Scotland and Ireland. If you have a small quota and a large population, that will nevertheless give you a quite substantial number. An infinitesimal proportion in a small country would not give us any workable basis. But considering the size of the provinces in India, the divergence of the conditions in the provinces, it is essential that the future policy of the Defence Department should be less exclusive and more broad-minded. The consideration of pounds, shillings and pence is all right. We have been asking the Defence Department all the time to consider authorized methods of retrenchment and it would ill-suit us to ask them to squander any money. But, in matters like this, we would want an experiment to find out the suitability or unsuitability of people, and I think in the larger interests of the country the Defence Department would be well advised to embark on a practical test of the capacities of the people in different parts of British India.

With these words, Sir, I support the amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, I desire to support the Resolution which has been moved so ably by our respected friend Sir David Devadoss, as also the amendments which have been moved by the distinguished Leader of the Congress Party Mr. Pantulu, and our esteemed friend Sir A. P. Patro. His Excellency, Sir, has very frankly told us that recruitment to the Indian Army is based upon a class basis and not on a provincial basis. Now, Sir, I want to examine the implications of that statement. What is going to be your objective hereafter ? Your objective hereafter is Dominion status. Your objective is complete responsible government. Your objective is an Indian Federation. Now, is it not right, is it not proper, that you should revise your policy in regard to recruitment in the light of your declared objective ? Why should a province which contributes to the central revenues be denied the opportunity of serving in the Indian Army ? You cannot have Madras contributing to the revenues of India and then deny her sons the opportunity of serving in the Indian forces. You cannot have Bombay contributing to the central revenues and then have those central revenues spent upon one particular province—the Punjab. Sir, I think the future of Indian self-government will not be safe if we do not base our army upon a national basis. We, Sir, stand for the abolition of caste. We, Sir, stand for the breaking down of class barriers, and we who stand for the abolition of caste and for the breaking down of class barriers cannot support an

[Mr. P. N. Saprū.]

army which is based upon class and caste considerations. Sir, we do not want an army which will be dominated by one particular caste.

Then, Sir, a practical suggestion was made by my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Iram. He referred to the brown army of occupation, namely, the Gurkha army. Now, Sir, Nepal is not a part of India. Nepal is an independent State. Why should you get soldiers from Nepal? You deny an opportunity to His Majesty's subjects to serve in the army but you take 19,000 men from an independent kingdom for service in the country. If you are going to recruit from Nepal then why not recruit your army from Afghanistan? Why not recruit your army from China? Why not recruit your army from French Morocco? (*An Honourable Member*: "Or Germany?") Sir, I hate Germany and Italy so much that I would not even name them. Well, I think it is not right that any part of our money should be spent upon people who are not our subjects. You say that the efficiency of your army will be affected if you revised your army policy. Now, Sir, for that we have got to go back into the past. Before 1857, you had the Madras Army, you had the Bengal Army, you had the Bombay Army, and I think it is generally agreed that these armies were very efficient armies. The Honourable Sir David Devadoss was able to tell us a great deal about the glories of the Madras Army. The Honourable

1 P.M.

Sir A. P. Patro pointed out that to the foundation of the British Empire the Madras people contributed a great deal. I do not know whether I can put that down as something to their credit, but, however, they helped in the foundation of the Empire and they are entitled to get something out of that Empire. Why did you change your policy after 1857? The reason for that is a political reason. If you want to understand that political reason, you have to read the evidence given before certain Commissions that were appointed between 1857 and 1879; you have to read the history of the period between 1857 and 1880. The real reason was a political reason. You do not trust the other provinces. You had a particular trust in the Punjabi. You had found him a creature who could be manipulated. We have heard a great deal about the glory of the Punjab and about their valour and all that sort of thing. But my Punjabi friends will forgive me if I say that they are lacking in guts, and they submit to domination or to bullying more easily than the people of the other provinces. What happened in the Punjab during the martial law days is inconceivable in any other part of the country. The Punjabi stands on a different footing from the rest of India. You have got to remember that modern war is not a war of professional soldiers. Brains count so far as modern wars are concerned and I have no doubt that so far as brains are concerned, we, who come from the other provinces have a very great deal of contribution to make to the Punjabi. So far as brains are concerned, people from Madras, Bombay and Bengal will have many lessons to give to our Punjabi friends. Therefore, you have to revise your policy in the light of present-day requirements. Sir, His Excellency was pleased to say, "It is all right that citizens should be allowed to have a share in the army. I do not dispute the validity of this principle. But it is impossible to put it into practice immediately". It is not suggested by the Honourable Mr. Pantulu or Sir A. P. Patro that the present army should be disbanded.

We are more concerned with the future than with the past. What has been suggested is that a beginning, a very very serious beginning, should be made so far as the future is concerned. Try and give a more national basis to your army so far as the future is concerned. That is the suggestion embodied in this Resolution. If you reduce the number of British troops in India, it will be possible for you to increase recruitment from the other provinces. You can provide for more soldiers from the other provinces by recruiting less men from the Punjab, by reducing the number of British troops and by stopping entirely the recruitment of foreigners, who in the language of my esteemed friend Mr. Hossain Imam, are no better than mercenaries. It is unnecessary to dilate on this Resolution at any length. Much has been said about it by other Honourable Members. But I should like to point out one fact regarding the recruiting centres. You have recruiting centres at Peshawar in the North West Frontier Province, at Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Lahore in the Punjab, at Delhi, at Meerut, Agra, Lucknow and Gorakhpur in the United Provinces. You have a recruiting centre at Gorakhpur because you want this mercenary army from Nepal. You have no recruiting officers or centres in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. I do not think you have any recruiting centres in Madras either.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU :** Bangalore.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** But that is not in Madras. That is in an Indian State. Burma is no concern of ours, and I am not therefore referring to recruiting centres in Burma. Why can't you have recruiting centres in provinces where you are not recruiting? You can also make a very serious beginning by extending the scope of your auxiliary and territorial forces. That would hardly be relevant to the Resolution. That is a separate proposition altogether. But it is possible, I suggest to you in all seriousness, to give a more national basis to your army without impairing the efficiency of the army. We are as much interested in the efficiency of our army as the British Government. Who will suffer more than the people of India if the integrity of India is threatened? Therefore, if you will substitute for your present policy a policy of greater trust in the people, it will be possible for you to give a more national basis to the army. Otherwise, you will have one day or other to face the dangers which were pointed out by the Honourable Sir A. P. Patro. He is a very, very moderate man, and therefore his words should carry weight with you. We on this side of the House are more extreme than Sir A. P. Patro, and when Sir A. P. Patro thinks that there are dangers in your present policy, you must really begin to think seriously! It must be assumed that he is right and you are wrong!

With these words, Sir, I have very great pleasure in supporting the Resolution and the amendments.

**\*THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) :** Sir, I give my whole-hearted support to the principle underlying both the Resolution and the amendments. Sir, I do not think

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\* Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

I need make a very long speech inasmuch as my Honourable friends who have spoken in support of the Resolution and of the amendments have made out quite a strong case, a case which could not be refuted either by facts or in theory. Sir, the first reason for my support is on account of the necessity for a change in the policy and programme of the military authorities in India. Sir, as we all know, the Government of the country is no longer the sole concern of the British bureaucrat now. The people of the country have been associated in the administration of their own country. It has also been admitted in the Government of India Act that the defence of the country should become increasingly the concern of the people of the country. In view of all this and of the fact that the provinces have been given autonomy, it is necessary that the people of the country should be given greater opportunities to take part in the defence of their land.

Sir, I do not think I need say anything much about the suitability of the Madrasis or of the people of those provinces who are not duly represented in the Indian Army. As to their fitness to serve in the defence services of the country my Honourable friend Sir David Devadoss has proved both from ancient history and from the facts as we find them today that the Madrasi is in no way inferior to any other Indian soldier. My esteemed friend Mr. Pantulu has also quoted the remarks of a former Commander-in-Chief who admitted that the Madrasi was in no way inferior to any other Indian soldier. It is but natural, Sir, that every patriotic citizen should feel an ambition to take part in the defence of his own hearth and home. It is therefore just and fair that the people of the country should be given equal opportunity to satisfy this ambition, and if anybody is condemned it should be on very just and proved grounds.

Some of my friends have observed that it is wrong to condemn any people out of hand without giving them a trial and that the policy now followed in the Army Department condemns people without trial. But I go a step further and say that it is not only condemning people without trial but it is denying justice to people and it is denying a fact which has been proved to the hilt. The history of the early British in India has shown that there is no part of India from which they could not draw sufficiently good material for their army. Every part of India, and particularly Madras, made a very great contribution to the wars that were fought by the British in India. In addition to that there is the fact that even now you have in some parts of our province, the western part of Madras Presidency in particular, people who are in no way inferior to the best of the soldiers in any part of India. Anybody who has visited Malabar will not deny that the Moplahs in Malabar are as good and as hardy and as martial a people as the Punjabi or any other Indian soldier from any other part of India.

But, Sir, as has been observed by some of my friends here, we have no grudge against the Punjabi. All that we want is that this readjustment and redistribution should take place gradually and that it should be done not at the expense of the Punjabi, to whom we do not grudge the share he has now got

in the army, but it should be done by replacing the foreign element in the Indian Army, especially the Gurkhas and Nepalese and such other people who have no attachment to the country at all and who are serving in the army only to earn their living and who have been described by Mr. Hossain Imam as brown mercenaries. For these reasons I support the 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 MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY** (East Bengal : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, I rise to support the amended Resolution. My friends who have spoken before me have dealt amply on past services rendered by India in the army. Although Bengal also made some humble contribution to those services for which she has made some atonement by recent political activities, I shall not deal with them as that is a history of shame for India showing how they had fought against their countrymen and introduced foreign domination. Now that this foreign domination is going to be gradually removed—and that I venture to submit at no distant date—it is high time that we should have a national army of our own. Although there are great differences in habits and customs amongst the people of India, and this is made much of by those in authority now, a national army enlisted on a national basis will have a great levelling influence when we fight side by side on the battle-fields. The policy of recruiting from one or two provinces cannot therefore be justified in any way. Perhaps it was introduced after the Sepoy Mutiny and must be given up now. On account of the development of the air and naval forces and specially because both Italy and Japan may be ranged against us and Russia on our side, India will be more vulnerable to an air or a naval attack and must be defended on all sides. Moreover the policy of favouring one community and setting it up against another is very dangerous. According to Mr. Jinnah 65 to 70 per cent. of the Indian Army are Muslims.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU** : It is not correct.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY** : That is what Mr. Jinnah says.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU** : His figures are wrong.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY** : There has of late arisen a move on the part of the Muhammadian community to form a Pakistan system of government. It is therefore high time that the army should be a national one, so that no one community should be able to predominate over the others. The only grounds advanced by His Excellency are the question of finance and efficiency. Well, Sir, those questions can be solved by the reduction or total abolition of the European element

[Mr. Kumarsankar Ray Chaudhury.]

which costs four times as much. The British Committee just announced is coming to India shortly and the Government should press for the removal of the British troops or that their cost should be placed upon the British estimates. My friend Mr. Hossain Imam has already spoken about the Gurkhas and I need not dilate upon the matter. Then the next question was the question of efficiency. With the gradual process of mechanization of the armies it is intelligence and alertness that is more necessary than mere physical strength and there is no ground for saying that the Punjab has a monopoly of these qualities. The British Army stationed in India in an uncongenial climate is certainly less efficient than the Indian Army and should be replaced on that ground.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB (Nominated Non-Official) :** Sir, before going into the discussion on the Resolution, I would like to say a few words about the important announcement which was made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning. While I must express my gratification, and, probably, the gratification of a large number of the Members of this House (Applause) on the enormous sum of money which the British Government have decided to contribute towards the expenses of the Indian Army, I cannot fail to express my disappointment at the decision to reduce the Indian Army at the present time. Mr. President, I am not a general or a soldier, but from the point of view of a layman I do not find any wisdom in reducing the army in India while we find that every other country in the world is arming itself to the teeth ; that the clouds of war are gathering very thick on the horizon of the world cannot be doubted. About a month ago when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was in Prague he thought the chances of war and peace were 40 to 60. Even at that time I thought that the chances of war to peace were 60 to 40, but the news which we have received during the last two or three days, and particularly the speech which was delivered by the Dictator of Germany, Hitler, last night has brought the chances of war much nearer and today I consider that the chances of war are 80 to 20. That being so, I do not think that any country would be justified in reducing its army at the present moment. I think the British Government and the army authorities in India must have considered twice before they came to this decision.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The Council and the Assembly will have another opportunity of discussing this matter and I think now it will be better if you confine yourself to the Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB :** I will not say a word more about it. As the announcement was made this morning I thought that it would be in the fitness of things if I were to make few observations on the statement.

As regards the Resolution before the House, it is interesting to note that during this session in this House, as well as in the other House, military questions have come up more than once and it is also interesting to note that the Members of the Central Legislature are showing so much interest in the army

in India. This ought to be considered a matter of satisfaction to a certain extent. But, Sir, the way in which this question has been handled is not very satisfactory and does not seem to be very encouraging. Great objection has been taken by Honourable Members in this House, as well as in the other place, over making recruitment the monopoly of certain classes or over the division of martial and non-martial classes. Well, Sir, the division of martial and non-martial classes is not the creation of the British Government. This division was created thousands of years ago by the predecessors of the Honourable Members who have spoken against it. When humanity was divided, in perpetuity, into four classes, namely, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas, and the Sudras, the occupations of each class, which later on assumed the name of caste, were fixed in perpetuity. It was then that only one class of humanity in India was considered as fit for being recruited to the Army and the three other classes were excluded. The result was that the demilitarization of those classes for thousands and thousands of years has rendered them now unfit for becoming soldiers and for being recruited to the army. Of course, among the Mussalmans there were no such classes; we had no Sudras or Kshatriyas or Vaishyas or Brahmins, and all classes among the Mussalmans were warlike. So much so, that even some of our slaves were great generals in our armies. But since we migrated to this country and adopted the social systems and habits of the people of this country, we also have turned our occupations and callings into castes, and the result has been that a number of people belonging to certain occupations have been demilitarized and have become unfit for serving in the army.

Mr. President, by teaching the people drill or telling them how to right turn and left turn and shoulder arms and all that, you cannot make them soldiers. It certainly requires military traditions for several centuries. It requires courage and indifference to death. It requires great valour in one's blood to become a great soldier and therefore it would not be right to say that every man who is born in the country can become a soldier or be recruited to the army. The Commander-in-Chief has told us this morning that there is no statutory prohibition against the recruitment of the people of any province or any presidency. People of all the provinces and presidencies, if they are fit to become soldiers, are entitled to be recruited. But, Sir, we do not require the non-violent and non-combatant militia at which the Congress is aiming. On the other hand, we require in the Indian Army a real soldier who will be able to fight the battles of the country against the military forces of other countries. We do not want the sort of army which, Sodà, a famous Indian poet has described in one of his couplets when he said :

"Sawar voh jo gre sote charpai se  
Piyoda voh jo dare sar mondate nai se",

which means that the cavalryman of the army was so efficient a rider that he would fall off his bed at night when sleeping, and the infantryman was so brave that he felt afraid of his barber when he opened his razor to shave his head! Well, we do not want soldiers of that type, whether they come from Madras, Bengal or Bombay, or the Punjab, or any other place. On the other hand, we want real soldiers.

[Sir Muhammad Yakub.]

Now, Sir, it has been said—and certain friends of mine have shown great pride in the past history of their provinces—and they said that their people did this and that and that they fought their own countrymen for the British Government and established the foundations of the British Empire in this country. I think, Sir, that if the people of certain provinces and presidencies, in the past, proved traitors to their own people and fought for the foreigners, the foreign Government will have to think twice before trusting in such traitors of the past. The people who were traitors to their countrymen cannot be expected to be loyal to a foreign government. (*An Honourable Member* : “Dangerous doctrine.”)

Well, Sir, again, great stress has been laid on forming a national army in India. Several speakers have said that, unless you have recruitment from all the provinces you cannot have a national army in this country. Well, I would ask my Honourable friends to tell me whether they have got a nation in this country, whether they have a nation in this country, whether the opportunities which were given to them during the last 18 months have been utilized by them to come nearer the idea of nationality in this country. If you have got dissension and your people are divided among themselves so that my friend Mr. Chaudhury is afraid of the domination of the Punjab in the country because they consists mostly of Mussalmans, then I say it is idle to talk of a national army, when you have got no nation in the country.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY** : It was Mr. Jinnah who introduced the subject.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB** : It was not Mr. Jinnah but he said that in reply to certain questions which were put by certain Honourable Members like yourself !

Sir, during the Great War, I am told that a great leader of one of these provinces and presidencies—I will not name it—went to see the commanding officer of his province and made the same request which has been made by my friend the Mover of the Resolution this morning, that more people from his province should be taken into the army. Well, the commanding officer said : “ My dear Sir, your people have not proved their valour. Experience shows that they are not efficient soldiers and therefore we cannot enlist any more of them ”. But the leader said : “ We are as brave, we are as good soldiers as anybody else, and I am here to put to the test my gallantry if you like ”. Well the army commander said : “ All right, you had better sit down on the chair and my orderly will come and shoot through your hat and I will see whether you are nervous or not ”. Well, the great leader of the province sat tight in the chair with his hat on his head, and the orderly came and shot through his hat and the bullet went clean through it. Then the commanding officer said : “ Well, Sir, you have proved your valour ; really you are a brave man, and now we will see what we can do for you ”. When he was leaving, the commander asked his orderly to bring another new hat for this gentleman because his hat had a hole right through it. As the orderly was going to bring

the hat, the leader of the province said : " Well, Sir, I am afraid I shall also require a new pair of trousers " ! And this was the way in which he proved his valour and his capacity for enlistment in the army. I do not know how far things have changed since then.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You had better come to the Resolution now.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : This is all about the Resolution, Sir. I am showing how it will not be possible to make reckless recruitment from all the provinces and from all the classes and communities without seeing whether they are fit to become good soldiers or not.

The Honourable the Mover of the Resolution said that the people of Madras were very superior in intellect and therefore they must be taken in the army. But the other gentleman from his province, the Honourable Sir A. P. Patro, said that it is not the intellectual man who is fit to become a soldier, but it is only the peasant in the field who is able to become a soldier. Therefore, that argument was demolished by his own friend himself.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : On a personal explanation, Sir—

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

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : I am not giving way.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : You are misrepresenting me.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : No, I am not. I do not doubt the intellectual superiority of my friends from Southern India, from Madras, and it is for this reason that we generally say that the Government of India is being run by Madrasis and Chaprasis ! They have got their reward for their high intellect. In fact, they predominate the Finance Department of the Government of India, and they hold the purse strings of the Government of India, which is more important than becoming an ordinary soldier. I think that my friends from Madras should not have any grievance if their number in the army is a bit smaller than it ought to have been.

A suggestion has been made that the number of Gurkhas in the army should be reduced and that this Resolution does not aim at the reduction of the quota from the Punjab. I do not think how it can be practical ? If you increase the number of recruits and divide it among the different provinces, it is necessary that the quota from the Punjab should be reduced, if not today at least tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Honourable Members have said that they do not want this reduction today. This quota may not be reduced today, but slowly the number of recruits in the other provinces will increase and it will be necessary that the quota of the Punjab should be reduced, and that for the reasons which have been explained by my Honourable friend Mr. Chaudhury.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Your time is exhausted. Will you please bring your remarks at a close ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : As regards the reduction of Gurkhas, at other times I would not have made any objection, but at the present time, when the clouds of war are threatening, it would not be wise for the Government of India to make a new experiment. Of course, in times of peace, when there is no danger of war, this experiment can be beneficially adopted.

For these reasons, Sir, and agreeing with the reasons which have been given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning, I oppose the Resolution in the form in which it has been proposed.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, I heartily support the Resolution and the amendments. I am extremely glad to find that the scene has been shifted from this side to that side of the House. In 1935, my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru moved a Resolution about recruitment and at that time the then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Philip Chetwode, trotted out the argument that there were administrative difficulties and so he could not accept the Resolution. In order to give an opportunity to the Government to explain to the country whether there were really administrative difficulties and in order to solve those difficulties satisfactorily I moved a Resolution in the last Budget session for the appointment of a committee to go into these matters. I was then attacked by my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro for moving that Resolution. Even now I have no fetish for committees. But I wanted to see whether the Government were really honest and whether there were really any insurmountable difficulties. So I wanted to give them a chance. The same arguments that have been urged since 1935 have been trotted out also this morning against the Resolution and the amendments. I exhaustively dealt with this matter in the last Budget session and I do not want to repeat what I said then. But my earnest appeal to the Government is this. We, Indians, regard that there is some political motive behind this division of classes into martial and non-martial. No arguments are necessary to prove that there is some motive. The past history of India since 1857, the history of India during the 1857 troubles, clearly shows that there are political motives behind this policy and that this policy has been intentionally followed since 1857. Sir, I do not want to refer to past history, but I cannot but refer to certain matters about the past history of certain provinces from which recruits were taken and who fought, whether for the British people or against the British Government, in the past wars that were fought in India. I belong to a class which tried to establish a Mahratta Empire throughout the world. I think that people of other provinces do not need reminding from me that we, the Mahrattas, had come to Delhi. It is no use repeating the past glorious traditions about our martial character. If there is a will, if the Government really desire that British India should have Dominion status, if really the British statesmen desire to lead us to the status of a Dominion, then they cannot run away from the position and they must make efforts to establish a national army in India. If they fail

to establish a national army in India they are sure to come in conflict with the autonomous provinces that have been established under the present Act. Sir, I am extremely glad to find that today there is a large number of Honourable Members of this House who are for recruitment, and I am sorry that the worst sinners in the matter of anti-recruitment are the Government of India who are having a propaganda against recruitment. You do not want a recruitment Bill here after today's debate. So many Honourable Members who hold divergent views on political matters are unanimous in their demand for a national army recruited from all the provinces in India. If the Government of India desire to encourage recruitment and to put down dissuasion from recruitment, if they are really sincere and if they do not distrust Indians, they cannot but change the present policy of differentiating between martial and non-martial classes. I have no grudge against the Punjabis and the Muhammadans and the tribal people of the Frontier, but I do have a grudge against those who are not my countrymen. The Gurkhas are not my countrymen. I have a grudge against those foreigners who are paid out of the pockets of the Indian taxpayer and who have great influence in shaping the defence policy of this Government.

If it is a sin to desire a national army recruited from all the provinces, then I plead guilty to the sin of saying that we must have a national army if we want to have real Dominion status. My Honourable friend just now said that the clouds of war are hanging over us and I would like to impress upon the Government that this is just the time to reconsider their policy and to abolish this artificial distinction between martial and non-martial classes, to consider the situation in the autonomous provinces which have been recently created and enlist the army from all the provinces. I therefore, Sir, heartily support the Resolution and the amendments.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West: Muhammadan): Sir, the House has before it the case of both the sides ably supported by various Members from each side. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has given us only two reasons for not accepting the Resolution. One is that he wants the efficiency of the army. The other is that recruitment is not by provinces but is based on class system. So far as those two points are concerned I wholeheartedly support His Excellency so far as the principle of recruitment for the army is concerned. But I fail to understand how those two reasons affect the Resolution and why on those grounds His Excellency is not prepared to accept it. It is not said in the Resolution or in the amendment that the class distinction must be abolished or that the recruitment should be made from those classes who have been proved by experience to be unfit for the army. What it says is only that the recruitment should be made from all provinces. His Excellency will find that the people who are fit to be recruited for the army are residing in almost every province and in large numbers. Why should this Resolution be not acceptable to him on that ground? It does not ask that recruitment should be made from a particular class which does not come within the definition of a martial class, the list of which was prepared by the Government some time ago and

[Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.]

on considerations other than the consideration of their being a martial or non-martial class, and it is high time that the list was revised. It should not now be based on the experience of the past, and by past I mean the period preceding the preparation of the list. It should be based now on the experience gained in the recent war and particularly in view of the changes in the army itself and the methods of warfare. I entirely agree with His Excellency that you cannot altogether avoid some distinction among classes particularly in recruiting for the army, because certain classes of people have a tradition which means a good deal so far as the fighting spirit is concerned. So far as that goes I support that point of view in every respect. At the same time I would request the Government Benches to consider that the Resolution in no way affects that point of view. I admit that there are certain classes in this country, and may be elsewhere, who consider it a crime to kill even a poisonous snake. There are classes who consider it a sin to kill even a fly. There is another growing class committed to the principle of non-violence, and that is infecting even some of the martial classes as well. Some of them are becoming members of the Congress. They subscribe to the creed of non-violence. I must say that I sympathize a great deal with His Excellency in not wishing to have an army of non-violent Congressmen who are likely to squat before the Germans or the Japanese army and perform Satyagraha! (*An Honourable Member*: "It is the best material".) But that is not the material which is wanted in the army; that is not the material wanted for defending the Frontier. That is a material which is very effective for purposes of political bluff and for putting pressure on the Government! But where there is real violence as in warfare, an army of that material is entirely useless and can be washed out of consideration. (*An Honourable Member*: "You do not understand the Congress".) I do not know whether my friend was a member of the Congress when I was. The principle of non-violence was put forward for the first time before the Congress when I was a member of that body and I had a good deal to do with it. I put a question to Mahatma Gandhi as to what would happen, if, supposing by any means we established our own Government and the British Government only left one soldier behind with a whip in his hand with directions to go round and turn out all the judges and magistrates from their court rooms? He said: "I will do nothing; he will get tired himself"! So, that was the principle of non-violence which was said and which I understood. Anyway, that is about one of the classes. There are other classes of people in this country and not in this country alone but everywhere, who are absolutely unfit for military services. But it does not follow that the Resolution or the amendment should not be accepted. You can certainly choose for military service people who are fit for it and it cannot be said that in Madras—or in other provinces—people of that type do not exist. Why Madras, Bihar, Assam and Bengal have been ignored by the military authorities is difficult to say. Of course, some of my Honourable friends pointed out that it is more political reason than the excuse of martial classes and I agree with them. It does not matter whether this Resolution is accepted or not or whether it goes through or falls, the army list of martial classes must be overhauled and reconsidered. In

that connection, before I pass on to the next point, I would point out that I am one of those who are not included in the list of martial classes, that is Saiyeds, and I want to draw the attention of the military authorities that Saiyeds were the first people to come to this country and I am here to accept challenge from any military man so far as martial spirit is concerned. Therefore the list of martial classes was not prepared on the merits alone but there were other considerations also in its preparation which should be left out now.

Now, the second point was the efficiency of the army. As I said, I entirely agree that the efficiency of the army should be maintained very strictly and no doubt the choice should be left to the people who are responsible for Defence. No Commander-in-Chief or officer would take the responsibility of leading an army composed of people in whom he has no confidence. It is a pity that Indians have not as much control as they desire in the Defence Department. It is regrettable that those who are responsible for that are people who have different considerations in deciding upon the class of people from whom they recruit. But as long as they are there and as long as we are not able to change that system, the thing no doubt must be left to those who are responsible for leading the army. But we want to draw the attention of those responsible people who have the class system or political considerations in their mind, that they will always find in almost every province in this country people whom they can choose even according to their own standard of choice. Therefore I would submit that the Resolution and the amendments are such which ought to be accepted and the reasons given against them do not really go against the spirit of the Resolution.

One thing I want to make clear on behalf of my Party, i.e., the Muslim League. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam and the Honourable Mr. Padshah both have already spoken, but I do not know whether it was quite clear to the House or not. I had a talk about that with the Mover of the Resolution also. It must be understood that this Party is supporting the Resolution and the amendment on this condition that the recruitment from other provinces should be done with a view to replace these four battalions about which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief announced today and the Gurkhas and should in no way affect the recruitment in the Punjab.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Why, Sir? What are the reasons for it?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: My Honourable friend has asked the reason and I think it is fair to him that I should give it. My Honourable friend ought to understand that the number of martial races is much more in the Punjab than elsewhere. If in the army there are more Sikhs, if in the army there are more Mussalmans, and if there are more Jats, they are there not only because they are pets of the Government, they are there because they know how to serve in the military; they sacrifice their lives more cheaply and readily than people in other provinces. That is one of the reasons. The other reason is the fear that you find in the speech of Mr. Chaudhury, i.e., the domination of the Mussalmans in the army. If he does not like that and if he does not want them I want them.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY :** More than your fair share ?

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** Much more than our share and for the reason that we are much more competent than you are.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Question.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** You have tested the metal of Mussalmans for centuries and they have proved their competency to the hilt not only to you but to the world, and they can claim their lion's share in the army. It is not only past history, but they have again proved it very recently. Forty-two rebels in Turkey have proved to the world their guts. These are the reasons---

**THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY :** They are not of the same blood.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** They may not be of the same blood. A Mussalman is a soldier not because he belongs to a certain race, but because of his religion. It is his religion which makes him a soldier. If a Mussalman dies in war he is a Shaheed and if he survives he is a Gazi.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY :** That is also the precept among the Hindus. A man goes straight to heaven if he dies on the battle-field.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** They have not proved it in practice. I will give you an instance. It was only on the 6th of September that I was cross-examining a witness in an important murder case at Allahabad and I asked him : " Why did you not make a statement for ten days after the incident ? " He said : " Sir, immediately I saw the murder I ran away to a village outside Allahabad city leaving my wife alone behind in the house ". Well, I remarked : " It does not seem to be very fair to your wife " and the Judge who knew more about the mentality of his own people, i.e., Hindus, said " Mr. Muhammad Husain, don't you see, that is the mentality of these people ". These are the reasons for which I want---

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** It is all wrong.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** It is all very well to say in this comfortable room " It is all wrong ", but it has to be proved in a field. That is why I say that the Punjab should be left alone.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution and the amendments.

**THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BUTA SINGH (Punjab : Sikh) :** Sir, I must begin by sympathizing with the motives of the Mover of this Resolution. The problem of the defence of this country is an all-India problem and it is my opinion that the whole of India should be prepared to defend and to maintain our precious heritage of peace. I may, however, say that with the army

as with other professions, inheritance and tradition are factors which cannot be ignored. Other provinces may as well leave soldiering to provinces that have hitherto been the recruiting ground for the army. I do not, however, deny that every province of India should have a militia of its own. We have the smallest army in the world compared with our long frontiers both on land and sea. The army can only remain effective if it is composed of picked men whose fighting qualities have been tested in far-flung battle-fields of the Empire. Today when the skies are overcast with clouds of war, I definitely feel that we cannot take the risk of impairing the effectiveness of our army.

I am sorry Mr. Sapru questioned the possession of guts by us Punjabis. We are proud of the achievements of our forefathers and our present record is not less bright than that of the past. I can only submit that, if bravery can be proved in battle-fields, then there is ample proof. But if, on the other hand, proof consists of mere speeches, then I concede that Punjab may be a little behind. Punjab says less but does more. Though with some provinces it is otherwise.

Sir, I oppose the Resolution in the form in which it has been moved by my Honourable friend Sir David Devadoss, and also the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Pantulu.

\*THE HONOURABLE CHAUDHRI ATAULLAH KHAN TARAR (East and West Punjab : Muhammadan): Mr. President, my friend the Honourable Sir David Devadoss has moved a Resolution urging upon the Government the desirability of making future recruitment to the army from the Madras Presidency. The Resolution has justifiably been followed up by two amendments advancing the claims of other provinces as well.

The Resolution has engaged the serious attention of the House and I feel that it has aroused the keen interest of almost all the Honourable Members and a consensus of opinion seems to me to be strongly in favour of the Resolution. I, however, fail to see eye to eye with the Honourable Mover, and cannot, on grounds of public importance rather than on account of any prejudice, subscribe myself to the proposition.

I hail from the Punjab and naturally it is my duty as well as my right to speak on behalf of my province. The bulk of the people of the Punjab are afflicted with illiteracy. The only career open to them is in the military service and they are eminently fitted as events have proved. The hard life and the family traditions that have been handed down from past generations strengthen the Punjabis' case for priority in their claim to military recruitment. If, however, even this door is closed upon them, their fate as a people is sealed.

A Punjabi soldier gets about Rs. 18 a month, a miserable pittance compared to the fat salary of say Rs. 1,800 drawn by a Madrasi. The former earns this paltry sum at the risk of his life ; his is a hard duty unenviable while the latter rolls in luxury and yet I wonder why my Honourable friend would wish

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\* The Honourable Member spoke in Hindustani and submitted this translation of his speech.

[Chaudhri Atallah Khan Tarar.]

the Madrasis to make active service their career. Will they do so or have they ever done that before ?

Some of the Honourable Members in the course of their speeches have expressed themselves in favour of recruitment from other provinces as well in addition to the Punjab. In other words, they have sought to introduce the principle of provincial equality in the matter of recruitment. The population of the Punjab is nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores while the total Indian population is nearly 35 crores. Should the principle of provincial equality be applied the Punjab would suffer immensely as a consequence inasmuch as the Punjab's quota would fall short of the present strength by nearly one-half. And that means untold suffering for my province—suffering that would be the direct outcome of unemployment. The only other alternative whereby the usual number of the Punjab's soldiers can be maintained would be the proposal to double the strength of the Indian forces. That however is, for obvious reasons, out of the question.

Since the people of Madras and other provinces are better qualified for civil offices and have nearly wholly captured clerical jobs in all branches of Government, I wonder why they should wish to oust from the army the Punjabi who, unfortunately partly on account of his illiteracy, has only a military career to depend upon.

I am only repeating a fact when I say that every man being more or less endowed with different capacities is fitted for a particular work. The same rule applies to members of different provinces. By their very mode of life, their traditions, their physical build and their proverbial fighting spirit, the Punjabis possess all the qualities that make for fine soldiers. In a small village in the Punjab you may be able to raise a full battalion while I doubt very much if in a whole division of Madras you can meet one real soldier.

The Honourable Members are well aware of the fact that most of the provinces excluding the Punjab are under Congress rule. That is obviously due to their having adopted the Congress ideals. Now, we also know that the Congress creed hinges itself round the much-boasted principle of non-violence. Should this spirit of non-violence also permeate the military recruited from Congress-ridden provinces, defeats and not victories would be the net result and in case of war, such armies may refuse even to defend themselves.

And should however these gentlemen change their creed and their mentality they might very well choose to fight against their own employers, *i.e.*, the Government of India. My friend the Honourable Mr. Kalikar in the course of his speech, pointed out that the Simon Commission in their report paid a tribute to the intelligence of the Madrasi. I would be the last person to grudge my friend this encomium. But the Madrasi's intelligence will best serve the country in lines of a technical or clerical nature. Physical build and loyalty to King and country are the two outstanding qualities that make a soldier. These the Punjabis possess in an eminent degree, while the Madrasis have a shaky constitution that disqualifies them for a military career.

I would further like to point out that should Government, in spite of the arguments I have urged in favour of recruitment from the Punjab, still decide the other way about, it will be raising armies only against itself.

In view of what I have said, I oppose the Resolution with all the force at my command.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to give my support to the amendment moved by the Leader of my Party to the Resolution which has been tabled by the Honourable Sir David Devadoss. Before I speak on the Resolution I congratulate the last speaker on the very fine speech which he made in Hindustani and I wish that I could also be allowed to speak in Hindustani. Unfortunately, the rules do not give you latitude and therefore I cannot plead for it. (*An Honourable Member* : "You have forgotten Hindi".) No, that is my mother tongue and I can speak better in my own mother tongue than in any other language. (*An Honourable Member* : "Is not Gujrati your mother tongue?") Gujrati is my second tongue. (*An Honourable Member* : "You have got two mother tongues?") Yes, Sir. We know, in India, we have a mother of whom we are born and we have also—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Anyway you speak in English now !

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : I am speaking in English, Sir.

I congratulate the Mover on his bringing forward the Resolution which voices the deep and abiding feelings of the people of India and on the ability with which he has supported it. He has argued very eloquently for his Resolution. I am sure he would also accept the amendment moved by the Honourable Mr. Pantulu. He has not said so yet, but he knows that there is an amendment and I assume that he is not opposed to it. Although there are 137,000 men in the Indian Army at present, if we look at the provincial distribution, we find that the Province of Bengal, such a vast province with a population of 51 millions, has only ten men in the entire army. Not 110, but just ten. These figures were given in answer to a question recently in the other House, and these figures relate to the position as on the 1st January, 1938. From Assam the representation is a magnificent three ! If it is argued that the men from these provinces are not as good material as those from the Punjab, I should like to know whether these ten men are as good material or not ? If these ten men are good material I should also like to know why only ten have been taken ? Have they migrated from the Punjab ? How are they different from the other Bengalis ? We talk of recruitment from the Punjab, but it is only certain districts in the Punjab which predominate in this matter. I must admit that whenever His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief speaks in this House, it is a pleasure to hear him. When he said that he sympathized with the Resolution and the amendment, it was a great pleasure to hear him say so. I hope, like the great soldier that he is, he will translate his sympathy into action. Various reasons have been advanced by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and

[Mr. G. S. Motilal.]

I may be allowed to refer to them before I refer to the strong communal note that has been introduced unfortunately by some of the Members who desire to make this House an arena or cock-pit of communal fight.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Who started it ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY :  
Mr. Jinnah.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : In this House ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Who started it, we know it very well. We did not start it.

Sir, His Excellency said that the army is not on a provincial basis. He also said that the most efficient material is recruited. We fail to understand how it is the monopoly of certain districts in the Punjab to have this most efficient and best material. We should like to know by what tests the "best material" is judged? We, on this side of the House, are not so ignorant of the reasons underlying this policy of the Government. This has been a definite policy of the Government after the Mutiny. Before the Mutiny, the Indian Army was not recruited so largely from these districts of the Punjab. Before the Mutiny, the army was more on a national basis. With the experience of the Mutiny, those who controlled the policy of defence thought—and from their point of view rightly thought—that the army should be so organized that it should be safe for British rule in this country; and ever since then such has been the defence policy. More men come to be taken from certain districts of the Punjab after the Mutiny and the army was reorganized to represent castes and classes. Times have changed a great deal since then. It was convenient in those days to use men of one community against the other, and members of one caste against the other. What we now urge is that there should be a re-orientation of this policy. If the Government's policy is to continue the British rule in India, then this policy should be continued. But now the avowed policy of the British Government in India is to establish responsible government in this country, and hence the policy so far followed in the matter of recruitment to the defence forces also has got to be changed. I may be permitted to congratulate my friend Sir Parshuram, who has justified his name. He has spoken with a depth of feeling on the subject which deserves to be considered. I think he has spoken only one-tenth of his mind. We would feel very much obliged to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief if he would lay down the tests of fitness and efficiency for recruitment of the best material to the army. We can have opinions but there must be some ground for those opinions. It cannot be denied that the present policy is based on the experience of the Mutiny and the British Government then thought it was expedient that the Bengal Army which rose in rebellion should be disbanded and those who helped them in suppressing the Mutiny should be enlisted in the army. If this is not the reason, if such consideration is not to prevail with Government, but solely one of military value, of the best material then we should certainly request Government very strongly that they should lay down definite tests of suitability.

We know that valour in the army is of very great value. But valour is not the monopoly of any particular district. If it was so, those districts would have been ruling not only India but the whole of the world. Therefore we again and again ask the Government to lay down even strict but definite tests. We know that games and sports do furnish a sort of test, and in games and sports the other provinces have not lagged behind. History of course can be interpreted sometimes according to one's views, and every one takes credit for the valour of his own people. Some Members have spoken in this House as if they were foreigners who came here and are still here as conquerors of India and that they alone form the martial classes. I have heard from Afghans themselves that an Afghan mother when she wishes her child to go to sleep, tells him that the Mahrattas will come if he doesn't go to sleep. But some people say, we alone, because our religion teaches us war, are the best soldiers. I do not think my friends on the other side, if they speak with knowledge, will say that Islam teaches war and nothing else. The very word "Islam" means peace. All the founders of religions have been peace-loving men and but for them the world would have been more savage and worse than it is now. My point is, if certain tests are laid down—physical as well as other requisite tests—and then if the other provinces do not satisfy those tests then by all means reject those unsuitable men.

Some Members have said the Gurkhas are foreigners to this country. Gurkhas have served this Government well and bravely. They have been a valuable asset, it is not right to say they should be turned out tomorrow. After all Nepal is a part of India and it is an independent country of which we are proud. It is one part of India at any rate which is independent, and my friend Mr. Sapru wants the Gurkhas to be considered as mere mercenaries. The Honourable Member who comes from the Punjab and made a very fine speech in the vernacular said that the Punjabi is also serving for the sake of Rs. 15 or Rs. 18. The Gurkha is no worse than him. He is as much interested in India's honour as any other son of India.

Sir, we want now an army which is not a mercenary army, we want an army which will have also the intelligence to understand which way lie the interests of their country and to support the right cause. Sir, I should say that when British India has achieved the independence which Nepal already possesses, then it would be time for us to suggest that Nepal should join the Federation of India, and if it then does not join, there will be cause for us to feel that we should not have Gurkhas in our army. But until then there is no reason to say that Gurkhas should be turned out. They are fine and brave soldiers, but I can not for a moment be convinced that other provinces cannot produce equally fine and brave men also. Some one has said in this House that because India has been divided into four primary castes, the non-military castes are not fit for the army. Well, the very name of Parshuram reminds me that, a Brahmin of Brahmins as he was, he preached and enjoined that when the interests of the country warranted every Brahmin should go into the army and fight and he himself led a mighty war in the past.

Now, Sir, it is easy to say that there are only ten men in the army from Bengal which shows that it does not furnish the best material so far as valour

[Mr. G. S. Motilal.]

is concerned. There can be no more specious argument than this. Bengal's young men in their thousands in the recent past have buried five fathom deep this unfounded charge that Bengal lacks in valour and manliness. Even Mahatma Gandhi, who has done whatever was possible for him to do and than whom none has done more, speaking some years back in the Benares Hindu University praised their courage and valour, though none disagrees with their activities more than he. If the Government had only the imagination to take those young men into the defence forces they would not have been anarchists but would have been the finest material for the Army in India of which His Excellency would have been proud. I hope His Excellency will translate his sympathy into practice and see that it is not only one province but all the provinces and parts of India are represented adequately in the army. Sir, I know this Government is not responsible. But Government have told us very often on the floor of the House, if not here in the other place, that they are responsive. I wish and trust they will show as regards this Resolution, bearing fully in mind the feeling even of the Members on their side of the House that they are ready to act if not in the manner that a responsible Government would act, at least in a manner which a responsive Government and a man of the sympathy of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would act.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) :** Sir, I rise to support the Resolution which has been so ably moved by my esteemed friend Sir David Devadoss. As the subject-matter of the Resolution has been so exhaustively dealt with by my colleagues that it does not leave much for me to say. So I will confine my observations to some facts which have not been brought before the House.

I expected from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief when he was speaking on his Resolution to tell us what other countries in the world observe the distinction between martial and non-martial classes. Is there any country where such a discrimination is made? As far as I know there is none. Any suitable person, I mean a man of good intellect and good physique, if he is given a sound training can be as good a soldier as any member of the so-called martial classes.

Sir, Sir Muhammad Yakub in opposing the Resolution made some observations. In the first place he thanked His Excellency the  
4-5 P.M. Commander-in-Chief on the statement that he made this morning. Unless we fully examine the statement and examine its *pros* and *cons*, we shall not be in a position to express any opinion on it. Superficially it seems, if I have rightly understood the statement, that the War Office in England will bear the total expenses of three battalions of British troops serving in India in future, and if I am wrong His Excellency will kindly correct me. Our demand is that the British Army in India is an army of occupation and therefore its total expenses ought to be borne by the British Government and not a portion only. Then, Sir, it has been proved since recruitment of all classes to the officers' grade started that those who do not belong to martial classes according to the definition of the Defence Department, have also proved a

success. The only question which remains is that in the ordinary rank and file of the army there should be recruitment of all classes without any discrimination. I admit that among the ordinary recruits you enlist men who have a very poor commonsense, because, as far as present policy is concerned, you want those recruits who will carry out orders without making any suggestion whatsoever. I do not mean by this that there should be no discipline in the army. I am one of those who want strict discipline. But my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro has proved to you that those races which have conquered the Punjab and these races which have done well in the past should not be scratched simply because Government have not recognized their valuable services during the last 40 or 50 years. One of my colleagues has said that even slaves have proved a good unit for the army. I know that in Hyderabad and in Bahawalpur States there is a detachment of slaves (negroes) for the bodyguard of the ruling princes. They have a good tradition behind them and those who have advanced this argument, mean that when even slaves have proved of good worth to the army, why not the other classes? Sir, my friend Syed Muhammad Husain has observed that Muslims are warlike people. I admit that, because I know that more than 90 per cent. of them are converts from Hindus and my friend there supports me.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN:** But that conversion to Islam also converted them into martial class?

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS:** Whatever I have said is a fact and the fact can never be denied. Can simply conversion, my friend observes, give martial spirit. I may for his information tell him that during the Great War a number of people in the Punjab got themselves converted into those martial tribes who were favoured for recruitment, and if my memory does not fail me I can say that a number of sweepers (mehtars) got themselves converted into Sikhs and got enlisted into the army. Sir, conversion of faith does not produce any martial spirit. It is, Sir, the training and the environment that makes people martial. Another Member observed that a community which does not even kill a snake cannot produce good soldiers. Sir, for the information of my Honourable colleague I might say that in the Punjab most of us are meat-eaters and as such that plea does not apply to the Punjab anyway. Whenever we find a snake we always kill it. The present time demands intellectual warfare and so simply good physique without intellect ought not to be credited. Now, scientific warfare is being adopted by all the civilized nations and thus purely physique will be a matter of discount rather a disqualification for the present-day soldier. Therefore it is time that intellectual people should be recruited in larger numbers than in the past. The Government ought not to depend upon one province for its recruitment, and the Punjab being a province on the Frontier naturally consists mostly of those people who have always fought and who are good fighters. Sir, in case of invasion from the border and annexation of a portion of the Punjab—there have been various schemes of Muslim Powers to make the Punjab, rather Hindustan, into a Pakistan. Government ought to have some other provinces also as their feeding centres for recruitment. My Honourable

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

friend Mr. Sapru observed that Punjabis have no guts. On the matter being pointed out to him by my friend Sardar Buta Singh, I am glad my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru replied that he never meant to apply it to all Punjabis.

Well, Sir, a point was raised that there should be no further recruitment of Gurkhas as they are not Indians. I might mention in that connection that in the Punjab a good number of Gurkhas did settle for several generations past. So we cannot apply that to every Gurkha serving in the army. Gurkhas belong to the mountains and for mountain fighting they are considered to be the best of all the classes. However, Sir, what I want to say is that the principle of forming a national army is a principle which ought to be adopted before Dominion status comes. It is the paramount duty of the Government to extend patronage and train all classes of people for military service and therefore, Sir, it is incumbent upon them to break that old fossil-like policy and try to infuse the martial spirit, which I hold does exist in every province of India, so that recruits may be able to serve in every part of India and in every climate. I know, Sir, that my Madrasi friends may not be able to stand the extreme heat of the North West Frontier Province but at the same time they may be equally good for the climate similar to Madras. I can also say that perhaps Punjabis may not be able to stand for a considerable time the damp climate of Assam, but the Assamese and those people who are accustomed to living in very damp climates will do better than those who are not accustomed to live in such highly malarious and damp climates.

Sir, I may also say that India had its own Empire in times before Christ and its Empire extended as far as Java and Sumatra and as far as Germany in Europe. (*An Honourable Member* : "When was that?") Before you and I were born, in Asoka period. Therefore, Sir, I consider that the time has now come when Government should open the army career to every member of those classes who have done well in the pre-British days.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS** : Sir, I am thankful for the support that I have received with regard to this Resolution. I will first address myself to the remarks of His Excellency. I am very grateful to him, Sir, for not in any way depreciating the value of the services rendered by the Madras sepoys. He has fully recognized their efficiency and he has stated that they form good material. But the reasons assigned by His Excellency, I venture to submit, are not sufficient to refuse the request that I made. First, is the question of finance. He says we are spending as much as possible and therefore we cannot increase the expenditure. The second is that we are getting good material and therefore we cannot recruit from Madras. Sir, I do not at all for one moment quarrel with these two propositions but what I do ask is : If you find efficient material in Madras, why don't you recruit such people ? My Resolution, Sir, is very carefully worded. I said "suitable men". That will exclude Jains and others who are afraid of killing mad dogs and who, I am told, won't even kill bugs. Well, I exclude them. I am not at all asking that anybody and everybody should be recruited but those people who have proved themselves worthy of being in the army.

The second point that I wish to urge is that I do not at all for one moment ask that any of the present units should be disbanded. His Excellency, I don't know how he got the impression from my speech that I wanted that. I do not ask that the present army should be disbanded. That would be suicidal. We cannot ask you to disband the present army in the hope of raising another army in the course of a few years. What I respectfully ask is a change of policy. From today, recruit suitable men, men belonging to suitable classes in the Madras Presidency, to the army. The army in Madras, Sir, has shown itself worthy of fighting side by side with the British soldier, not only in India, but also outside in various theatres of war, and therefore I say the present policy is a short-sighted policy. Allow me to say, Sir, that it is short-sighted because it looks only to the present. I want the Government to look to the future. What will happen if an invader attacks the Southern Presidency? Keeping an army in the north would be of very little use because by the time your army reaches Madras or any place in the south, thousands if not millions would have been killed. Therefore, I say, have Madras units in the Madras Presidency, and of course other presidencies will also furnish their own units. That is the burden of my song.

So my first reason is the question of safety. My second reason is—you take away bread from these people, thousands and thousands of families who gave their men to the army and therefore had the benefit of their service, that is to say, the benefit of the pay. Now, you have taken away all that. Hundreds and hundreds of people are without employment because of the present policy. You will find, Sir, as Sir A. P. Patro said, that people are really grumbling at the way in which they have been kept out of the army service.

And the third point is, Sir,—are we not entitled to protect our own interests? Of course, the Commander-in-Chief very willingly granted that it is the privilege of every citizen to fight for his country, but that privilege has been taken away on account of the wrong policy, I submit, which has been pursued by the Government of India.

Sir, I do not want to take up the time of the House by going into the various observations made by various Members. I will only deal with one or two. The Honourable Sir Muhammad Yakub talked about the old caste divisions. Are we living in the First Century before Christ? We are living, Sir, in the Twentieth Century. Things have changed. He is referring to something which has no longer any validity. Of course, as a lawyer he must quote some authority good or bad and so he has fixed upon this. As the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das said, who are these Muhammadans? They were Hindus some time ago.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB:** Not all of them. Very few of them.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS:** A good many of them. We do not want to go into that, however. What I say is that the present circumstances are different from what they were two thousand years ago in the

[Sir David Devadoss.]

time of Manu. Sir, I have got here Caldwell's History of Tinnevely, which refers to the southernmost district in the whole of India. You will find, Sir, how the people defended themselves against the British troops, how they fought pitched battles, and held out against the British though they had only a mud fort. I do not want to take up the time of the House by referring to the various passages. But the book is here and it will show that the martial spirit is there. Only don't kill it. My submission is that by not recruiting from Madras you are killing the martial spirit of the Madrasis. Well, what will happen? Some years hence you may need their help, and then you will find yourselves helpless. Therefore, it is no use saying that two thousand years ago people were divided into various classes and therefore they are not fit.

With regard to the observations made by some of the Honourable Members from the north, I do not at all say that the Punjabi should not be recruited. Let them, by all means, be recruited. Why should they be afraid? But let them not have a monopoly, because monopoly always leads to trouble. My fear is that sometimes it might happen that somebody will get the upper hand and cause a lot of trouble. Government ought to look to the future, not to the present. It is not at all my desire that the army should not be efficient. If we have an army, it must be an efficient army. No use of having an inefficient army. That will be no protection to us. But when you have got sufficient material which would make an effective army, make use of that material and not confine yourself to one province. Also, as the Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain said, revise the list of these martial and non-martial races. If people are prepared to fight, take them into your army. Do not make a classification and then exclude them. That is a wrong policy. That is a blind policy. People who have got vested interests will always stick to the vested interests and cry down the other people. I may at once disclaim any political motive as underlying my Resolution. As I said, I am fighting for Madras so that the Madras people may have bread to eat. They want a place in the army so that they may also show that they deserve the sympathy and regard of the Government. I am not concerned with a national army or any other army. That may be for the future. When Federation comes, the provinces may by all means think of a national army. But when an army is recruited, the only consideration should be efficiency.

Then, it was said by the Honourable Sir Muhammad Yakub that you find the Madrasis in the offices and so on. I did not want merely intellectual people to be included. I do not want a lawyers' corps. There is a Devil's Own in England. But I am not pleading for the lawyers or people of that ilk. The Honourable Sir Muhammad Yakub said that here, in Delhi, all the offices are filled by Madrasis and Chaprasis. Fortunately there is no Madras chaprasi. If they fill any places, it is by their merit. They fight their way up. They are pampered by nobody, they are patted on the back by nobody. If they got up at all it is by sheer industry and intellect, and therefore, we are not ashamed of what we have acquired. But what I said was that in modern warfare, intelligence counts more. Let me again repeat what the Madras

Government have said. It is not I that have said it. With your permission, Sir, I will read only one sentence. They say :

“ If the North India recruit is admittedly superior in physique, the Madrasi claims superiority in intelligence which is likely to count far more in the future than it has done in the past”.

Sir, the Madras Government could not have written those lines without due consideration. It is written, not by lawyers or people who talk wildly but by responsible people—by English civilians. That was written eight years ago. Nowadays, intelligence is required, not merely physique. I do not want to decry the Punjabis, or the Northern races. What I said was that no doubt in the past mere physique was considered to be of great importance, but now it should not be so. In the air arm, for instance, mere physique won't do. Intelligence is required. You want intelligence, judgment and quickness of action. For those things, I said the Madrasi would be the fittest. That has not been controverted by anybody. Even His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has not said anything about it. What he said was that everybody has got a chance to enter. When you have everything in the north, how can you influence people in the south to enter? There is nothing there. They cannot see. No doubt there are a few aeroplanes here and there, but everything is kept in the north. Your army is kept in the north; your aeroplanes are kept in the north. People in the south have no chances of studying the question of entering them. Most of our young men would like to come in. As I said, the University Training Corps contains a set of men who would all be willing to join the army.

Once more, Sir, let me ask the Government of India to change their policy for the future. I have one remark to make with regard to the so-called martial spirit. Sir, the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain, when he was a Member of Council, when talking to me one day said that in order to enter the army sweepers become Sikhs and then they enter the army. Don't they make fine material? When the army officers recruit them, do they find any difference between the ancient Sikhs and the new Sikh who becomes a convert only today for the purpose of entering the army? Therefore, martial spirit is not a thing which is the peculiar property or the quality of any particular section of the people. No doubt, some people have been fighting for a long number of years. For instance, the Afridis have always been fighting. But that does not mean that other men cannot fight. You do not call the Englishmen a martial race and yet they are the best soldiers in the world. The word “martial”, therefore, should not be applied to any particular class of people. Other people will also be martial if you only train them and lead them properly. If the Madrasi is properly drilled and led, he would be more than a match for any soldier in India—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I would remind the Honourable Member that at this stage of reply he is limited to only 15 minutes. If he has any important point to make, he can proceed to it.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: I submit, Sir, that my Resolution is a very modest one and I ask the Government to accept it. With these words, Sir, I press the Resolution.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** Sir, so much has been said on this subject since I spoke that I find it impracticable to deal with all the points raised. I find however that my original remarks deal generally with the main question raised and I have nothing to add to them.

I should however like to mention three points raised by three separate Honourable Members.

I was rather bewildered by some of the remarks of my Honourable friend Sir Muhammad Yakub, but I am grateful to him for giving me a tip on testing the valour of any class we may consider for recruitment in the future !

With regard to the Honourable Mr. Kalikar's remarks, the only thing I would like to comment on is his remark regarding our having political reasons for our recruitment policy. I have already stated quite clearly that there is nothing whatever of this nature behind the policy and I am surprised to find that he has not accepted what I said.

With regard to the Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain's remarks I noted he mentioned only two of my reasons for opposing the Resolution. He has omitted my most important one, that is to say, finance. So long as I am restricted in this respect I cannot give effect to the expansion of our recruitment programme in the direction which many speakers have indicated, even if it was thought desirable to do so.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Two amendments have been moved. They are both analogous in their terms and have the same objective. It is for me to decide which amendment I will put to the Council. I prefer Mr. Ramadas Pantulu's amendment for the reason that it includes the excluded areas also and it is more exhaustive than the other. I will therefore put his amendment to the Council.

The Question is that the following amendment be made to the Resolution, namely :—

“ That after the word ‘ Madras ’ the following be inserted namely :—

“ and other provinces and areas not adequately represented in the defence forces.”

The Motion was adopted.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I will now put the amended Resolution before the House. The Resolution as amended reads thus :—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps to enlist suitable men from the Presidency of Madras and other provinces and areas not adequately represented in the defence forces.”

Question put : the Council divided :

AYES—14.

Abdus Sattar, Hon. Mr. Abdur Razzak Hajee.	Pantulu, Hon. Mr. Ramadas.
Devados, Hon. Sir David.	Patro, Hon. Sir A. P.
Hossain Imam, Hon. Mr.	Ram Saran Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur
Kalikar, Hon. Mr. V. V.	Lala.
Menon, Hon. Sir Ramunni.	Ray Chaudhury, Hon. Mr. Kumarsan-
Motilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.	kar.
Muhammad Husain, Hon. Haji Syed.	Roy Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Susil Kumar.
Padshah Sahib Bahadur, Hon. Saiyed	Sepuru, Hon. Mr. P. N.
Mohamed.	

NOES—21.

Ataullah Khan Tarar, Hon. Chaudhri.  
 Buta Singh, Hon. Sardar.  
 Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.  
 Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the  
 Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.  
 Haidar, Hon. Khan Bahadur Shama-  
 ud-Din.  
 Hydari, Hon. Mr. M. S. A.  
 Ismail Ali Khan, Hon. Kunwar Haji.  
 Jagdish Prasad, Hon. Kanwar Sir.  
 Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.  
 Lal, Hon. Mr. Shevax A.

Mitra, Hon. Mr. Dharendra Nath.  
 Muhammad Yakub, Hon. Sir.  
 Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.  
 Nixon, Hon. Sir John.  
 Parker, Hon. Mr. R. H.  
 Roy, Hon. Mr. S. N.  
 Russell, Hon. Sir Gathar.  
 Slade, Hon. Mr. M.  
 Stokes, Hon. Mr. H. G.  
 Thorne, Hon. Mr. J. A.

The Motion was negatived.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Pro-  
 vinces West : Muhammadan) : Sir, I move for leave to introduce :

“ A Bill to amend certain provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.”

The Bill is before the House and the aims and objects give the reasons for the amendment of various sections. It is a very important and useful Bill. I do not wish to say anything at this stage and move for leave to introduce.

The Motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : Sir, I intro-  
 duce the Bill.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO PROPERTY (FURTHER AMEND-  
 MENT) BILL.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammdan) :  
 Sir, I move :

“ That the Bill to amend the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, and to make certain other provisions be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon.”

The Bill is one that endeavours to improve Hindu women's rights in their family property. Sir, before the recent legislation on the subject of Hindu women's rights was enacted, the rights of Hindu women were too meagre. That legislation has removed certain hardships and has given them better rights. It was intended by the Mover of that Bill in the other House to give rights to daughters also, but that principle was not acceptable and daughters were removed from the benefit of the legislation while widows were given more rights than they had. Notwithstanding such amendment of the Hindu Law the Hindu women get only a limited interest in the property which they inherit or otherwise get. In certain events they succeed to the property of their husbands as also of other persons, but all

[Mr. G. S. Motilal.]

that they get is what is known as woman's estate. The Hindu society I believe is not now satisfied with restricting the right of the women to such estate and Hindu women have also become more conscious of the disabilities under which they have been labouring. In other countries too at one time women had restricted rights ; they have been widened by legislation. The object of this Bill is to enlarge the rights of Hindu women so that they may get what passes to them as full owners. In the case of the death of a man who has no wife or son, the daughter gets the property of her father but that property she gets only for life ; she cannot transfer that property, nor give it in charity except to a very limited extent, whereas when the very daughter's son succeeds to the property he takes it as full and absolute owner, but not his mother. In the case of the mother, it reverts back to the heirs of the original person from whom she got it. Now, Sir, I feel that the Hindu society desires that this restrictive right should be extended. It is in this respect that the Bill before the House goes to make a change. It does not give any share equal or otherwise to a daughter along with a son in her father's property. The other provisions of the Bill restate in clearer language the principle embodied in the recent legislation on the subject. The effect of that Bill was to produce some changes which were not intended. For instance, under the old Hindu Law a daughter came in as an heir to her father when he left neither a son or a son's son nor a widow surviving him. Now, as the amended law stands, a daughter is superseded and deprived of the right of inheritance. If there are daughters-in-law they get the property and the daughters do not get it. My attention was drawn to it only very recently, but it was too late for me to amend this Bill, I say this aspect will have to be considered.

Sir, the responsibility for the drafting of the Bill is entirely mine and of those who have assisted me. I do not wish it to be understood that Government are at all responsible for the drafting of the Bill. So far as non-official Bills are concerned, it is for the Members who introduce the Bill to take that responsibility. If I had applied to Government they might have helped me, but it was not found necessary by me to apply to Government. I know it is not realized by the public at large that when non-official Members introduce Bills the responsibility for drafting is entirely theirs and Government have no lot or part in drafting their Bills. If the Bill is circulated we shall have the opinion of the Hindu community and of those who are competent to speak with knowledge and express a considered opinion. Then this House and the Government will be in a position to decide what attitude to take on this Bill. For these reasons I move :

“ That the Bill to amend the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, and to make certain other provisions be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon.”

The Motion was adopted.

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The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 15th September, 1938.