

8th March 1940

THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

Volume II, 1940

*(6th March to 26th March, 1940)*

ELEVENTH SESSION

OF THE

FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

1940



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# Legislative Assembly

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SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUZNAVI, M.L.A.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Friday, 8th March, 1940.

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

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS

#### EXCAVATION AND CONSERVATION WORKS DONE BY THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

**300. \*Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (on behalf of Mr. Nabi Baksh Illahi Baksh Bhutto): (a) Will the Education Secretary kindly state if it is a fact that Sir Leonard Woolley, Archæological Expert, considers that the excavation work in the Archæological Department has been carried on in a haphazard manner in order to attain publicity and win cheap applause from the country?

(b) Is it a fact that the Expert considers that the Department is altogether lacking in men trained for the work they have to do?

(c) Is it a fact that the Expert is of opinion that the work done by the Department in recent years has suffered from lack of any coherent plan for its activities and that there is no one who is capable of giving training to the new entrants?

(d) Is it a fact that he recommends the appointment of another officer to advise the Director General to run the department on proper lines suggested by him?

(e) Is it a fact that the conservation work of the department has been praised by the Expert and that a substantial part of it is done by the officer whom the present Director General had superseded?

(f) Is it also a fact that the conservation work done by the Director himself at certain places has been condemned by the Expert?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** (a) No such allegation has been made in Sir Leonard Woolley's report.

(b) A statement to this effect is made in the report.

(c) The report refers to the lack of a coherent plan for the archæological activities of the Department and states that training and tuition cannot be got in the Department as at present constituted.

(d) The report recommends the temporary appointment of an adviser to assist in the training of the staff and advise on archæological matters.

(e) The report commends the conservation work of the Department and not that of any particular officer.

(f) No, the report criticises the policy of the department in regard to the conservation of excavated remains and not the work of conservation done by any particular officer.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is it not a fact that the Woolley report went so far as to say that a blind man cannot lead another blind man?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** I have not come across that particular statement.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** With reference to part (e) of the question, is it not a fact that there is more expenditure in one particular Circle? If so, why?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** If the Honourable Member will be so good as to specify the particular Circle, I should be in a position to say whether I can answer it now or not.

**BAD CONDITION OF THE ROAD LEADING TO KALKAJI'S TEMPLE NEAR OKHLA, DELHI.**

†301. \***Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** (a) Will the Education Secretary please state whether the road leading to Kalkaji's temple near Okhla, off the Delhi-Muttra road, is in the charge of the Delhi District Board, or any other District Board?

(b) Is the Honourable Member aware that this road has been for some considerably long time, and is at present, in a very bad condition and unfit for any vehicular traffic?

(c) Is the Honourable Member aware that this temple is a very important one in this area, and attracts large crowds of devotees on a large number of days every year on occasions of festivals, etc.?

(d) Is the Honourable Member aware that these devotees go to the temple in all sort of vehicles, *tongas*, motor cars, lorries, etc., as it is a long way off from Delhi City?

(e) Will the Honourable Member please state whether the District Board levies any tax on the vehicles that pass over the said road?

(f) Will the Honourable Member please state the income to the District Board from this source during each of the last five years?

(g) Will the Honourable Member please state the amount of money spent during each of the last five years on repairs of this road? When were the last repairs carried out, and what was the cost thereof?

(h) What is the length and width of the road?

(i) What would it cost approximately to make the whole road tarmacadamised?

(j) What will approximately be the annual cost of maintaining this road in good condition?

**Sir Girja Sankar Bajpai:** (a) The road to the temple is in the charge of the Delhi District Board, excluding the portion of it serving as an approach road to Okhla Railway Station, which is in the charge of the Central Public Works Department.

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

(b) The District Board portion of the road was originally metalled at the expense of certain devotees of the temple, but the Board was unable to find funds to maintain it as a metalled road. It is not unfit for vehicular traffic.

(c) and (d). Yes.

(e) A sanitation fee is levied on vehicles passing over the road on the occasion of festivals to defray the cost of the additional sanitary arrangements.

(f) A statement giving the information is laid on the table.

(g) It is not possible to state the amount of money spent during each of the last five years on repairs to the road as the maintenance is paid for against a general estimate for unmetalled roads, and separate accounts are not kept.

(h) The road is 40 chains long and 10 ft. wide.

(i) The cost of reconstructing the road as a water bound macadam road and treating it with two coats of bitumen would be about Rs. 5,000.

(j) The annual cost of maintenance of this road as a bitumen surface road would be Rs. 400.

Statement.

The income derived by the District Board during the last five years is as follows :

1934-35			1935-36			1936-37			1937-38			1938-39		
Rs.	A.	P.												
990	6	0	1,053	1	0	772	0	0	696	8	0	657	6	0

**EXPIRY OF TERM OF THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.**

**302. \*Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (on behalf of Mr. H. M. Abdullah): Will the Education Secretary kindly state when the term of the present Deputy Director General of Archæology expires, and whom Government propose to appoint to this place?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** The term of the present Deputy Director General of Archæology will expire on the 21st September, 1940. With reference to the second part of the question no final decision has yet been reached.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Does the term of this officer expire in March or September? Has he been given an extension?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** The Honourable Member's question was as to when his term expires and I have said it expires on the 21st September, 1940. As to whether he has been given any extension, I shall require notice.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is the Honourable Member so unfamiliar with the working of his Department that he wants notice for saying whether this officer has been given an extension?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** My Honourable friend should appreciate the fact that there are more than 13 departments controlled by the Department of Education, Health and Lands, and I cannot say with regard to any particular officer whether he had extension or not.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** We draw our own inferences.

#### COMPLAINTS OF MUSLIM OFFICERS IN THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

**303. \*Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (on behalf of Mr. H. M. Abdullah):  
(a) Will the Education Secretary kindly state if he is aware that Muslim officers in the Archæological Department are insulted and humiliated by their Hindu subordinates and that such subordinates are protected by the Director General?

(b) Is it a fact that the same complaint was made by the Muslim Rights Protection Board, Lahore? If so, what action was taken by Government?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** (a) No.

(b) No such complaint has been made by the Muslim Rights Protection Board.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** In view of the fact that the complaints are general and may not have reached the ears of the Honourable Member, does he propose to institute an inquiry into the matter?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** If my Honourable friend will bring to my notice any particular instance or instances, I can give him an assurance that I will look into the matter myself.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** And appoint a committee of inquiry, if necessary?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** I cannot say about a committee of inquiry.

#### SUPERSESSIONS AND EXTENSIONS OF SERVICE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

**304. \*Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (on behalf of Mr. H. M. Abdullah):  
(a) Will the Education Secretary kindly lay on the table a statement showing:

- (i) how many Muslims were superseded in the matter of promotion to higher appointments;
- (ii) how many Hindus were superseded by Muslims; and
- (iii) how many extensions of services beyond the age of 55 were granted to Muslims and non-Muslims separately,

in the Department of Education, Health and Lands during the last three years?

(b) How many representations, appeals, etc., were submitted by aggrieved Muslims in the Department of Education, Health and Lands during the last three years against alleged discriminatory treatment meted out to them in service and how many of them have been successful?

(c) Do Government propose to refer all these appeals to a European officer not connected with the Department for scrutiny?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** (a) (i) to (iii). Two statements giving the information are placed on the table.

(b) No representations alleging discriminatory treatment were received. Five representations were received from Muslim members of the ministerial staff. One is still under consideration. The other four which concerned promotion to the First Division could not be accepted as promotion is made on merit and the claims of the clerks concerned were duly considered.

(c) No. I invite the Honourable Member's attention to the copy of letter from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General to the President, Muslim Rights Protection Board, Punjab, of which I placed a copy on the table of the House in reply to Mr. M. Ghiasuddin's starred question No. 968 on the 10th March, 1939.

*Statements.*

Promotions			Supersessions in consequence of promotions referred to in the previous column		
1			2		
Hindus	Muslims	Others	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	..	2	..	..	..
..	1	..	..	1	..
1	..	..	..	1	..
..	..	1	..	1	..
..	..	1	1	..	..
1	..	..	6	4	1
1	..	..	6	8	1

*Statement showing the number of extensions of services beyond the age of 55 granted to Muslim and non-Muslims in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, during the year 1937—38.*

	No. of persons granted extension of service	No. of extensions granted
Muslims . . . . .	1	1
Non-Muslims . . . . .	4	One extension in the case of two men, two extensions in the case of one and three extensions to one.

**APPOINTMENT OF A TEMPORARY ADVISER ON ARCHÆOLOGY.**

†305. \***Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** (a) will the Education Secretary be pleased to state whether Sir Leonard Woolley has in his report on the Archæological Department recommended the appointment of a temporary Adviser on Archæology?

(b) If the answer to part (a). be in the affirmative, what action do Government propose to take in the matter? Do they propose to appoint such an officer as Director General to avoid duplication of expenditure? If not, why not?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** (a) Yes.

(b) The re-organisation of the Department has been postponed on account of conditions created by the war. With reference to the second part of the question there is no proposal to appoint the adviser as Director General. The main function of the adviser will be the training of the staff and he could not carry out those duties in addition to those of the Director General.

‡306\*—09\*.

**IMPROVEMENTS IN GOVERNMENT QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI**

†310. \***Bhai Parma Nand:** With reference to the reply to starred question No. 68, given on the 12th February, 1940, will the Honourable the Labour Member kindly state:

- (a) the number, separately, of officers' bungalows and clerks quarters which are being improved;
- (b) the number of *khaskhas tatties* which are proposed to be supplied to each type of bungalow and clerks' quarters;
- (c) the reason why roof conditioning is not being carried out in clerks' quarters; and
- (d) the reason why only kitchens in orthodox clerks' quarters are being provided with wire gauze doors, while all the doors and windows in other types of quarters are being so improved?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.:** (a) 332 officers' bungalows and 2,490 clerks' quarters.

(b) *Khaskhas tatties* are being fitted to the doors and windows on two sides of each of the clerks' quarters to face the prevailing wind. The number in each quarter will vary according to its type and situation. The details of the *khaskhas tatties* to be provided in officers' bungalows have not yet been settled.

(c) Because the provision of *khaskhas tatties* gives better results at less cost. In fact the question of undertaking roof conditioning even for officers' houses is being further considered.

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

‡These questions were withdrawn by the questioner.

(d) The provision of wire gauze to all doors and windows in the clerks' quarters was considered, but on financial grounds it was decided to fit them only to the doors and windows of the kitchens.

**COMPENSATION TO CLERKS PERMANENTLY LOCATED IN NEW DELHI.**

†311. \***Bhai Parma Nand:** Will the Honourable the Labour Member kindly state:

- (a) if it is a fact that the clerks permanently located in Delhi will henceforth be paying rent for their residential quarters for twelve months in the year instead of five or six months as was done previously, in addition to rent-free quarters or house rent allowance for their stay in Simla; and
- (b) if it is proposed to compensate the clerks in any way for the extra financial burden imposed on them by their permanent location in Delhi; if not, why not?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** (a) Yes, in the case of members of the Secretariat staff who were recruited before July, 1931.

(b) A representation on the subject is under consideration.

**IMPROVEMENTS IN, AND CONSTRUCTION OF MORE, QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.**

†312. \***Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** Will the Honourable the Labour Member please refer to the reply given to starred question No. 68, asked in this House on the 12th February, 1940, and state:

- (a) the number of officers' bungalows on which it is proposed to spend Rs. 2,82,000 for providing wire gauze doors, windows and refrigerators;
- (b) the number of officers occupying those quarters during the coming summer;
- (c) who will be in residence of the officers' bungalows during the absence of the officers proceeding to Simla;
- (d) the number of orthodox and unorthodox quarters constructed for the ministerial establishment in each type, *viz.*, A, B, C, D, E, etc.;
- (e) the number of ministerial establishment allotted those quarters;
- (f) the number of ministerial establishment not allotted quarters; and
- (g) the justification in spending any portion of Rs. 2,82,000 on officers' bungalows which will remain unoccupied during the summer?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** (a) 332.

(b) 58 approximately.

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

(c) They will be available to any officers who apply for their temporary allotment for the summer.

(d) to (f). A statement giving the information is laid on the table.

(g) The justification lies in the fact that as the allotment rules operate, it is not possible to say which bungalows will be occupied during the summer, and that with the restriction of the 'Simla exodus, most of the bungalows will now be occupied until late in April and again from early September onwards.

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*Statement.*

(d)	Class	Orthodox	Unorthodox
	A	23	32
	B	125	95
	C	332	98
	D	1,246	158
	E	277	..

(e) 2,386

(f) 1,337

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PROMOTIONS TO ASSISTANT'S GRADE IN THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

†313. \*Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state:

- the total strength of the first, second and third division clerks in the Labour Department as it stood on the date of its re-organisation;
- the number of vacancies that occurred in the first division since that date;
- the number of new posts created in the first division since that date;
- the number of vacancies in the first division which were filled by promoting either second division or third division clerks;
- the number of vacancies filled by appointing outsiders through the Home Department; and
- in how many cases a departure from the fifty-fifty per cent. rule was made in the matter of filling up the vacancies referred to above?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:

(a) —

First Division	..	..	..	24
Second Division	..	..	..	19
Third Division	..	..	..	21
		Total	..	64

(b) Three.

(c) Nil.

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

- (d) One.
- (e) Two.
- (f) None.

**PROMOTIONS TO ASSISTANT'S GRADE IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEPARTMENT.**

†314. \*Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state:

- (a) the total strength of the first, second and third division clerks, separately, in the Assembly Department as it stood on the 1st May, 1930;
- (b) the number of vacancies that occurred in the first division since 1st May, 1930;
- (c) the number of new posts that were created in the first division since 1st May, 1930;
- (d) the number of vacancies in the first division which were filled by promoting either second division or third division clerks;
- (e) the number of vacancies which were filled by appointing outsiders through the Public Service Commission or the Home Department, as the case may be; and
- (f) in how many cases a departure from the fifty-fifty per cent. rule was made in filling up the vacancies which occurred since the 1st May, 1930?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: (a)—**

First Division Assistants	..	..	17
Second Division clerks	..	..	24
Third Division clerks	..	..	Nil

- (b) Two—one left vacant in pursuance of the economy campaign.
- (c) One
- (d) One by promotion from the second division.
- (e) One through the Home Department.
- (f) None.

**PROMOTIONS TO ASSISTANT'S GRADE IN THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.**

†315. \*Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state:

- (a) the total strength of the first, second and third division clerks, separately, in the Political Department as it stood on the date of its separation from the External Affairs Department;
- (b) the number of vacancies that occurred in the first division since that date;
- (c) the number of new posts created in the first division since that date;

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

- (d) the number of vacancies in the first division filled by promoting either second division or third division clerks;
- (e) the number of vacancies filled by appointing outsiders through the Home Department; and
- (f) in how many cases a departure from the fifty-fifty per cent. rule was made in filling up the vacancies referred to above?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** (a) The total strength of the first, second and third division clerks in the Political Department as it stood on the date of its separation:

(1) First Division	..	29
(2) Second Division	..	32
(3) Third Division	..	10

(b) Eleven.

(c) Nil.

(d) Four.

(e) Five.

(f) None. Two men were confirmed under Rule 21(b)(i) of the Ministerial Establishment (Recruitment, Promotion and Seniority) Rules from the subordinate offices with the concurrence of the Home Department.

#### DEMAND FOR "C" TYPE UNORTHODOX QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

**316. \*Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state the number of applicants for each of the following types of Government quarters who have been waiting for allotment of quarters at New Delhi for the last five, four, three and two years:

A, B, C and D orthodox clerks quarters, and

A, B, C and D unorthodox clerks quarters?

(b) Is he aware that for all types of quarters on the orthodox side one has to wait for one to two years only for securing a quarter and so is the position in regard to A and B type of unorthodox quarters?

(c) Is he also aware that for securing the allotment of a 'C' type of unorthodox quarters at New Delhi, one has to wait for four to seven years, if not more?

(d) Is he further aware that, as a result of the recent amendment of the rules, many of the applicants for this type of quarter's will suffer most and may not get quarters throughout the remaining period of their service, or until they become out of class for that type of quarters?

(e) Is he further aware that, as a very few quarters of each type will fall vacant hereafter and almost none of the 'C' type, the applicant for these type of quarters will have to wait indefinitely as compared to other class of applicants?

(f) In view of the hardship that is going to entail on the applicants of 'C' type of quarters and others as a result of the recent amendment of the rules for allotment of Government quarters, whereby none will be ousted from his quarters until he is given a higher type of quarters, is the Honourable Member prepared to remove the condition of permitting a change in

classification only after four years from unorthodox to orthodox and *vice versa*, or at least once in their case at this time? If not, what are the difficulties?

(g) What does he propose to do to minimise the difficulties of applicants for this type of quarters?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:**

(a) The information is not readily available and its collection would not justify the labour involved.

(b) No.

(c) and (e). No particular limit of years can be given but it is the case that applicants have to wait several seasons.

(d) The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to part (d) of question No. 164.

(f) and (g). I am prepared to consider the question of permitting clerks to change their classification from unorthodox to orthodox and *vice versa* owing to the amendment of the rules, but no such change can be effected immediately as the allotments for the winter season 1940-41 have already been made.

#### ROOFING OF THE OPEN COURTS OF "D" TYPE QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

**317. \*Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** (a) Is the Honourable Member for Labour aware that it has been decided to cover the open court in the centre of 'D' class orthodox clerks quarters at New Delhi and that work is to be started from April next, and will continue till August?

(b) Is he also aware that when such sanctions are given, instead of starting the works from French Square, Raja Bazar or Market Road sides, the Central Public Works Department, have such works started from Talkatora side which is mostly in the occupation of the staff of the Central Public Works Department, Accountant-General, Central Revenues, Director General, Posts and Telegraphs and others? Will he please state why work should always start from Talkatora side and not from any other side?

(c) Is he aware that this time again the work connected with the roofing of the open courts of 'D' type quarters is proposed to be started from the Talkatora side?

(d) Is he aware that the occupants of 'D' type of quarters will be required to vacate their respective quarters for about a month in order to carry out this work?

(e) Why were the questions of providing all the improvements in the quarters not considered and carried out before stopping the move of the Government of India staff to Simla?

(f) Is the Honourable Member prepared to see that this work, as well as all improvements sanctioned by Government hereafter, are carried out in the quarters meant for the Government of India Secretariat staff first and not from Talkatora side? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:**

(a) Yes.

(b) No, there is no such practice.

(c) It is proposed to start the work from the Talkatora side.

(d) Yes, in batches. Those having to vacate will be given other quarters whilst the work is in progress.

(e) The provision of hot weather amenities in quarters was a matter in which it was desirable to have the views of those concerned and it was not feasible to consult them before a decision in regard to the move was reached.

(f) No. The suggestion is not practicable, since no particular quarters are reserved for the Secretariat staff.

#### PROVISION OF WIRE GAUZE DOORS AND ROOF CONDITIONING OF QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI

**318. \*Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state why no wire gauze doors and windows are being provided for the sitting and other rooms of clerks' quarters, while all the doors of bungalows are being fitted with wire gauze doors?

(b) What are the total numbers of bungalows and clerks quarters for which Rs. 1,82,000 and Rs. 67,000, respectively, are being spent for putting up wire gauze doors?

(c) What are the reasons for allocating less than half of the amount to be spent for bungalows for this purpose for so many hundreds of clerks quarters?

(d) Why was it not considered desirable to have roof conditioning carried out in the clerks' quarters?

(e) How much will it cost per officers' bungalow for roof conditioning, and how much for providing wire gauze doors and windows?

(f) Is he aware that a major portion of the Secretariat staff who are being permanently located at Delhi as a result of the decision of the Government to stop the Simla move, have been going to Simla for the last ten to twenty-five years and, due to this sudden change, there is a danger to their health and life during the scorching heat of May to August, if they are treated differently and are not provided with all the facilities?

(g) Does he propose to have roof conditioning, wire gauze doors for every room, and a sufficient number of *khaskhas tatties* with automatic sprinklers, provided in all the clerks' quarters meant for the Secretariat staff who are being left behind at Delhi from next summer? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** (a), (c) and (d). The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to parts (b) to (d) of starred question No. 310.

(b) Bungalows 332.

Clerks' quarters 2,107.

(e) A statement giving the information is laid on the table.

(f) Yes. The answer to the second part of this question is in the negative.

(g) No. The cost would be prohibitive.

Class of bungalow	Statement	
	Cost per bungalow for roof conditioning	Cost Per bungalow for Providing wire gauze doors and windows
	Rs.	Rs.
A	221	723
B	135	615
C	126	458
D	118	409

#### PROVISION OF AUTOMATIC SPRINKLERS IN QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

**319. \*Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state the total number of officers and ministerial staff quarters at New Delhi in which *khaskhas tatties* will be supplied?

(b) What are the number and sizes of *khaskhas tatties* that will be supplied in each class of bungalows and quarters?

(c) What arrangements are being made for sprinkling water on the *khaskhas tatties*? Are automatic sprinklers being provided in the bungalows or quarters or both? If so, in which type and class of bungalows and quarters respectively? Are Government aware that these *khaskhas tatties* will not be of any use without such arrangements?

(d) Is he prepared to have the automatic sprinklers also fitted up in all types of quarters? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** (a) Provision is being made for the supply of *khaskhas tatties* to 2,386 clerks' quarters. No final decision has yet been reached in the case of officers' bungalows.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to part (b) of question No. 310.

(c) Automatic sprinklers are not being provided in clerks' quarters nor have they been sanctioned for officers' bungalows. Automatic sprinklers are not essential. *Khaskhas tatties* are ordinarily watered by hand.

(d) No. The cost would be prohibitive.

#### EXEMPTION OF AN OFFICE OF THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS FROM THE PURVIEW OF THE MINISTERIAL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

†**320. \*Mr. Surya Kumar Som:** (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state whether it is a fact that one of the offices of the Army Headquarters is exempt from the ministerial service examination of the Federal Public Service Commission?

(b) Was the object of this exemption to bring in graduates in commerce who were considered to be better fitted for the nature of work of that office?

(c) What is the total number of temporary and officiating lower division clerks in that office, and how many of them are (i) graduates in commerce with trade or business as one of their subjects, (ii) other graduates in commerce, (iii) graduates in arts, etc., and (iv) non-graduates?

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

(d) Do Government propose to review the qualifications of all the temporary and officiating clerks in that office with a view to seeing that the exemption granted to the office is not utilized for retaining, appointing or promoting persons without recognised commercial qualifications?

(e) Do Government propose to take steps to the effect that when a sufficient number of graduates in commerce are not on their waiting list, they should circulate their requirements to the various colleges of commerce affiliated to the statutory universities in India?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** (a) It is presumed that the reference is to the office of the Director of Contracts, which is now under the control of the Supply Department. If so, the answer is in the affirmative.

(b) No.

(c) 117 as follows:

(i) 19.

(ii) 21.

(iii) 75.

(iv) Two.

(d) and (e). No.

#### UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

##### PAYMENT OF WAGES OF WORKERS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS NEW DELHI

**82. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state whether it is a fact that the workers of the Government of India Press, New Delhi, are paid their monthly wages, earned during a month, on the 6th and 7th of the following month on the ground that the Payment of Wages Act prescribes payment of wages within seven days after the wage period? If so, will Government be pleased to state why the last dates prescribed in the Act should only be adhered to in making payment to the workers and why they cannot be paid on the first and second like the clerks employed in the said Press who are also governed by the Payment of Wages Act?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** The wages of the industrial employees fluctuate from month to month on account of piece-work, overtime, holiday attendance, etc., and cannot, therefore, be calculated until the expiry of the month. The computation of wages and the preparation of pay bills take a few days and payment is made as soon as these formalities have been completed. The clerical staff draw salaries on fixed scales. Their pay bills can, therefore, be prepared before the end of each month.

##### PAYMENT OF WAGES OF WORKERS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI

**83. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state whether it is a fact that at the time of making payments to the workers of the Government of India Press, New Delhi, in

the month of January, 1940, they were required to be identified, although they had served the Press for over 20 years and had been receiving their wages every month without trouble, and that as a protest the workers of the Reading Branch did not receive their wages? If so, will Government be pleased to state why the workers in the Government of India Press, New Delhi, were treated in such a manner?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** The incident referred to occurred in December, 1939, and was the result of the enforcement of a Departmental rule that the staff should be identified before their salaries are disbursed. The rule had fallen into disuse, and its re-enforcement caused resentment. On hearing of the incident, the Manager agreed to recommend the amendment of the rule so as to require identification only in cases of doubt, and the staff then accepted their pay. The rule has since been amended.

**PROMOTIONS TO ACCOUNTANT'S GRADE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESSES.**

**64. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state whether it is a fact that a departmental examination for Accountants of the Printing and Stationery Department was held in June last and that only a very limited number of men from various Government of India Presses and Branches were nominated? If so, will Government be pleased to state why the examination was open to a few candidates only and not to all?

(b) Is it a fact that from the Government of India Press, New Delhi, five men were allowed to sit in the said examination, whereas not more than one each from the Government of India Presses at Simla and Aligarh was allowed to sit for the same? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for giving the New Delhi Press a higher quota in this respect?

(c) Is it a fact that the Controller of Printing and Stationery has, after seeing the result of the examination, decided to promote men to the posts of Accountant according to the marks obtained in the examination, ignoring seniority in service on the ground that the posts of Accountant have since been declared selection posts?

(d) Is it a fact that according to his decision a lower division clerk in his office, who has rendered only about five years service in the Department, will be promoted to the post of Accountant in the Presses and Branches of the Printing and Stationery Department in preference to other qualified accountants in the Presses and Branches who have very long service in the Department? If so, will Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to set aside the Controller's orders in the matter, and promote men according to length of service, as is done in other Government Departments with due regard to communal composition of the staff?

(e) Is it a fact that no candidate who appeared from the Calcutta offices of the Printing and Stationery Department has come out successful and as such in leave vacancies the Accountant's posts are filled by unqualified men? If so, why?

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** (a) Yes. As only three or four vacancies in posts of Accountant are expected during

the next ten to fifteen years, the selection of candidates was confined to a limited number of persons who, by reason of their proved aptitude for accounts work, were considered fit to appear at the examination.

(b) Yes. The intention was to select one or two candidates only from each Press for the examination. The number of candidates from the New Delhi Press was, however, increased to five to include the existing Accountant for whom the examination was compulsory and two additional men to secure representation for the minority communities. No suitable candidates belonging to the minority communities were available in the Aligarh Press and only one candidate from the Simla Press offered to appear at the examination.

(c) No. The matter is under consideration.

(d) Does not arise.

(e) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, orders have recently been issued for the exclusion of posts of Accountant from the clerical establishment for purposes of the leave reserve. This will enable the Controller to fill leave vacancies by the transfer of qualified men from other presses or branches, if necessary.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Sir, I am told that Mr. Umar Aly Shah did not withdraw his question No. 306. So will that question be answered now?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There is in office a letter written by Mr. Umar Aly Shah on the 3rd instant to the following effect:

"I hereby desire to withdraw questions Nos 306, 307, 308 and 309 standing against my name and set down for answer on Friday, the 8th March, 1940. Please do the needful and see that the questions are not answered on that date."

The Honourable Member has apparently forgotten that.

## THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.

### SECOND STAGE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): As a result of the arrangement agreed to between the different Parties, the Chair will now state the order in which cut motions will be moved by the different Parties and the time allotted for the purpose. The Muslim League Party will discuss certain demands, the numbers of which have been circulated to the House, today and on Monday, the 11th instant up to 12-30 P.M. The Congress Nationalist Party will begin their motions on Monday, the 11th March, at 12-30 P.M. and go on till 5 P.M. on that day. The European Group will discuss their motion on Tuesday, the 12th March, till lunch time, and the unattached Members after lunch on Tuesday till 5 P.M. As regards the time for speeches, as usual fifteen minutes will be given for speeches other than those of the Mover and the Government Members: the Mover will have twenty minutes and the Government Member twenty minutes or even more, if necessary.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): May I request you, Sir, to allow the second cut motion to be moved first, and the first motion to be moved later?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Yes. Which one is that?

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): It is cut motion No. 51 on page 6 of the Final Printed List.

DEMAND NO. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1941, in respect of ‘Executive Council’.”

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

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1941, in respect of ‘Executive Council’.”

*Importance of initiating a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country and of establishing a Defence Advisory Committee.*

**Sir Syed Raza Ali**: Sir, I move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

I hope, as a layman, I am not rushing in where experts would fear to tread. Honourable Members will remember that I had tabled a Resolution on the entire subject of defence that was to be taken up on the 27th of February. I did not move that Resolution as it was feared that it was open to two objections: the first objection was that there was a reference in it to Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety, and my Party held that it was not safeguarding their position if a member of their Party used language which might even by mistake be taken to mean that our Party acquiesced in that position. The second difficulty arose out of the language I used about the defence control being handed over to Indians within a fixed time. That also is a very knotty problem, and it was likely to give rise to controversies of a rather heated character. For these reasons I withdrew my Resolution. The present motion fortunately is free from those objections.

I do not propose to tire out this House with any figures, which, as a rule, are uninteresting. The position, as Honourable Members remember, is that our defence is divided into three arms,—the Army, Navy and Air Force. The most important of these, having regard to the type of the forces and the money that we spend on it, is the Army. In the Army, Indianisation was introduced in a very cautious manner in 1917; and it has had, I am afraid, a chequered career. A very important Committee, presided over by Sir Andrew Skeen, was appointed about 13 years ago, and it produced a very important report. The time at my disposal will not allow to read out any important passages—and this report abounds in such

[Sir Syed Raza Ali.]

passages—to this House. All the same, the object of the Committee which had on it some very distinguished members, including the Chairman, Sir Andrew Skeen himself, was to Indianise the army in right earnest. Unfortunately, effect was not given to the recommendations of this Committee and the recommendations were considerably whittled down. Today, I believe the position is that something like the equivalent of 16 units are to be Indianised. We have established a military school at Dehra Dun: unfortunately the arrangements made there have been considerably disturbed by the present war. But, before the war, the position was this: that something like 60 recruits were supplied annually by Dehra Dun and these recruits were posted after their training to one of the 16 units, or the equivalent of 16 units, I should say, that were proposed to be Indianised. A very important change, to which I will just refer in passing, was contemplated in 1935 and introduced shortly after, and that change was this: that whereas in the non-Indianised units there are two classes of officers, the first consisting of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and the second consisting of officers holding their commissions from His Majesty, the King, these Indianised units have only one class of officer, all of whom hold the King's Commission. It is not possible for me, owing to the limitations of time, to point out the inherent disadvantages and weaknesses of that scheme. I may, however, point out that Indian opinion was strongly opposed to the introduction of this scheme. The scheme, unfortunately, was all the same introduced.

Now, the position is this, that these officers who take their training at Dehra Dun are posted to the units which are either Indianised or will be Indianised soon. I speak subject to correction, but my information is that the units concerned have almost completed, not wholly, but almost completed the process of having Indian officers, and we will soon be faced with the question as to where the officers, who have taken their training at Dehra Dun, should be posted. On account of the war, I believe, that problem will not be an urgent one; but, soon after the war, we will be faced with that problem, and I suggest very strongly, though I do not want to use any language which during present conditions is likely to be misunderstood either in our own country or in countries abroad, that this process of Indianisation is very very slow and inadequate. My point is this, that as our land forces consist of the Indian army on the one hand, and the detachments of British army which come out to India and stay for three years, the definite, decisive and settled policy of the Government should be to Indianise the entire Indian army. Let the detachments of the British army, whose number comes to about 55,000,—this information is two years old,—let those detachments come out to India,—I have not a word to say against those detachments of the British army being stationed in India till such time as we are in a position to expand the Indian army sufficiently to replace the British detachments by the Indian army itself. That time seems to be far off; it seems to be so distant that it is not visible not only to the bare eye, but even to my eyes though I am using glasses; therefore, I won't talk about it, but I feel that having regard to the declared policy of the Government and their profession, it is the duty of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to settle a scheme definitely without any equivocation to have all the Indian army regiments officered by Indians. That is the most important point. I shall say only a few words on this point and then pass on to the other two points. The most

important point is this, that it was decided in 1917, 23 years ago, that India should have self-Government by gradual stages. In spite of that declaration, it was not till, I believe, the 10th of January, 1940, that a definite statement was made by the Governor General in Bombay to the effect that India would have full self-Government as soon as possible. That took 23 years. The question of the army was first raised in 1917 when for the first time King's Commissioned ranks were granted to Indians during the war. That also took 23 years. Why can't the Government decide as to what their definite policy in India should be? To me, Sir, it seems that the time has come, in fact it is overdue, when a definite statement to this effect should be made.

Now, on the question of expenditure, I may say that one of our difficulties at the present stage is this, that the scales of pay of Indian officers, as the House is aware, have been reduced, with the result that there are two Majors of about the same position, one Indian and the other an Englishman, posted to Indian regiments, and they get different scales of pay; that is to say, an English Major gets more than the pay of an Indian who gets a smaller scale of pay according to the new scales recently introduced. I am not one of those who hold the view that Indians while serving in their own country and their own people should draw fat salaries,—I am all for reducing the scales of pay; but let there be no invidious distinction. If you Indianise the Indian army, and if all the Indian army is to have Indian officers and nobody else, there is no reason why the scales of pay should not be reduced, because thereby you will be effecting a large saving in expenditure. In Japan, I understand, the pay of a Major is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 160. Now, if a Japanese Major can live on Rs. 160 a month, there is no reason why an Indian Major should not be able to serve in his own country on a much smaller salary than he is getting now. Why should Indian Majors get Rs. 800 or more which they are getting now? But we must remember that it is very humiliating really to see that two men doing exactly the same work should be paid at different scales. My point is this, that if you courageously decide on the policy of having the entire Indian army in course of time of course,—I don't mean today,—if you decide on having the entire Indian army officered by Indians, that will effect a very large saving so far as our defence budget is concerned.

Then, another point that I would like to make is that the system under which Viceroy's Commissions have been abolished in those units which have been or are to be officered by Indians works a great hardship. I am afraid, Sir, time will not permit me to go into this question in greater detail but the question is, has it led to increasing the efficiency of these Indian units? Sir, today the obvious effect of this change,—I do not call it a reform,—because it is not a reform, but a change,—the obvious effect of this change is that all those Indians,—I mean the rank and file offering themselves as recruits who want in course of time by hard and honest work to become Subedars, Subedar Majors or Jemadars—prefer going to a non-Indianised unit to going to an Indian Unit, and for very good reasons, and that certainly leads to Indianised units becoming less efficient than they were when they had two classes of officers, namely, the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and the King's Commissioned Officers. These are the facts, and I don't think any arguments are required to explain the position. The position is really so unassailable and strong that I think the point is

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obvious. All I ask the Government to do is to take their courage in both their hands.

Sir, I know that a Committee was appointed which sat in Simla and recorded evidence. I felt very sorry for it and it was very hard that I witnessed the process of this Committee solemnly going through the farce, if I may say so, of recording the evidence. A real reform should not be afraid of itself. If you really want to have truly and genuinely an Indian army, you cannot possibly have it officered by Britishers. I do not want any British officers to remain in this country. I do not want certain detachments of the British army to serve in India: the point is so obvious. That Committee was shelved owing to the intervention of the war. Sir, I am not for tinkering with the problem. I am not for Government saying: "Two more units will be thrown open or four more units will be thrown open to Indians." I believe the strength of the Indian army in India two years ago was somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,55,000. I want all this army to be officered by Indians. Let us see what the effect of what I am suggesting to the House will be? The effect will be that if today the total British recruitment, which is, I believe, something like 120 second Lieutenants a year, is stopped, it would take 26 to 28 years before the entire Indian army was officered by Indians. That would be the effect. These facts stare us in the face, and, in view of these facts, I would urge a very strong plea in favour of a courageous declaration that in future more military colleges should be opened because that is very important. One Military College at Dehra Dun cannot possibly cater for our requirements and our needs. As a war measure, a training school has been established at Belgaum, where only Britishers are trained. Sir, we are in the midst of war and you are welcome to train British officers at Belgaum, but there is no reason why some more colleges for training young educated Indians who are up to the mark should not be opened.

I now come to the second point. As regards the Air Forces, the House will remember that about four weeks ago my motion was adopted by this House with the help of this Government for which help I render my thanks to them. I do not think it is any use going over the same ground except to enable myself to make one observation, and it is this. I think the policy that has been adopted by the Government of India with reference to the constitution of the Air Force is much more courageous than that which they have unfortunately consistently applied to the land forces. If they did nothing more than to copy this, namely, to apply to the land forces with reference to the Indianisation the same policy as has been applied to the Indian Air Squadron, then the results would be much more encouraging than the results which have been obtained by the efforts of the Government of India during the last 25 to 30 years or, shall I say, 60 or even 80 years.

The question of the Indian Navy is the last question that I would like to touch. As long as India is within the British Commonwealth of Nations the question of the invasion of India by any maritime power is very remote. The British Navy is there to defend us. When I say that, I do not mean that Indianisation of the Royal Indian Navy should not be speeded up. There is ample scope there, but the problem is not at all so urgent as it is in the case of the land forces.

Lastly, I come to the Committee that I have urged in my Resolution. Sir, this Committee is not going to start any inquisition. I do not want a War Council. I do not want something like the Defence Committee which they had in England some years ago. All I want is to have a small Committee of three non-officials, two of whom should preferably, if possible, be Members of this House, to see that the Government's policy was properly enforced.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali**: That is the last thing that I wanted to say. This proposal about the Committee need not frighten anybody. Sir, I move.

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

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, the matter which has been tabled to be discussed is "the importance of initiating a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country and of establishing a Defence Advisory Committee". I will confine myself to this matter and I will not at the present moment discuss the matter which stands in my name, for which I hope to get another opportunity. I do not want to mix up the two things because the cut motion under discussion by itself covers a very wide field and I am sure nobody can do justice to it in 15 minutes. Sir, I do not want to say anything which may embarrass the Government at the present time, neither do I want to give an opportunity to the German broadcasting station to broadcast false rumours as they have been doing for purposes of their propaganda. I would like to say very briefly two things which are really necessary.

In the first place, I wish to say that a definite policy should be adopted for training Indians to defend their own country. The Government have not adopted any definite policy up to now. I do not want to go into the details of the Indianisation of the Indian Army because that is not the only way of training Indians to defend their country. Sir, we know that our country can be defended by three kinds of armies,—the air force, the land army and the navy. As was explained very clearly in his broadcast speech by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief some time ago, our defence is not confined to the shores of India or to the frontiers of India but our defences go far beyond. And if we want to defend our country properly, we should not confine our attention only to the armies which invade us through our frontiers or attack us by the sea but we have to prevent this army from attacking us a long way off on account of the new methods of warfare which have now come into existence. The modern warfare is teaching us a lot of things and we have to be careful for the future as to how we defend our country. From this point of view, the Government have not come forward with any suggestion as to how they are going to defend this country. How are they going to teach Indians to defend their country? It may be some units will be Indianised but that will not be sufficient. How are the Indians to keep the enemy away beyond Aden? How is the enemy going to be kept beyond Singapore? Not by stationing a few regiments there. That is not what the Indians require. Indians require that they should be trained in the navy properly, to defend from

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the sea. They want to be trained properly in the air to combat the foreign airmen and we want certainly to be able to defend our frontiers from all sides. We have to revise our ideas in the light of the facts that come to our knowledge in the course of the present war. We see war is going on in Finland, Germany and France. The two armies are standing side by side without attacking each other. That may be our position too. We want something more than that. We want our Indians to be trained. A definite policy should be laid down by the Government. How are you going to teach Indians in the present warfare, in view of the lessons which the present war is teaching us? It is very difficult for any one on this side of the House to lay down a definite policy that such and such a thing should be done because the war is only teaching us lessons. It has not taught us all the lessons which the war is going to bring and, therefore, it is very difficult for any layman to say that so and so should be the only policy. It is for the Government to accept this principle—that they are going to lay down a definite and clear policy for training Indians to take their proper share in the defence of their own country.

We find nowadays that young British officers are really wanted for home purposes and recruitment may not be so easy and possible for the Indian armies. If the war drags on for a longer period than is expected, if it takes the shape of a world war then England will be required to send all her men to Europe and other parts of the world and we want a clear cut policy as to how Indians are going to be trained to defend their country. My Honourable friend, the Mover, did not have the time to develop this portion of the cut regarding the appointment of an Advisory Committee. He only said that it should not frighten any side but as I have got some time I want to develop that point a little further. I think a Defence Advisory Committee is the first and foremost right of the country, because as long as Indians do not feel that they have a share in the defence of their own country, they cannot have the same idea as an Englishman has got when he defends his own country. Indians feel that they are not treated properly and that they are not taken into confidence. The defence is left entirely in the hands of the British people and not in the hands of the Indians. If an Advisory Committee is set up, that will give confidence and a kind of feeling to the Indians that they are trusted at least so far as the defence of their country is concerned, the country which they love more than anybody else. It may be very good that the British Government is defending this country but their idea of defending the country is totally different. Their feelings are different from the feelings of the people of this country. The feeling of the people of this country is the same as the feeling of the English people when they are defending England. This war and the war that may come in future may reveal to us many things for which we may not be prepared and even this war is going to teach us many lessons. We do not know them yet. Indians are fully patriotic in this matter. There may be a handful of people who may be against it but the majority of the country want to take up their position side by side with England. They do not want that the British should leave this country now. They want that the country should be protected with the help of the British. They value it. The more the war teaches us lessons, the more we appreciate it and we know that the country in its present state cannot be defended even for a week without the help of the British. If they leave us from one side, we may be attacked from the

other side and our shores and frontiers will not be safe from the aggression of even a small State. All we want is that we may not remain in this tutelage for ever.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has only two minutes more.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** I shall finish soon. We want to take our place side by side with the British in defending our own country. The Advisory Committee which will be set up will advise the Government every time as to what steps the army should take and in every country there is a defence advisory committee. Of course you may have the army experts who may give you the army point of view but this Defence Committee, composed of the civilian population, will serve as a sort of interpreter. They will interpret the people's point of view to the Government and the Government point of view to the people, which is very necessary for a Government of the present type. (Interruption.) I have no time to reply to the interruptions of the Honourable gentleman. It is for this purpose that I think Government should accept the two policies which have been laid down in this cut. I know the Honourable Member will not be in a position to announce it just now but at least I hope that a reply will come from him that full representation will be made and an announcement, laying down a clear policy, will be made as soon as possible. I support the cut.

**Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I am very glad that my Honourable friend, Sir Raza Ali, has moved this cut, coming as he does from such a province the Muslims of which Province take very little interest in recruiting.

**An Honourable Member:** No, no. You don't want them.

**Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan:** I strongly resent my Honourable friend's remarks that the Indianisation Committee of which I have the honour to be a member was a farce. I hope he will withdraw these words; otherwise he should prove that that Committee was a farce, the personnel of that Committee was wisely selected and many members of the Committee have served the army with distinction . . . . .

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir, on a point of personal explanation, I meant no reflection whatsoever on the individual members of that Committee, none whatsoever, but I do say that the policy which was responsible for creating that Committee and bringing such other things into being was a farce.

**Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan:** As a matter of fact, that Committee has not finished its labours yet, it was just half way through when the war broke out. So I don't understand how my friend has made up his mind as regards some policy which he did not like. I, being a member of that Committee, hope that my friend would not pass such remarks that the Committee and the personnel of that Committee were a farce.

**An Honourable Member:** That is the verdict of the country.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya** (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, last time when my Honourable friend, Sir Syed Raza Ali, moved his Resolution and then withdrew it . . . . .

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** I did not withdraw,—I never moved it.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** Despite what he says, he did not withdraw the Resolution, but he certainly moved it . . . . .

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** I never moved it, I never withdrew it.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** I told him then in the course of my speeches regarding development of aviation that so far as the policy of the Government of India is concerned, it is definite, it is well-known, unless we refuse to see what is visible, without specs, with these eyes that God has given us. So far as the Honourable the Mover's speech today is concerned, I thought he was going to speak about the training of our youths so that they might be able, in the near future, if any contingency should arise, to defend their hearths and homes. But as he advanced further, I found that his whole defence consisted in one thing and one thing alone and that was the Indianisation of the army. Sir, if this brings him any happiness, if this gives him any pleasure, if this gives any satisfaction to him, he is welcome to it, but I want to tell him that while he has grown grey in the service of the motherland and while he has rendered good service to his countrymen, still there might not be the same warmth in his blood as is to be found in the blood of the youths of this country, and I tell him, Sir, that moving out motions like this, and speaking on this subject, and the making of speeches begging for a share in the defence of our own country are galling to those who are really serious in defending their country. It is painful to those who really want to defend their country but who find that they are perforce being kept away from it. Sir, these youngsters do not like to be told always, every day, in season and out of season, that there are practical and financial difficulties in the way, that the material which is available is not good, is not fit or is not up to the standard or mark. I know my friend is persistent in doing whatever service he can render to his country, but I know this much that, with all his good intentions and with all his goodwill, unknowingly, unconsciously, he is hurting the youths of the country who know what is in store for them . . . . .

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** How?

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** Because they see and which you cannot see; because they know that this Government is not going to train them to defend their country, because they know that the war is going on, because they know that in Turkey even girls and ladies are being trained in order to be able to defend their country, because they know that in Great Britain, youths, both girls and young men, above the age of 19 have been taken away from their schools and are being trained to render some service in the defence of their land, because they know that fourteen thousand youths in Australia are going to be trained this year in order to become pilots, because they know that twenty-five thousand youths are going to be trained in Canada from all over the Empire but even amongst

these 25,000 not one Indian can find a place. Do you know what all this means? You may move Resolutions, you are cold-blooded, you do not see the degradation in it, you do not see that our self-respect is hurt.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** What do you want me to do? Tell me?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better address the Chair.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** The Honourable friend should try to stand on his own legs and not beg the Government to do, which they will never do. I wanted to say this, that it is most painful. I know that the Government, as on the last occasion, will stand neutral and that my Honourable friend will have the satisfaction of seeing the Resolution passed. I know that Government would not like to oppose this Resolution and proclaim to the world that even during the war the Government were not prepared to train Indians.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjea** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Government will do nothing.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** It might be a good thing for our Honourable friend, who is easily satisfied. I want to tell him that not only will the Government remain neutral so far as the voting is concerned, but so far as action is concerned also, Government will remain neutral. What is the good of moving a cut motion then? We had had our own Government in eight Provinces or more. Practically all the Provinces have their own Provincial Governments. I want to know whether the Congress Governments, when they were in power and before they resigned, did anything to train their youths for the defence of the country?

**Dr. P. N. Banerjea:** They had not the power.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** I would be told, as my Honourable friend, Dr. Banerjea, tells me that they had not the power, but I know that where there is a will, there is a way. If I had been the Chief Minister, which is not possible . . . . .

**Dr. P. N. Banerjea:** Why not possible?

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** If I had been the Chief Minister in  
 12 Noon. one of the eight Provinces, I would have, in spite of the Governor, tried to train our youths and given them military training. Of course, there would have been a tussle and I feel that that would have been a good occasion for getting out of the ministry or even for sticking to the chair and compelling the Governor to take action. My friend is an Honourable Member of the Muslim League, he has his own Ministers in the Punjab, in Bengal, in Sind, in Assam. What is there to prevent these Ministers from training our youths? I say where there is a will there is a way. If these friends of mine are really serious that our men should be trained for the Army, for the Navy and the Air, if they want that our youths should be trained to defend their own country, let them go to their own Ministers in Bengal and the Punjab. Compel them to start

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the military training of their youths, and let us see who stands in their way. Then there would be a cause for fight, and we shall know who tenders his resignation on the issue. (Interruption.)

**Bhai Parma Nand** (West Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : They have stopped volunteers in the Punjab.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya** : Of communal organisations. That was a good thing to do instead of encouraging bloodshed all over the country.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee** : Has the Khaksar movement been stopped?

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab : Sikh) : No, no.

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar : Non-Muhammadan) : The military part of that is stopped, but every thing else is allowed. (Interruptions.)

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya** : Even when discussing the defence of the country, a most important subject over which every one of us feels here,—even when discussing such a subject we cannot rise above this communal organisation or that communal organisation, and still we want to defend our country! If this is the way we want to defend our country and feel that our youths should be trained to defend our mother land, there can be no hope for us. It was reported in the press a few days back that the Russians are having roads ready from some place, I forget the name, in Turkestan or whatever it was, up till Afghanistan. The day the British and French enter the Dardanelles, my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary, knows that Russia will invade Turkey and then we will know where we stand. Then we will see. Let the British and the French enter the Dardanelles then see what happens . . . . .

**An Honourable Member** : Don't talk like that.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya** : Only then we will realize what war means and what awaits us. Then we will know what unpreparedness for defence means. Our British friends are anxious to keep us in bondage not for today, not for tomorrow but for all time,—for so long as they can keep us down. Let us recognise these facts. In the end I would tell my Honourable friend, the Mover of the motion, for God's sake, do not move such motions, which degrade us not only in our eyes and the eyes of those sitting on the opposite Benches, but in the eyes of the world.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** : May I know whether my friend opposes my cut motion?

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee** : He does not oppose . . . . .

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** I sympathise with the resolution, but there is no hope for it. I know that these cut motions are not going to effect any change except to degrade us in our own eyes and the eyes of the world. What is the use of moving these motions? Don't we know that the policy of this Government is a definite one? They are not going to do anything; if I were in their position I would do the same. I do not blame them, they are as good men as we are.

**An Honourable Member:** Who?

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** Those friends who are sitting there on the Treasury Benches are as good human beings as we are. If I were in their position I would do the same thing. If India were in the place in which England is today and England were to be in the place in which India is today, we should act in the same way as they are doing. Self interest first, everything afterwards.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** We won't.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** I am a mere human being; I am not a superman. I am an ordinary mortal.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** If my Honourable friends believe in non-violence, how could he act like that towards the Treasury Benches?

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** As I said, I am not a mahatma, I am an ordinary mortal. I can only act as an ordinary human being does. I have no complaints to make against these friends, I have no grievance, I suffer what I am fated to suffer, and what I cannot remedy.

**An Honourable Member:** You are talking like a mahatma.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** I am talking like a man and hope that when it comes to action, we will act like a man.

**Mr. F. E. James (Madras: European):** From what I can gather from the rather discursive remarks of my Honourable friend who has just resumed his seat, the main burden of his speech was that he does not claim to be an *avatar* or a mahatma. Of course, with that claim the whole House will whole-heartedly agree. But then I should like to bring the House back to the particular subject which it is supposed to be discussing. I would express our appreciation of the studiously moderate tone of the Member who moved the cut and of Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan who supported it.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Does moderation pay?

**Mr. F. E. James:** It pays particularly in a time like this.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Very much.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Let us wait and see.

**Mr. F. E. James:** I would say immediately that no one can fail to have the greatest possible sympathy with the desire of Indians to take an

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increasing share in the defence of their own country. If I may indulge for a moment in a personal reminiscence, the first occasion on which it was my privilege to meet Indians was in France in the year 1915, and the whole of that year I moved almost side by side with Indian cavalry regiments, and before I had any intention of coming to this country I learnt, as every one else must have learnt who has had similar experience, to appreciate the courage and gentleness of those troops who were magnificent representatives of this country. When I came to India later, I felt that I had already made a link. That link I am glad to say has never been broken. I have had the warmest friends among some of the most gallant soldiers which the Indian Army has ever produced.

When, however, we come to the particular point of this motion, which is to discuss the importance of initiating a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country, we come up immediately against the practical difficulties of war time. I have no doubt that my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary, will tell the House as to what is being done in training Indians to undertake the defence of their country. A great deal is being done in various directions, I will not anticipate what he has to say; but as far as initiating a decisive policy is concerned, let me suggest to the House that the short time needs of war emergency must take pre-eminence over any long time policy, however desirable it may be, of Indianisation which can be carried out in time of peace. The emergency is here, and while I would advocate increasing opportunities being given, at every possible stage, for training Indians in the various land, air and naval forces of this country, I would beg the House to remember that it is not practicable at the moment, faced as we are with the emergency of the war, to do what we might wish to in the more spacious days of peace.

There is no doubt at all that my Honourable friends may argue, as my Honourable friend, Sir Syed Raza Ali, did argue, that the war gives the most amazing opportunity for a decisive policy of taking steps to train Indians. Well, Sir, I am not sure actually that he is right. From the financial point of view there are difficulties, for example, in the sudden extension of the air forces, also in the great extension of the forces at sea. As far as the Indian Army is concerned, which I understand is to come under more detailed examination in a subsequent cut, my broad generalisation applies particularly. You cannot in a time of emergency expect anything but the immediate needs of the emergency to be predominant. It is perfectly true that the war is already giving increasing opportunities of service in India's defence forces. I was very glad indeed to observe the announcement of the Government of India in regard to the extension of the territorial system, particularly in parts of India where the increase in the territorial forces is more specially welcome. There have been opportunities for extension in the land forces. We have heard in this Session already of the training which is being given on as extensive a scale as India can at present afford in regard to the air forces.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Fifty men under training.

**Mr. F. E. James:** My broad general observation on that narrow aspect of this cut is that to the immediate emergency of war, everything else must give place.

Now, the other point which he made was about the appointment of a Defence Advisory Committee and here, I think it is due to the House that I should explain the views which we hold on this now. We have previously expressed the view that it would be a good thing to have some machinery of a consultative character which the Government of India might use in bringing representatives in part from the Legislature in touch with some of the defence problems of the country. But quite obviously in war time that machinery would not be advisable and we would not be prepared to recommend its establishment at the present time. I do say that there is a need in this country for much greater publicity being given to the activities of the defence forces than has been given at least in the past. This is not a private war, this is not Mr. Ogilvie's war, it is not even the Commander-in-Chief's war. Wars now-a-days are not merely fought by the defence forces; they are fought by whole peoples. Therefore behind your defence forces, you should have as far as possible the interest and support of the whole population. Now, there is a great lack of what I would call conscious propaganda work which will bring home to the people in the remotest parts of India, from North to South, the real work of the Indian Navy, the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army. We have from time to time brought this to the notice of the Defence Department and I should commend to that Department the policy which is now being adopted by the Punjab Government in making available to the remotest villages knowledge about the progress of the war, pointing out the part which India is playing in that progress. As the House will realise that part is no mean part; it is a very great part and India's contribution is wider probably than ever before. Therefore, may I put it to the Honourable the Defence Secretary that while he may not find it advisable, as indeed it is not advisable now, to establish a Defence Advisory Committee, he will tell the House that Government are taking rather special steps in the direction of making as widely public as possible the activities of the various arms in India's defence forces. If he will do that, then I am quite sure, as a matter of fact he will do much more in popularising the work of India's defence forces, throughout the country, than by the mere appointment of a Defence Advisory Committee. I would add to this that I, for one, appreciate what is being done through the radio broadcasts in Hindustani from France, the eye-witness' account of the movement of troops, the arrival of troops in France and the conditions of life of Indian troops in Egypt and Singapore—all that is excellent. This is not enough. The great arm of the cinema should be used and there should be in all programmes of films that are sent into the villages,—in these travelling cinemas there should be attached to these programmes shorts and news reels of the life of the Indian soldier, the Indian navalman and the Indian airman. In that way even the remotest of the populations of this country would feel that they are taking a part in a great struggle for the freedom not only of other countries but also of this country.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Sir, I am very grateful to my Honourable friend, Mr. James, for having given a reality to the debate on the cut motion that is before the House. But I am afraid that I agree to differ with him on the main conclusions which he has arrived at on the data which are substantially correct. Here in this cut motion, the Honourable Member, Sir Syed Baza Ali, has claimed for a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country and of establishing a Defence

[Sardar Sant Singh.]

Advisory Committee. Mr. James contended that war emergency must take precedence over long term policy and he has told us that the immediate need of the Defence Department is to adopt measures which may go to win the war. These are exactly the reasons which strengthen my position when I say that if war is to be won and if the emergency is such, and it is so, that emergency must take precedence over the bureaucratic traditions that have been governing this country so far.

When we are asked to give nearly one-half of our revenues for the purpose of defence it is forgotten that we are to spend it as well and must have a voice in its spending. The Finance Member has devoted four pages of his budget speech to the Defence Department. Granting the need for increased taxation, will he have our views on the spending of that money too? That is the principle we want to establish. If in this emergency when Englishmen are engaged in a life and death struggle with their enemies they refuse to take us into their confidence although they want us to pay for that emergency, it is not consistent with fairness, justice, equity and good conscience.

**Mr. F. E. James:** And jurisprudence.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Yes, and with jurisprudence. If Canada is a place where air pilots can be trained, why not India? Canada has no borders to defend and is quite a safe place.

**Mr. F. E. James:** Is not the safety of Canada the very reason for selecting it?

**Sardar Sant Singh:** If that is the reason, then why keep your army on the borders of India at all? I thought it was the unsafe place where you train men for defending their country. I think the real reason for selecting Canada is racial and if our conclusion is unfounded, proof to the contrary must come. This emergency should be utilised for training Indians to defend their country. The communication lines over the seas and over the land are becoming dangerous and will become more so in future. Therefore, it is essential for India to be self-sufficient in the matter of her armaments, army officers as well as production of munitions and other materials for the successful conduct of a war. That is our reason for wanting to know about the expenditure of this money. It is very well to talk of approaching the remotest villages and imparting information about war. But it is overlooked, when such an argument is advanced that all such information is looked upon with suspicion when it comes from sources that are known to be interested. We are their elected representatives and have their confidence, and we cannot tell them how this money is spent. Whereas people sent by interested parties will be looked upon with suspicion. Therefore, we say that the elected representatives of the people who enjoy their confidence should go and tell them that the money is safe in the hands of the Defence Department.

Government of India want us to pay additional nine crores of rupees for defence purposes this year. The people of the country are justified in demanding their right to be taken in confidence. If a civil officer can be the head of the Defence Department in England, why not here? My

friend, Mr. Ogilvie, is an officer of the Indian Civil Service. Why cannot an Indian take charge of this department? Cannot Indians work as advisers to the department in defence matters? It is absurdly unconvincing to take shelter behind the plea of lack of expert knowledge or so—etc. India had a big army before your occupation and without any of your special training there have been big leaders of armies. India had successfully solved the problem of the tribal areas which the present Government have not been able to do with all the training and scientific methods of its Generals. If we are given the opportunity we can make as good soldiers and officers as any other people can. We cannot willingly permit things to go on in the way they are going on today. We want you to consult us; we want to see that the money is being spent primarily in the interest of India and Indians should get the same opportunity as foreigners are getting today. And, therefore, we want that an Indian Defence Advisory Committee should be immediately established. There is a difference between Members of Parliament in England and Members of the Legislature here. The former are taken into confidence and associated with the administration by the executive government, although matters of strategy are of course left to technical experts. But as regards direction of policy we want to have the same voice as Members of Parliament have in their country.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Then, there is the point about the expenses incurred by expanding the borders of India. Indian armies have been sent to places like Egypt, Suez, Aden, Hong-Kong on the plea that it is for the defence of India. The other day I said that these zones were perhaps described in the Chatfield Committee's report. If these are zones for the defence of the Empire, let England pay for all this. If we permit such pleas without examining them we may be told that Indian defence extends to Timbuctoo. We must examine for ourselves how Aden, Suez, Hong-Kong, Malaya, etc., form the natural boundaries of India where Indian troops should remain in order to defend India. In the other House, the other day, during the course of a debate, an illustration was given that nobody waits for the dacoits to come and invade his house before he acts and it was contended that one should go ahead and meet them. That is a fallacious argument. We must be told that the dacoits are coming. Dacoits are not coming. If England and France are at war with Germany, Germany has not declared war against India. As a matter of fact the war is being fought for the purposes of England and France and if we are to help in the war we must be told that that war is our concern as well. And for that the only thing we want is that when we are made to pay taxes we must also be allowed to have our say how the taxes should be spent. This is a most moderate demand which any people can put.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Therefore, I will say only this much, that this is the time when an advisory committee should be set up which could function with the Defence Department.

**Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I admire my friends, Sir Syed Raza Ali and Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, for their very moderate and well-argued speeches and their plain talk on this cut motion. They have said rightly that Indians require really good training in the Army and Navy and Air Force for the defence of India. This desire of theirs is very well-known to the British Government. Even more than us, the British Government is careful and desirous of the safety of the Indian Empire. Therefore, the first and foremost duty of all of us who have a keen interest and desire for the safety and advancement of India is to support the British Government wholeheartedly and co-operate sincerely with that Government, because, in this respect, their interest and our interest is one and the same . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** But where is the co-operation? That is what the motion requires and demands.

**Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** I am not talking of details, I am talking on the principle; and Sir Syed Raza Ali and Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan have very rightly said that this is the time when more training should be given and more colleges for training Indians should be started. This is one of their proposals. But other gentlemen will come forward with other proposals and in this way there will be a hundred and one proposals in this matter. There are many such proposals going on in England also and other places because the interest of Great Britain in the defence of India is far greater than it is for many of us here individually. As Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan has said very plainly, I will also say that there is a vast number of Indians who still believe honestly that India cannot remain in safety for one day without the support and protection of Great Britain. . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Sir Yamin Khan did not say that.

**Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** This is quite clear from the hard facts that our top leaders in India in spite of their long and honest efforts cannot settle even such an ordinary and easy question as music before mosque or cow-killing, but they go on still blaming one or the other community. We cannot settle our differences or maintain peace even over ordinary matters. How can we then believe that if India is attacked by a first class foreign power, these leaders will agree to defend India? They will go on arguing, and in the meantime the invader would come and say "Surrender"; and our leaders will say "We are consulting, consulting, consulting", and there is no mutual settlement yet. Our leaders will go on saying, we want safeguards here and safeguards there and the committees will never agree on any point. These things are also known to Government and are much better known to our leaders than to myself who belongs to the North-West Frontier Province, where people know more about war than about the hypocrisy of politics. It is becoming well-known all over the world now that the first class powers in Europe are arming against each other and so are even the smaller states there. This fact that India is in need of defence is known not only to us but in a better and greater form to the British Government. They also know that our army is not quite efficient and it is the British Navy, Air Force and Army that is protecting us and for that reason Sir Raza Ali has very wisely said that he does not like to criticise the maintenance of the British soldiers in India or any decrease in its

numbers; he merely wants that the Indian Army should be made more efficient and Indian officers should be given better and proper training for the defence of India. We are very ignorant of many things required for training; we know much less of these things than those who are accustomed to know these things and have experience of them. . . .

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask the Honourable Member, who is a Major, whether he is a less efficient army officer?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not interrupt.

**Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** I have as much right to say what I think as Sardar Sant Singh has. As I say, for many reasons the British Government are more careful and eager to maintain an efficient army and bring the standard of the army here up to the mark, because they know very well that, if, God forbid, India is attacked by any two first-class powers it will be the Indian Army really which will have to play the greater part in protecting India along with the British army and under British officers. Our main stay for the defence of India really is the Indian Army, which consists of our land forces, the navy, the strong air force and other branches. Therefore, the best course for all patriotic Indians to adopt in this matter is to support the British Government and to co-operate with them, so that the object which we Indians have in view may be achieved quickly, and not to paralyse the Defence Department by criticisms of their actions. If we go on opposing and paralysing the Government, we shall be acting against our own interest and setting back the hands of the clock of progress.

My friend, Sardar Sant Singh, asked why should the Indian Army be sent to far off places like Aden, Hongkong and Egypt? Evidently he does not know the reason. It is because he is living in the most fertile district of Lyallpur where there is greater safety. He thinks that our army should not be sent to distant places. He must know that if India's battles are fought a thousand miles away from our own homes, then our homes, women and children are free from the horrors of war. If Sardar Sant Singh thinks that the battles of India should be fought on the Indian soil itself, then no one knows the loss of property and how many thousands of Indians will be killed. . . .

**Sardar Sant Singh:** I neither said it nor meant it.

**Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** That is why the British Government have very wisely and prudently extended the frontiers of India to such places beyond the real frontiers.

Then there is another important question which we have to seriously consider and it is the question of money. Money is the chief thing required nowadays, and therefore, I wish that the Indian Legislature, whenever the question of the Indian defence comes up here, should liberally support the Government. On the one hand you want to cut off the defence budget, while on the other hand you want to improve the efficiency of the army. I really cannot understand the logic of this argument. If the Indian Army should be made really efficient, there must be sufficient money to train them and to make them efficient. Without efficient training how can we produce an efficient and up-to-date army, and without a large sum and expenses how can we give efficient training and keep an efficient Army. You cannot

[Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan.]

make a good house or start a good institution without sufficient funds. Now, England has already given us so much large amount of money for the defence of India. She has also given money to smaller and weaker nations, because those small nations have men to fight but not enough money for their training and for supplies. I wish that each Indian should in this House fully support the principle that we should support and cooperate with the Government when they ask for funds to make our army more efficient. We should not paralyse and oppose them. We should support the Finance Member and the Army Budget so that our army may be maintained at a high level of efficiency.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Today being Friday, the House will adjourn till a Quarter-Past Two.

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

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

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Sir, the motion before the House moved by my friend, Sir Raza Ali, is of a very limited and modest character. He only wants to discuss the importance of initiating a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country and of establishing a Defence Advisory Committee. In view of the limited nature of this motion, there should not be much opposition from any quarter of this House, but, somehow, I find that, from the speeches made by my friend, Mr. James, as well as another Honourable Member over there, even this limited demand made by the Honourable the Mover is not acceptable to them as they anticipate considerable difficulty in accepting it in times like the present.

Before I make any observations on this motion, I should like to invite the attention of this House to certain matters which, in my opinion, are very important from the point of view of the discussion of military questions. Sir, there was a time, I remember very well, when the defence budget was under discussion or when important questions of policy affecting the defence of India were under consideration, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief used to show us the courtesy of being present in the House and also of giving us the benefit of his views and his experience on all these vital questions, but, somehow, since a long time, this practice has been discontinued, and I am very sorry that even when there is war on and when the country is looking up to the Defence Department for light and enlightenment, it is not thought proper to depart from an unfortunate policy which he has adopted in this matter. I feel this House would have been benefited considerably if it had the advantage of the views of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the motion which is under discussion now.

Now, Sir, having made a reference to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, my friends of the Muslim League will excuse me if I also make a reference to the distinguished Leader of that Party. It was the privilege of this House generally to be treated to a very well informed speech on defence questions by my friend, Mr. Jinnah, the Leader of the Muslim League Party,—I do not know whether he is in Delhi now. . . .

**An Honourable Member**: He is not.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** . . . . . but we very much miss his absence today particularly when his Party is moving a very important cut. . . . .

**An Honourable Member of the Muslim League Party:** What about the absence of the Congress Members?

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Nobody is more sorry than I myself for the absence of my friends on those Benches, because I know that there are some among them who have made a very careful study of these questions, and their views today would have been of the greatest value to us, but, unfortunately, we are discussing these questions today in their absence.

Now, Sir, having said this much, I now turn to reply to some of the objections raised by my friends. My friend, Mr. James, said that he had considerable sympathy for the motion before the House, but he asked the House to remember that the emergency must have precedence over, what he was pleased to call, long time reforms in the matter of defence. Reforms in defence must be undertaken, if they are to be of any use at all to the country, when there is an emergency. That is the main reason why the people demand reforms in the matter of defence. Defence measures are not undertaken merely to maintain a costly army for purpose of show. They are required because they should be of use to the country in times of emergency like the present one so that we may be in a position to tide over difficulties confronting us. Therefore, Sir, in my opinion, the present is a most opportune moment to undertake the defence measures so as to put the Indian Army on a more efficient basis, and to suggest that because there is an emergency and it should have precedence over all other questions is not a sound argument. In fact, while my friend expressed his sympathy for the motion, he virtually withheld his support to it. I do not know how the present emergency is going to stand in the way of considering the problem of training Indians for the defence of the country. If these questions are not to be considered now, what is the proper time for tackling these important questions? I feel, Sir, that the very fact that there is this emergency should make the Government feel the necessity of taking greater interest in these questions. That is how I feel in this matter. Therefore, those who put forward the argument of emergency and maintain that because of the emergency we should not tackle these questions seriously now, have really not realised the importance of the motion before the House.

When we are considering the question of expanding the facilities for training Indians for the defence of the country, we are entitled to know what the Defence Department is contemplating to do in this matter. We were told many times by the Honourable the Defence Secretary that nowadays the old army was of little use, that the wars were fought by mechanised arms and so on. So let us understand what the training of Indians in the use of mechanised units and machines really means, and what difficulties stand in the way of training the Indians in all these various branches of the army. If a country is to be equipped with a proper army, an up-to-date army, then it is not merely a question of sending a few boys to a particular school which will complete the training of Indians in this matter. You have to train them so as to form them into units of a mechanised army, and, therefore, the country should be properly equipped with all the necessary up-to-date and modern appliances of warfare. It means that you must be in a position to equip the army with all the modern machines of destruction,

[Mr. M. S. Aney.]

and for that you should not be dependent on any other country. I will include in the question of training Indians for the defence of the country all the other allied questions like equipping the country with all the upto-date factories for manufacturing those machines of destruction which are required to wage modern wars. Is this country to depend entirely on foreign countries for the supply of these machines and equipments in times of difficulty? If so, it will be obvious to anybody who gives the least thought to this question that this country will find itself entirely helpless, because even the means of communications are being interrupted, and with the best of intentions of England to supply the necessary materials to this country, we will be able to get nothing.

**An Honourable Member:** Have you not got the Spinning Wheel?

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** We shall spin that subject some time later, and not now. We are now dealing with the question of producing more deadly weapons than the spinning wheel. So let us approach this question with a little more seriousness and in a spirit of earnestness, and not in a spirit of joviality.

Now, Sir, if this country is to have a fully equipped army of its own and the youth of this country is to be properly trained in the use of modern arms, then the question will be not merely of imparting some training only but one of equipping the whole country with all the necessary mechanical equipments without which mechanised armies cannot come into existence.

Now, Sir, I will deal with the second point in regard to the expenditure to be incurred by the country. Some reference to this question was made by one of the Honourable Members who preceded me, and so I feel I must refer to it. If there is any time when the Government is generally recklessly liberal over its expenditure on the army, it is the time of war. On other occasions of course they have got other demands on their purse, and, therefore, on account of these demands they feel impelled to curtail their expenditure as much as they can on the army. So the question of expenditure should not stand in their way if they seriously look into the matter and decide to equip the army in the manner I have suggested. Apart from the money which the Government get from the Indian taxpayer and out of which a large portion is already being appropriated to army expenditure they can also tap other sources for having a most efficient and modern army in this country. I do not understand why the Government should not raise a loan for the purpose of having a truly Indian Army. If they can take contributions for the prosecution of the war from the Princes and others, I am sure if the Government of India make up their mind to have a full fledged Indian Army like the Air Force, Navy and all the rest of it, they can make an effort by approaching the ruling Princes of India, and I have no doubt that they will make very liberal contributions. Only the Government of India have to make an effort in this direction, there must be seriousness and a strong will on the part of the Government, and money will be easily forthcoming. . . .

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Very well, Sir, I shall finish in one minute. My contention is this, that if the Government think that the question of funds is

the only thing that stands in their way of creating a first class Indian Army, I think they are not taking a correct view. If they can get liberal voluntary contributions for carrying on the war in Europe from the ruling Princes of India, I am sure an appeal from the Government will elicit a very good response, and all classes of people including the politicians, even Congressmen, the Muslim Leaguers and others will support such an appeal by persuading the people of the country to make very liberal contributions so as to have a thoroughly well equipped Indian Army for the defence of this country. What is wanted is a strong determination on the part of the Government of India to have an up-to-date Indian Army officered by Indians for the defence of this country. Sir, we cannot tolerate the idea of being helpless in case the British Army is entirely engaged in the war. There is already trouble, and if that grows, we do not know what is in store for us and for them also. So it is better that we should be fore-armed, and, therefore, I feel that the motion before the House which is a very modest one should be accepted by the Government. Of course, I should prefer to have a different kind of Defence Committee than the one suggested by the Mover of the Resolution; and not merely a Committee composed of two Members of this House and of somebody else who may not understand the questions or the true needs of this country on defence matters. Anyway, if the Government want to make a beginning of their own accord, let them do so, but let us have a Committee which will have an effective voice in the control of defence expenditure when the war is on. With these few words, Sir, I support the motion.

**Some Honourable Members:** Sir, the question may now be put.

**Mr. Huseinbhai Abdullabhai Laljee** (Bombay Central Division: Muham-madan Rural): Sir, I feel that my friend, Sir Raza Ali, has rendered a great service to this Empire by moving this motion, and now it is for the Government to seize the opportunity. If the Government of India had trained a large number of Indians in India and Indian officers for the army in 1914, there would not have been the last Great War then nor could Germany have thought of the present war in 1939. Sir, much has been said about the martial races, their training, efficiency and so on, but we all know how other countries, England, America and even China when they have no large standing armies even then when needed they have brought into existence large armies within a couple of years who have been pronounced to be fit for all kinds of fightings in the field. There are all the classes of their people in their army in those countries. It is also a fact that at the time of the Great War we had hardly 150,000 Indian soldiers but very soon, within a short time, we had a large army prepared and how well did it soon become efficient, and a real army has been already said by my friend, Mr. James, who was pleased to give it that good credit which its performance deserved. I must thank my friend for giving credit where it is due.

Sir, as a business man I only rely on facts, and in spite of what some of our friends may have been saying as regards their experience in the army and about their efficiency and so on, I look to facts, and those facts are that within three years, from 1914 to 1917, Great Britain put in lakhs of British and Indian people in the field who fought in a manner that brought credit to the country and to themselves. We also found that our poor Indians can turn out to be as good and efficient soldiers as any within

[Mr. Husenbhai Abdullabhai Laljee.]

three years. If that is so, I will make bold to say that to make a good soldier it requires a training of two or three years. I will now give you a personal example and you will excuse me for it. Very recently a young man belonging to a good English firm who are our good old friends and who is only 21 years of age has been asked to join the army and he has been taken to Belgaum. He has hardly been there three months and he will probably, within the next month or two, become a second lieutenant. This young man came to India, when he was 14 years of age, for three months. Then he came again at the age of 17 and was three months here. Now he has been in India for only eight months. This young man has been playing with my boys. They had often been going together on excursions, and I may tell you this, that he himself admits and says, and so also the parents of the boy, that some of my boys are really strong in physique and almost equal in every other respect to this young man. But it is most regrettable that neither my son nor the son of any Indian here can, under the circumstances we are in, become a second lieutenant within three months, while in our country this young man can. This young man tells us, "Why don't you go for training to defend your country?" And we have to say with all shame that in our own country we are not allowed to do so. Within three months this young man will be a second lieutenant. Is there then I ask any truth in what we are told with regard to training, efficiency, martial races and what not? The whole point is there is a peculiar policy laid down for us, which policy may have been right, which policy my Honourable friend, Mr. Malaviya, says, he would adopt if he were also in power. But I say that that policy was a great mistaken policy, and if at all it were in any way right, it may have been some thirty-five years ago.

The world has changed a great deal. It is impossible now to believe that anything can be kept out of the people of any part of the world. All improvements, all science, all education, military training, naval or otherwise,—they are all well-known to the people. It is a mistaken idea to think that by keeping them in the dark you will be able to rule and then only you will be able to gain your object. It is only by co-operation, by avoiding bitterness, and treating everybody equal in the country in which you reside, that you can make headway, that you can make a long stay there, a good stay there for yourself and for others. Otherwise, what happens? The same thing as has been happening now. Every nation is coming out to fight with each other, to conquer or to exploit other people. I repeat that it is high time that an attempt was made in this country to train a large number of people. Let them not be in the regular army, they need not be kept as a standing army, but you can train them, and I assure the result so far as this Great War is concerned, the moment you have 15 lakhs of Indians trained in this country, you can surely expect not only from Germany, but from the world at large anything but regard to the benefit not only of India but of Great Britain herself. It has been said often that you have got to keep Indians out of the army because you think your business, your investments here will only be protected if you are in power and unless you hold the army doors closed against us. All that is a great mistaken policy, what is required is to be true to your friends. But even supposing it were true, I ask the House what are the total imports of Great Britain in India? Only 35 per cent., and if you

will allow Indians to develop their industries, it will take some years before they can capture the 65 per cent. of foreign trade. So, be friends with us, encourage us, co-operate with us, be honest with us and there will be no bitterness. But for that 30 per cent. or 32 or the most 35 per cent. of your trade you want to say, "We won't allow you to save yourself, we will allow everybody to exploit you for the sake of protecting our one-third share." That is intolerable and a great mistaken policy. It is not in the interests of the masses of India nor I make bold to say of the masses in England.

Take the instance of the sugar industry. For years together there was no encouragement given. (Mr. J. D. Boyle tried to interrupt.) Please do not interrupt me. But when our Government gave some protection recently, some lakhs and crores of rupees have been saved in this country and thereby also the British manufacturers have been able to sell their stores and machinery. At that time and even now none of the British Colonies were bringing in sugar here. It was only the Dutch and other European beet growing countries. Still the Government had been for years allowing them and others to exploit, to the tune of 65 per cent., this country by all imports from other countries. It is here again that the great mistake lies. If the economic fair interests of India were fairly and squarely to be looked into, I am sure there will not prevail ill-feeling between us and there would be no need to come forward with all sorts of excuses, to keep us out of Government or from army for our defence.

I again ask now after stating these facts, could not India within a year or a year and a half give training to a very large number of young men? Could not India get about 5,000 Indian officers trained if needed immediately within three or six months if you could have 300 young English men trained at Belgaum within three months to become second lieutenants? The facts are there. I do hope and trust that something will be done soon and in time to abolish this mistaken policy. Live and let live. Work with us in co-operation. You have large sums invested in this country and we want an offensive and defensive alliance. It will be that the first choice of Indians will be with the people of Great Britain who have got vested interests in India. Remember when Great Britain wants an offensive and defensive alliance with France, it cannot be that India does not want an offensive and defensive alliance. In that case, I repeat, the first choice will fall on Great Britain, provided that the latter look fairly for their interests only and no more, that is, of all Europeans and if there is a fair and square deal with India. Let Englishmen come forward and tell us, "If you agree to join us, to help us, we shall help you and honestly work with you and you can have tomorrow the army you want".

Take now the instance of the naval forces. Very recently many of the ships have been commandeered by Government. We had some ships in Indian waters. They have been found useful for guarding what you might call the Indian coast in our own interests and guarding the English interests in India in commerce, trade and industries. The ships were manned by Indian crew and by Indian officers. I understand that all the Indian officers have been removed. Surely, as engineers, second in command, third in command they could have remained there, and they would have been useful. Why do you act like this yet? I cannot understand.

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

**Mr. Huseinbhai Abdullabhai Laljee:** I will finish in a minute. With regard to the Air Force a lot has been said and I really thank my Honourable friend, Sir Syed Raza Ali, for his having done a service the other day by bringing up this question before us. Very recently, an important instance has happened. It was announced in England that those Indians in England would be given commissions in the Air Force. But, Sir, again, there was one thing therein and that was that it was announced that for and during the prevalence of the war it will remain. Why so? What is the good of that? Is that not discrimination? Is that not showing want of confidence? Does it not show that only during exigencies you want our services and not always? I do hope and trust that in the broader interests, in the interests of the people of India and of Great Britain this policy will be changed and that we shall soon have a large number of people trained to be able to take their place in the war if and when needed and you will find that it will result in the best interests of both. With these words I support the motion.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** (Defence Secretary): The main part of the Honourable the Mover's speech was devoted to the details of Indianisation of the defence forces, particularly the Army, and on that subject I propose to touch very lightly indeed, as I understand another cut motion is shortly to be moved by Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan on that very subject. Sir Raza Ali's cut motion is divided into two parts. The first was to initiate a decisive policy of training Indians to take part in the defence of their country. The first thing I have got to say about that is that I listened with the greatest care to the speeches of all Honourable Members and I could not find anything very decisive in anything that they said as to what was to be done.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** That is for you to decide.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I will do my best to do so. No concrete suggestion was made as to what this policy should be. I do not want Honourable Members to think that I am criticising them for failure to make such concrete suggestions. I regard that, in the circumstances in which we stand, as a sign of great wisdom. Now, what we are actually doing to train Indians in the defence of their country, I think, is fairly well-known to most people but I will summarise the steps that have been and are being taken.

In the first place a start has been made with the formation of a national army. With the foundation of an Indian Military College and the bringing of the officers trained therein under an Indian Army Act, the first step has been taken towards bringing the Indian Army, both officers and men, under an Indian Statute. The progress of Indianisation in the last few years is, I think, well-known to every one. I won't dwell any further on that for the moment. As regards the Navy, great changes have taken place since the beginning of the war. The service has been very greatly expanded and a great number of additional officers and men have been taken on. All the men and the bulk of the officers are Indians. There are many more ships than there were and admirable work is being done to

keep India's ports and harbours free from the possible menace of surface raiders, mine layers or submarines. The expansion in the army has not been as great as it was or anything like as great as it was in the latter years of the Great War but in that connection I would remind the House that there was no very great expansion of the Indian Army for the first two years of the last war. In fact, the really great expansion did not begin until the war was nearly three years old. What the expansion may be in the future neither I nor anybody else can possibly say. It depends upon the course the war may take and that at present cannot be foretold. There has, however, been a considerable degree of expansion to meet possible contingencies. In particular, the Territorial Army has been brought up to strength. A large proportion of it has been mobilised and is now fit to take the field, if necessary, with the regular troops. In addition, fresh battalions of the Territorial Force are being formed and if the need should arise, more will be formed. As regards the Air Force, I spoke at length about that the other day. I do not think that I need repeat what I said then. We are, however, endeavouring to increase the Indian Air Force and I hope that the comparatively near future will show what we have been able to do in that respect. Now, the question, to quote my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin, is this. Is this the proper share that India should have in her defence? Some went further than others and seemed to think that it was not and that India's contribution should be very much larger. Well, with that idea as an ideal, I am unfeignedly at one. If India could have a vast Navy, a vast Air Force and a mighty mechanised army, no one can say, at the present time, that it would not be for the good of the world.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): And officered by Indians?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** . . . and, as you say, officered by Indians.

I will not weary the House with the financial details that I have been in the habit of doing in an endeavour to point out the difficulties in the way of India standing on her own legs in the matter of defence but, I feel, that I must say quite categorically that in the existing circumstances of India and the world, no scheme which is within the limits of practical politics could possibly be devised which would achieve such an end. I think that it is an enormous tribute to the financial administration of this country that Honourable Members should consider that such a thing is possible.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Not at present but certainly after the war.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** They do not realise that vast as this country is, enormous as are its coast line, and its land frontiers and teeming as its population is—I believe in all probability the largest population in any country of the world—its income is not perhaps much greater than that of Australia, with a population of six and a half million. Well, that the financial administration of the Government should have been able to disguise that fact so extraordinarily well is, I think, the finest tribute to it which can possibly be paid. Then, to continue with the possibility of evolving a new defence policy, possibly, though I am not quite clear on that point, designed to make India self-sufficient in the matter of defence, if that is the ideal, no one can deny that that is our objective, very far away it is

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

true, and that everything we are doing is calculated to move towards that end instead of further away from it is incontrovertible. In so far as our resources permit, we have done everything that we can to make India self-sufficient in the munitions of war, and though I cannot say that that has been or can be entirely achieved, I can confidently inform the House that an immense advance has been made. His Majesty's Government have, of course, contributed most generously to that end. I said that I remembered a year or so ago that the changes which time has brought have made the maintenance of modern defence forces a burden which is almost beyond the power of even a wealthy, industrialised country. In the old days, even a hundred years ago, the matter was entirely different. Up to comparatively recently, India could and did afford to maintain an army comparable not only in men,—it is still comparable in that,—but in equipment, with the army of any other country. But now, even as regards army equipment, unless we put the most appalling strain on the people of this country, we cannot go very far on our own resources, and, as you know, His Majesty's Government have helped us most generously; without that help, we should not be in the position in which we very fortunately are today.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, talked about the possibility of raising immense loans from the people of this country for the creation of great forces. I do believe that the people of this country have the victory of the Allies in this war at heart, and that they would undergo great sacrifices in order to bring the day of victory nearer. On the other hand, it must be remembered that India, though fairly rapidly progressing in rices, is still largely an agricultural country, and the extent to which vast burdens can be imposed upon her people depends ultimately upon that fact. Again, to conclude my remarks upon the evolving of a new and radical policy, as my Honourable friend, Mr. James, so rightly said, even though we could think of what policy to pursue, this is not the time to do it. We do not know, as my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, pointed out, what lessons this war will have to teach us. At the end of it we may find our position in every way entirely different to what it is now. We must work for the moment, we must do the best we can to win the war: and we cannot evolve a radical change of policy in the absence of information of the more important factors involved. Again, when my Honourable friend, Sir Raza Ali, was moving his cut, he said that he had decided not to move his Resolution on very much the same subject because—I think I am right in saying—he did not wish to compromise the attitude of his Party upon the question of the grant of Dominion Status to India. Well, Sir, I maintain that it is quite impossible to cut the question of defence out of its context and to treat it apart from the great unsolved problem of India's future which is in front of us all.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Will the Honourable Member expand his remarks? I do not know what he means? We have no opportunity to raise this question except through these motions?

**Mr. F. E. James:** You are the only one in the dark.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I turn now to the question of the Advisory Committee. The Honourable the Mover had not the time to develop at any

length this part of his thesis. He did, however, say—if I have recorded him rightly—that a committee of three non-officials should be appointed to see that Government's policy is properly enforced. Well, I do not know whether that could in any circumstances be a practicable proposition. It is the Government's function, it is for Government to see that its policy is enforced; they are not to rely upon non-Government agencies to do that for it. However, I think almost a year ago I dealt at length with this question in a speech before this House and I then pointed out that there are two aspects to the question of appointing in any shape or form a standing defence advisory committee,—one was constitutional, and the other was practical. On the constitutional side, the authority responsible for defence, under the constitution as it exists here and now and with which alone I am concerned, is the Governor General in Council, and that responsibility he can neither share nor shelve.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Let Mr. James hear this!

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Then the Honourable Sardar Sant Singh in this connection appeared to be labouring under a misunderstanding as to the connection of members of Parliament in the United Kingdom. I can assure him that neither they nor the members of any other legislature have a voice in the framing of a defence policy. In the formulation of defence policy, such a thing has never even been thought of. That is the work of the Executive Government. When there is an Indian Parliament which is fully responsible, I do not think that you will find that the Indian Ministry of the day will accept advice or control as to the policy it is going to pursue from anyone outside its ranks. At least, they will not do so officially.

As regards the practical uses of such a Committee, they are, I submit, very few, especially, as the Honourable Mr. James pointed out, in time of war it is rather difficult to see on what subjects the Advisory Committee could be consulted, if they had to be kept apart from the secrets of strategy and mobilization, and most defence questions are bound up in one way or another with them.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** May I interrupt the Honourable Member for a minute? There was an idea of having a Consultative Committee. What functions would it have played had it come into existence?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I should be much obliged if I am allowed to 3 P.M. make my speech in my own way.

I do not say that there are no uses which informed civil opinion may not have. I do not say also that there are no uses which it has not got. It has. Government have for example always been ready to appoint *ad hoc* Committees on any subject on which the opinion of Members of this House could be of value. And should such questions arise again, it will undoubtedly continue to do so. Also, as I pointed out before, there is nothing to stop Honourable Members from making any suggestions that they think fit either from the floor of this House, which many of them do, or sending them either as individuals or as a group, in which case I can guarantee of their most careful consideration, but that they should be able to advise or, as some Members said, even exercise control in matters of policy, such as, new expenditure, and so forth, is frankly impossible.

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

On questions of administration, on the other hand, that is entirely a different matter, and there, of course, they have now many opportunities. The Public Accounts Committee, for example, goes very fully and in immense detail into the expenditure which the army has incurred.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjea:** That is a post-mortem examination.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Though, as the Honourable Member says, it is a post-mortem examination, the results have usually been surprisingly good. No blame has been attached to anybody. I fear, then, that, though I do sympathise most thoroughly with the view that India should stand on its own legs, for reasons I have given I have no course open but to oppose the cut, in the form in which it has been moved.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** The question is: "That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100." The Assembly divided:

AYES—22.

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Aney, Mr. M. S.  
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
Banerjea, Dr. P. N.  
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Amarendra Nath.  
Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.  
Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.  
Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Syed.  
Laljee, Mr. Husenbhai Abdullabhai.  
Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta.  
Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant.

Murtaza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed. Nauman, Mr. Muhammad.  
Parma Nand, Bhai.  
Rafuddin Ahmad Siddiquee, Shaikh.  
Raza Ali, Sir Syed.  
Sant Singh, Sardar.  
Som, Mr. Suryya Kumar.  
Umar Aly Shah, Mr.  
Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.  
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.  
Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

NOES—43.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.  
Abdul Hamid, Khan Sahib Shaikh.  
Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.  
Aikman, Mr. A.  
Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar.  
Bewoor, Sir Guranath.  
Boyle, Mr. J. D.  
Campbell, Mr. D. C.  
Caroe, Mr. O. K.  
Chambers, Mr. S. P.  
Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.  
Chettiar, Dr. Rajah Sir S. R. M. Annamalai.  
Clow, The Honourable Sir Andrew.  
Daga, Seth Sunderlal.  
Dalal, Dr. R. D.  
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.  
Dumasia, Mr. N. M.  
Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.  
Ismail Ali Khan, Kunwar Hajee.  
James, Mr. F. E.  
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.  
Kamaluddin Ahmed, Shams-ul-Ulema.

Khan, Mr. N. M.  
Kushalpal Singh, Raja Bahadur.  
Lillie, Mr. C. J. W.  
Mackeown, Mr. J. A.  
Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.  
Miller, Mr. C. C.  
Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muhammad.  
Mudaliar, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami.  
Ogilvie, Mr. C. M. G.  
Oulsnam, Mr. S. H. Y.  
Pillay, Mr. T. S. S.  
Rahman, Lieut.-Col. M. A.  
Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.  
Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.  
Sen, Rai Bahadur G. C.  
Shahban, Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad.  
Sheehy, Mr. J. F.  
Sher Muhammad Khan, Captain Sardar Sir.  
Sivaraj, Rao Sahib N.  
Spence, Sir George.  
Zafrullah Khan, The Honourable Sir Muhammad.

The motion was negatived.

*Indianisation of the Indian Army.*

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Sir, I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Sir, it was in 1922 that I moved a Resolution before this House that the Indian Army should be officered by Indians alone and that recruitment to the officers ranks of the Indian Army should be confined only to Indians. That was a definite proposal as long ago as 1922. It was in February on a particular day in 1922 that I moved this Resolution and on that day I had the support of the entire House with me. The debate was postponed to a further day about eight or nine days later. On that day, the then Commander-in-chief, the late Lord Rawlinson and the Defence Secretary of those days, Mr. Burdon, now Sir Ernest Burdon, came to the House and threw a bombshell against my Resolution. They announced the Indianisation of eight units and that announcement changed the position entirely. Some of the Honourable Members who did not understand the full import of that announcement were led to think that that was a great achievement for India and I was asked from all quarters of the House to withdraw my Resolution. I did not do so. I took up my position that though it was a very alluring announcement, I should stand justified before future generations and not to the Assembly of that day. Since then, my Resolution had been taken up by many Honourable Members of this House and I have been practically supported in that Resolution every year since then. This Resolution sometimes formed part of cut motions on the budget from different parties. The Independent Party of the Assembly took it up for some years. The Party which I had the honour to lead—the United India Party—sometimes took up this question. I should like to make one announcement to the House which will please all Honourable Members and that is that my Honourable friend, Captain Sir Sher Muhammad Khan, also voted in favour of my Resolution and against the Government. His single vote decided the question against the Government. This would show the force behind this motion.

Now, Sir, this war has revealed that young graduates and undergraduates in England are not so easily available for careers in India as they were during peace time. If the war goes on protracting for some ten years, what will happen to India, nobody can tell. But if the war goes on for ten years very few English people will be found for regiments stationed in India as most of the British youths will be required in England for its defence and for the European war. It may be said that at that time Government will recruit Indian Officers for the Indian Army but that will be an emergency and temporary measure. My policy is different; I want the Indian regiments to be officered only by Indians. If that policy had been pursued, since 1922, every Colonel in the Indian Army would now have been an Indian. It is the policy which has been responsible for Indians not having been trained for these posts. To remove a possible misunderstanding I must here pay a tribute to British Officers for their great part in training Indian regiments. They have maintained the traditions of the army and we cannot minimise their good qualities and sterling abilities. The Indian Officers have always trusted them and junior Indian Officers are always willing to work under senior British Officers. That is my impression gained from personal contact with many of these people. My scheme was not one of segregation and though the eight-unit scheme was announced as being the outcome of my Resolution, that was not my plan. I wanted that Indian Second Lieutenants working

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:]

under officers with a tradition of their own should rise to the highest places after acquiring the necessary army discipline. I still take that stand. I think India must be defended by Indian regiments officered by Indians and not officered indefinitely by Britishers only.

Indian Officers played a great part in the last war and showed their abilities and they will do so again. We had many distinguished people. An Honourable Member of the other House was the first Indian to lead even a British Army, because he was the only senior officer left. People with good qualifications have joined as privates and made their way through the Viceroy's Commissions ultimately to the King's Commissions. There is an example on your very left in the Marshal of this House who distinguished himself in the late war. And there are many other examples which prove that Indians, if properly selected, can rise to the highest positions like people of other countries. The policy now pursued of selecting a few people for training at Dehra Dun is not a proper one and that is why you hear that people with the proper qualifications are not coming forward. The qualifications laid down are such that persons having them will not come forward. You want people with military traditions and also sufficient money to join this school at Dehra Dun for training. I do not mind which class capable Indian Officers come from, but, surely, the best boys will be found in classes who cannot afford to pay for this education. I have always advocated that the best selections can be made from among the sons of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, but they have not sufficient means to pay for higher education. From their very childhood, when they ride horses and handle guns, they imbibe the military traditions of their forefathers and decide to follow that profession. My friend, Mr. Hussainbhai Laljee, spoke of the boys of businessmen but my opinion is that they will not be able to do justice to the army. Of course, there may be a few who will be a credit to the army but their tradition is one of business. From a boy's infancy he is taught by his father how to make five pice out of four and how to become rich, whereas the other boy does not care for money but for military glory. He knows how to shed his blood. We read that when the first man in the Nizam's family besieged Golconda he was hit on the shoulder by a cannon ball, and it was fractured so much that the shoulder bone was crushed to pieces: when Aurangzeb went to visit him in his camp he found surgeons were joining the pieces together and yet this man was holding a cup of coffee in his other hand and sipping from it and looking cheerful, though he died two or three hours later. He never lost his spirits. That was the training he had.

Without going into the merits or demerits of any class, I do not want to be understood as pleading for any particular class: I am pleading for Indians as a whole; and if the Government say that some classes are not fit, I am saying, here is a class to which they cannot object; I say that classes which are admitted by them to be suitable should be given this training; and if this is done I hope that my Honourable friends will not say "We do not benefit and, therefore, you should not benefit." If they take up that position, then the cause of India will always be lost through internal bickerings. If my son is not fit, I shall certainly be happy if he is not taken. I have pressed this matter for the last eighteen years before this House and I do so again now, that the Indian Army should be completely Indianised and I may say that I am perfectly certain that the military classes are as loyal to the British Crown as any Englishmen can

be: you will never find any disloyalty in the Indian Army and in the Indian Officers: you should rely on their loyalty and devotion to work as much as you do on yourselves. Therefore, preventing young Indians from getting into the military has really been telling very hard on the minds of many of us . . . . .

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

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** . . . . . and though I myself have no opportunity, I do not want that my children should be stopped from taking to a military career when they know that their ancestors distinguished themselves in the past; and I hope that all Honourable Members' children will be given the same opportunity and also those boys of the military classes who cannot afford to send their boys for training. I also want to make it clear that the object of my cut motion is that British boys should be left for the British Army and Indian Officers should be recruited for the Indian Army. I am not proposing by my cut any reduction in the strength of the British Army: that is not my object . . . . .

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

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** So, I move my cut.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Sir, I had no desire to participate in the debate on this question, but certain observations which fell from the Mover of this motion have compelled me to say a few words. A great deal has been made of traditions in the Military Department. I do not think that is the correct view which should be taken of defence policy in this country. There have been, it is true, soldiers recruited from certain provinces, but in the interests of the defence of the country, it is necessary that recruitment should be from all the provinces. A preponderance in the army of one particular province or of one particular community is not good for the country as a whole. As regards martial traditions, we all know that the English people have no martial traditions; but when they are called upon to do their duty as fighters they make very good soldiers. In 1914 I was in England when the last European war broke out. At first there was a paucity of recruits; but when an appeal was made to the patriotism of the English people recruits came in large numbers. That is what should be done in India. The army should be thrown open to all the provinces and to all the communities inhabiting this country. My friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, told you that he did not want that the British forces here should be reduced. I am entirely opposed to that view. I do think . . . . .

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** What I said was this: that this cut motion does not go into that question and that is why I do not want to go into it on this motion.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Whether this cut is intended for that purpose or not, I strongly hold the view that the whole of the army in India should be Indianised from the top to the bottom. If that is not done, India will never be able to achieve the freedom which is her goal.

As regards traditions, in some of the arms, for instance, the air force, there are no traditions at all; and, if larger recruitment is made to that force, the residents of all the provinces, the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, Madras and Bombay will be able to participate in the defence of the country. It is high time that the restrictions which so far have existed were done away with. It is a mistake to suppose that Bengalis and Madrassis and Mahrattas never fought any battles. (Interruption.) The Mahrattas are a martial race, but what is the proportion of Mahrattas in the Indian Army at the present moment? Their number is very small in proportion to the fighting strength of that race. It was with the help of the Madrassis that the province of Madras was conquered by the British and it was with the help of the Bengalis that Bengal was conquered by the English.

**Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan:** No.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** You do not know history. That history which you read is not worth reading. Read correct history.

**Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan:** Will you please quote the book?

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** I will give you many instances. Come to my place and I shall show you. There were generals whose names are well-known, who fought on both sides at the battle of Plassey. There were Bengali Hindu generals on the side of Sirajuddowlah and there were Bengali Hindu fighters on the side of the British.

**An Honourable Member:** Mir Jafar was there.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Yes, who sold his country to the British. The time has come when we should not say anything about traditions but we should allow the inhabitants of all the provinces to participate in proper proportions in the defence of their country.

As for training, nothing has so far been done. A few minutes ago the Secretary for the War Department made a very halting speech. The excuses which he gave were of a very lame character. I do not know, if the war is not the proper opportunity for giving training to the Indians in the Military Department, what better opportunity could occur. This is the best moment, the most opportune moment, when you can appeal to the patriotism of the people and ask them to come forward and defend their country. If you do not do that, you will fail in your duty.

But we should not rest content with having a standing army, which may be called a paid army. We should have a large national militia which should be composed of the ordinary residents in every part of the country. This national militia should be brought forward to defend the country in times of distress. But, so far, this matter has been sadly neglected. The territorial force which exists in the country is merely a nominal one and the treatment which has been accorded to it is far from satisfactory. The

distinction that is being made between the auxiliary force and the territorial force is a very invidious one and that distinction should be forthwith abolished.

If all this is done, then and then only will India be prepared for proper defence. It will be a disgraceful thing if Britain allows India to remain in her present helpless condition for any further length of time. The mischief that has been done to India has been extremely hurtful to her and any further mischief done to her will not redound to the credit of Great Britain.

**Mr. Umar Aly Shah** (North Madras: Muhammadan): I support this cut motion moved by my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan. There are two lakhs of soldiers in the Indian Army, of which 50,000 are British soldiers, and the latter go by the name of the army of occupation. This is good neither to the army nor to the Government, nor to the country. For loyalty, for civilisation and good behaviour an army of occupation is not good. Then, there are 150,000 Indian soldiers in the army but they are not trained in the scientific methods of warfare. Nor are they officered by trained Indian officers. India has 40 crores of people and to have only 150,000 soldiers in India is not sufficient in the present international situation. Our army does not know how to use the various scientific weapons. My point is that potential enemies are growing in number day by day, and unless our army is Indianised we cannot be saved. India is not an ordinary country, it is more or less a continent. From Cape Comorin to Peshawar it is 2,500 miles and there are 7,000 miles of sea coast, and if anybody invades India, our condition will be pitiable unless our army is Indianised. The manhood of the nation is being muzzled day by day. We do not know how to use war weapons, etc. Our efficiency, our martial spirit have all been suppressed. If our army is Indianised we can save our country, our women and culture and so many other things. If we survey the history of the world, we do not find a single instance where the security of a country has been permanently guaranteed by an army of occupation or by an indigenous force officered by outsiders. No one questions the proved loyalty and virility of the people of India. In the present stage in our national history, it is the bounden duty of the British people and Government to equip Indians in the arts of warfare, and thus enable them to protect their hearths and homes. This is in accordance with international morality, and the declared policy of Britain in India. The world situation is not good. Our present army is not sufficient to protect us. Germany swallowed Poland. Russia is trying to swallow Finland; and if any great power attacks us, we cannot save our country. For the safety of civilisation our army should be Indianised. With these words, I support the motion.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya**: I admire the patience, the persistency, the perseverance and the optimism of my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan. I thought that after the debate that we had in the morning and the reply that was given by the Honourable the Defence Secretary, my friend would give up the idea of moving this cut motion. As it is, Sir, my speech of the morning stands vindicated. The Government are not going to do anything, and my friend, the Mover, spoke like an official. I do not know what purpose he had in view. His speech was neither flesh nor fowl nor good red herring. As a matter of fact he said

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

things which would have been better left unsaid. He stood for martial and non-martial races and then what I found was that he proved himself to be a back number. I am sure he does not represent the views of the Muslim League. With the situation as it is today, I feel that our demand should be for the nationalisation of the army. He is yet talking of Indianisation and a few more Indians and a few more Indian officers. After the speech of the Honourable the Defence Secretary, he should have come to the conclusion that nothing like that even is possible.

So far as the speech of my esteemed friend, the Defence Secretary, is concerned, with all due respect to him, I might be permitted to say that he might have well finished the speech in one sentence—I oppose the Resolution. No fresh argument was advanced. He said there are practical difficulties, there are financial difficulties, the Government are doing all they can, the Government are devising a plan to do more and that 'we are doing all that is possible' and so on and so forth. We have been listening to this sort of lecture for ages and I do not know for how long we are going to hear this sort of reply from the Government Benches and from the Honourable the Defence Secretary. The plain question that we should ask ourselves and not the Defence Secretary is: 'Are we going to defend our country?'

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** You know the reply.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** I know that but the point is what are we going to do? Are you really serious? Do you really want to defend the country and do we really need any permission from any Defence Secretary for defending our own motherland.

**An Honourable Member:** Yes.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** We feel that it is our country and it is our duty to defend it.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** How will you do it?

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** Provide yourself with weapons or fight with your fists.

**An Honourable Member:** Do you want us to pray and spin?

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya:** Simply praying or spinning is not going to win Swaraj but spinning even will teach you self-reliance and to give up begging at other peoples' doors. Get arms. Ask your Ministers to provide for you military training and secure for you arms and go on with it in spite of what the Defence Secretary says. That is the way to do it. If you want permission, you can go on begging for it till doomsday. You are not going to get it by simply speaking in this House and delivering speeches.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin (Punjab: Landholders):** I am sorry to find that rather an unfortunate turn has been given to the whole debate owing to misunderstanding and the question of martial and non-martial classes has been brought in which I consider is outside the scope of this cut motion. The cut motion, as I understand it, urges for the Indianisation of the

army, which means the replacement of the British officers by Indian officers. Nothing more and nothing less. I am afraid my Honourable friend, Pandit Malaviya, is in a very pessimistic mood these days. Nothing but counsel of despair has been coming from that side. His way of thinking is that nothing can be achieved by these Resolutions. I can assure my friend that this is the only weapon we have got and to a very limited extent the use of this weapon has shown results though we would like it to achieve more but all these Resolutions have not gone in vain.

Sir, in a way I pity the Honourable the Defence Secretary in the sense that for the most part he has to answer for the misdemeanours of his predecessors and with all his good intentions—he may have good intentions—I have an open mind on that but, surely, his predecessors did not have those intentions and it has been proved by many Honourable Members that their replies have been of two kinds—either evasion or speak downright and say “take it or leave it and be damned”. That has been the attitude of the Government of India in terms. The whole mischief arises from the fact that from the very beginning the officership of the army in India has been the preserve of the younger sons of the gentry of England. Somehow these people got in and they took every precaution to see that they are not dislodged from their position. It may not be the intention today but it has been the intention since 1880. About three years ago I had an occasion to read the despatches sent by Lord Roberts which were published later on and they are in the Library of the House. There the Noble Lord openly says that ‘we do not want Indianisation because we are superior people and we are going to be where we are’. The same sort of thing that Hitler says today was openly said in those days. The whole trouble was this. Otherwise what is the reason? On the Civil side we see people are taken in the Indian Civil Service and some of them, I am glad to say, occupy very high posts today, like my friend, Sir G. S. Bajpai, who is sitting there. No start was made in the army. Otherwise there would have been Indians who would have risen at least to the rank of Major General, but because they did not want the Indianization—because, either they did not trust us or they did not want to be dislodged from their financial position, therefore, every sort of hitch was put in the way. Now, not only that, but the English officers of the Indian Army were pampered in another direction, and the segregation of the units, that is, Indianised units, units to be officered by Indian officers, etc., came out of those feelings—that no Indian should be ever in a position to command, that no Indian should ever become senior in rank to an English officer and that was the feeling at the root of it. Therefore, this segregation came, with all its bad effects and with all the heart-burning and everything; that was the only reason why two kinds of commission were evolved,—that is, the Indian Commissioned Officer and the British Officer, and that is why all the conditions of service were made separate for Indians and for British officers. The conditions of service for Indian officers were made so intolerable that a good many youngsters, who would otherwise have gone into the army to make a career of it, hesitated to come because there was differentiation in everything. For instance, the pay of the Indian officer, his status, his power of command, all these things were such that no self-respecting youth would like to come and be subjected to all those humiliations.

Now, I think, after the Indianization, we were treated to another thing and that was this. You will be remembering, Sir, that the predecessor of the Honourable the Defence Secretary speaking on the floor of

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this House said that Indians have not so far proved good officers, "we are making this experiment, and we will see whether the experiment succeeds or not" and all that sort of thing. This remark was resented very much by the Honourable Members of this House and they said that they were not prepared to accept the Government of India as their judges to judge whether the experiment was successful or not. The fact is that India has had a history in which they have provided their own Generals and who have commanded armies, they had good soldiers, and their soldiers gave a very good account of themselves in the last war, and now this thing was trumped up that we are to be judged whether we could make good officers or not. It was all wrong and exception was taken to this theory and I am glad that next year some amends were made and now we hear no more of this word "experiment". Sir, in the long run it is going to be very difficult for the Government of India to find English officers. They were talking of experiment and all that about a year ago. Now, why is it that they are issuing emergency commissions? That means that this phrase "experimenting" and all that has gone to the wall,—and that is a healthy step and I am sure that those young men who have come forward in this hour of need to offer their services will be well treated and their claims will be duly considered after the war is over and that permanent places will be found for them and I hope the pace of Indianization will be accelerated and that it will be the declared policy of the Government to go forward with it and that no experiments and judging and all that will be heard any more.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir, I have to say only a very few words on this motion. Sir, this morning I have had two disappointments. <sup>4 P. M.</sup> My disappointment No. 1 has been my Honourable friend, Mr. F. E. James, and my disappointment No. 2 is my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary. Sir, we have often been advised by our friends of the European Group, of which my Honourable friend, Mr. James, is a shining light, that we should learn to take a long view and not a short view on this question, but the advice that has been offered to us is just the contrary. We are asked to take a short view and not a long view on account of the war through which Europe and Britain and most of the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations are passing. Sir, surely my Honourable friend, Mr. James, cannot have it both ways. He must make up his mind and just take either a long or a short view; it is not possible to have a long view at one time and a short view at another time as it may suit my Honourable friend or the European Group. We strongly dissent, Sir, from that view. Any observation in this connection that I would like to make is this. My Honourable friend, Mr. James, has stated several syllogisms today. The major and minor premises have been generally correct, but the conclusions have been invariably wrong. That is what his position has been this morning.

Now, coming to my friend, the Defence Secretary, I would say that I was very strongly surprised at the speech that he made. He wants us, non-officials, to put a concrete scheme before him and leave it to him or the Government to decide whether they are going to agree or not. May I remind this House of what I was told by the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson in Geneva in 1929? The Labour Party had come into the Government just a few months before. We had a long talk and he said: "This is the secret of Government. If you deal with permanent officials,

and try to convert them to your own point of view, you will find very considerable opposition. They will say, 'this simply cannot be done, it is not possible' but tell them that they have got to do it; and if they still do not feel inclined to agree with you, tell them that there is no other way of escape, they have got to do it. And when you ask them to do it, howsoever difficult the task might be, there is no doubt that nobody can do it better than the permanent officials. That is the position. My position is this. It is not for me to put up a concrete scheme before the Defence Secretary or the Government of India. It is for this House to suggest what this House and the country and the people want, and it is for permanent officials to give a practical shape to our desires and our policies.

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

Sir, I will draw the attention of the Honourable Members to page 23 of the Skeen Committee's report. Here it is laid down that by the year 1945, you must have the British and Indian officers of the Indian army half and half; 50:50. We are now on the threshold of the year 1940, and what is the percentage? It is a very small fraction, indeed. That is, in fact, the point which I very clearly enunciated while moving my cut motion, but I am afraid no attention has been paid to it. We do not want to make any proposal before Government accepts this. Look at the Skeen Committee's report and at least put the recommendations of that Committee into force and raise the number of commissioned Indian officers, I mean, those who are holding the King's Commission, to the limit of 50 per cent. Sir, I support the motion.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Sir, the debate has ranged freely over a very wide and extremely difficult subject. The Honourable the Mover appeared to confine questions to Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army and certain other Honourable Members wished to go far beyond that and others, again, found fault with the general lay-out of the army and the way in which it is recruited. I intend to stick as closely as I can to the terms of the cut motion as moved by Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan. It was clear from various trends which the debate took that, whether they realised it or not, some of the Honourable Members were aware at least sub-consciously of one of the very grave difficulties which confronts Government. That is, that though everybody is all in favour of Indianisation, we often find that they are not talking or thinking of the same type of "Indian" and that Indianisation carried out in one manner or another would arouse most whole-hearted condemnation from large sections of public and political opinion. Government also feel this difficulty and they have done their best to solve it and hope that time will see a reasonable solution. The army must, as I think most Honourable Members will probably concede, be limited to those classes who have proved to be the best military material in bulk, that is to say, the enlisted classes. They may vary somewhat from time to time but as a general rule, I suppose, Honourable Members would concede that the best material should be used in the first instance, and, if you can afford a much larger army, to go on with the slightly less good material and so on, but to have a small army composed in equal proportions, according to provinces, of every class, caste and creed in this sub-continent would be to have no army at all. It simply could not be done. Hence, you are faced with this problem,— an army composed of a necessarily limited number of classes and a

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demand for the opening of the officer ranks to the entire country. Well, as certain Members have pointed out, the enlisted classes are not as a rule very forward in matters of education and stand a poor chance in open competition and in the examination room with others who are more fortunate both financially and in the places where they live. High Schools and Universities are not at their doors. Government, therefore, decided to combine the two systems. It was obvious that the enlisted classes must have a proportion of officers belonging to their own classes. Therefore, a proportion has always been taken from amongst them and has been trained to be officers at the expense of the State. There have been doubts in the past expressed as to their capacity to absorb the necessarily high degree of education which is demanded in a modern officer. Those doubts, I am glad to say, appear to have been completely solved. The institution of the Kitchner College at Nowgong, to which these young men go for a period before they enter the Indian Military Academy, has enabled them to start on an equal footing with the young University graduates, and our recent experience of the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, has shown that they can hold their own with them in every way. On the other hand, Government have always agreed that though you may get a better bulk supply of sepoy from one community than another, you may get excellent officers from any community and, therefore, 50 per cent. of the annual vacancies which are normally open are reserved for an entirely and absolutely open competition and anyone from any province and belonging to any community can compete in it. The work both at the Indian Military Academy and in the regiments has been admirable. The training that these lads have been given is so good that as a result now of some years of experience, we can say that young Indian boys drawn from all parts of the country, belonging to enlisted classes and non-enlisted classes, coming from remote hamlets and great cities, are being fused together into an admirable officer class. It is a work, I think, of which those responsible may well be proud. Considering the different types of country and community and culture from which they come, the achievement must be ranked as a notable one.

Much may be said on the subject of the advance of Indianisation. So far what has been done, as I have indicated, has been very successful. We have every hope that in regiments where British officers have disappeared and where Indians are now in command they will show themselves as competent and fit in every way as those who taught them well.

On this subject I should like to say a word or two on a word which I much dislike "segregation". I find that this kind of word is used without any real examination as to its meaning in its context, but that is a sort of term of abuse like the word 'bureaucratic' or 'Imperialism'. It does not really mean anything at all. There has been no segregation..

My Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, said, that he wanted the whole of the Indian Army to be Indianised—a perfectly legitimate ambition. Government decided that in the first instance, part of the army should be Indianised, that is to say that recruitment of British officers for the part of the Indian Army, not the whole of it, should be stopped and no more British officers should enter that part which has been Indianised. The British officers who were in those regiments remained there but no more were posted to them. What Sir Muhammad Yamin wants done for the whole has in fact been done for a part.

Then, I think my Honourable friend, Mr. Ghiasuddin, said, that the difference in the commissions was due to a desire to put Indian officers in the position of inferiority. I cannot too strongly reject that statement. The reason was this. After a prolonged discussions about it in which many, both from the side of the Government and the army and many from the other side took part, it was decided that it would be best to abandon sending young Indian officers to Sandhurst, but to have an Indian Military Academy for India and to make a start with an Indian National Army. That having been done, it followed not only naturally but inevitably that an Indian commission must result. What has happened in the Dominions? Officers recruited and trained there were responsible to the Dominion Government and being governed by the Dominion Acts, but they could not exercise automatic control or command over His Majesty's troops. Exactly the same thing here in India must necessarily follow. In order to create the beginnings of an Indian National Army, this was the first necessary step,—that is to make a start with bringing both officers and men, under an Indian statute that was the first step. However there happened to be British troops stationed in this country and necessary arrangements have been made to allow officers with Indian commissions to exercise powers of command over them where necessary. Nothing more, I submit, could be expected or should be done. The same speaker went so far as to say that life was made intolerable for young Indian officers. That, I think, can be contradicted absolutely flatly. I think, with rare exceptions, the young Indian officer has been happy in the army and again, with extraordinarily rare exceptions, has been on the best possible terms with his British comrades. A fact which is proof, if any proof is required, is that the army career is now obviously becoming more popular than it was in the past. For a time it is true we were disappointed with the response. Recently matters have been getting better. In spite of all difficulties, the response for the last examination was good and to the offer of emergency commissions extremely good.

Other Honourable Members touched on the question of pay. It is true that Indian Commissioned Officers receive less pay than their British comrades. At the time it was decided that it would be fair to pay young Indian officers approximately the equivalent of what their British comrades receive in England when serving in their own country. Well, that decision may not in all respects have been quite right. India may in some respects be a more expensive country than England. It is possible that there may have to be some revision of those rates of pay in some way or another. But like many other problems, that will have to wait till the end of the war by which time the conditions of life in general and of service in the army in particular may have been very radically changed.

I was very glad to observe that none of the speakers on this cut motion in urging acceleration of Indianisation reverted to the demand for the application of a time table. Perhaps what I have said is sufficient to show that the problem is a very difficult one and cannot be solved by the automatic application of a time table. The war, as of course in this respect as in others, makes the future extremely uncertain. What the Government have done, as far as the Defence services in India are concerned, is to give emergency commissions only till the end of the war both to British and Indian. In addition to the regular intake of cadets

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at the Indian Military Academy, which has not been disturbed, Government consider that the proportion at least of the young Indians entering the army should have had the benefit of the magnificent military education available there. In regard to them the course has only been shortened to 1½ years. As regards others, the numbers are not fixed, but depend upon the demand. Five months' course of training has been laid down. In both cases, no fees will be charged. Those who go through the full 1½ years' course at the Indian military academy will not pay anything, but they will on the other hand be paid, Rs. 60 a month only, it is true, but that is sufficient pocket money. The others of course get their pay as second lieutenants when they join. At the end of the war no one can tell what the required proportion between British and Indian may be, but by granting emergency commissions only until then we have left the field as open as we can. That, Sir, is all I have to say.

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

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The motion was negatived.

*Forward Policy of the Government of India in the North-West Frontier Province.*

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Sir, I move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

I wish to raise a discussion on the forward policy of the Government of India in the North-West Frontier Province. The question of this province and the policy adopted by the British Government in regard to this province has been as old as the British Government and, going beyond that, I may say that it is as old as the hills. Mighty empires have flourished in India, invaders have invaded India and the Pathan tribes were there in this province. Nobody could subjugate them and they remained independent. They were independent at the time of Alexander the Great and during the time of the Buddhist kings whose reign extended right up to Samarkand. They were independent even during the Moghal period and not even Akbar and Aurangzeb could subjugate them. Then came the Sikhs after the downfall of the Durrani Empire and there was a constant struggle between the Sikhs and these tribesmen but the Sikhs could not overpower them and they remained independent. Then in 1849 came the English and annexed the Punjab; and with the Punjab the territory comprising the six settled districts of Peshawar, Hazara, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Kohat came into the possession of the British and the land beyond that within their zone of influence. The struggle continued and from 1849 right up to the present moment the trans-frontier tribesmen remain independent. During the past 40 years, according to my absent friend, Mr. Gadgil, the Government of India have spent something like 400 crores by way of constructing strategic roads and railways and pursuing their military adventures in tribal territory. But the money so spent has been wasted. The North-West Frontier Province today is a comparatively small area of 38,000 square miles and a population of 50 lakhs,—25 lakhs in the properly settled area and 25 lakhs in the tribal belt occupied by the trans-frontier tribesmen and some of the States like Swat and Dir. They

are a homogeneous people. Ethnically, linguistically, culturally and from the point of view of religion they are one people, fully capable of governing themselves and England made the mistake of her life when assuming the reins of government in this country she crossed the Indus and occupied the North-West Frontier Province and undertook to see that she was the guardian of these freedom loving tribesmen. The question of Afghanistan was allied to this question. Afghanistan was within the British zone of influence up to the time of the late Amir Habibullah Khan and she used to receive a subsidy from the British Government. But then there came a change over the people of Afghanistan. Ghazi Amanullah Khan with his distinguished General Nadir Khan appeared on the scene and as a result of the third Afghan war complete independence was conceded to Afghanistan and she was a free nation among the comity of nations. Before these happenings the military Jingoës of India, according to Lord Curzon, wanted to force themselves into the transborder territory. I had the privilege of being acquainted with Lord Curzon. I translated his monumental work on Persia and I met him and as his translator I know something about his imperialism. I can say without fear of contradiction that although he was a great Imperialist Pro-Consul, he was, comparatively speaking, a moderate statesman so far as frontier problems were concerned and he was not an adherent of the forward school. His controversy with Sir Mackworth Young and General Lockhart and others in those days which has come down to us in the form of history is proof positive of the fact that Lord Curzon wanted to prevent his fiery lieutenants from penetrating, whether pacifically or by force of cannon, into the heart of this tribal land. But whenever there was a small minor foray and once it got into the hands of the soldiers they made it a military expedition on a large scale and so money was spent and blood was spilled and there was great loss. At an earlier period some of these military adventurers in India wanted to go even beyond the Sulaiman Range and have a scientific line of defence. What was that scientific line? That scientific line was Kandahar to Ghazni and Ghazni to Kabul. But the second Afghan war showed that it was absolutely impossible for them to have this scientific line. This reminds me of a well known couplet of Sadi:

*"Tawan be halq firu burd ustakhan-i-daruшт  
Walay shikam bedarad chun bigirad undar naf"*

In plain English, it means: "You can swallow a rough bone; but once it is embedded in your bowels, it cuts up your bowels." You wanted to conquer Afghanistan and you found it a hard nut to crack. Similarly you came to know later on that it was a very difficult thing to conquer the tribal area, to conquer Waziristan, to conquer Tirah. You have known it to your cost. I remember sometime ago there was a talk of annexing Tirah; our military authorities pointed out that although it would be a very nice thing to have Tirah, it would cost 30 crores of rupees, which we had not got in our coffers at the present moment, and it would also cost a large number of lives, and even then there would be no permanency about it. This was their policy and this policy has been handed down from father to son, from one race of imperialists to another race. Our Congress friends are quarrelling with the British Government in India, because they were not consulted in respect of the war raging now in Europe—the mortal combat between France and British on the one hand and Germany on the other,—Do they know that the opinion of India was not invited on another war nearer home, not on the gigantic scale as it is going on in Europe but on a miniature scale, but still costing them money and numbers of men?

[Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.]

War is going on on the section of hilly territory known as the Ahmedzai salient across the Kohat and Bannu borders. They are fighting the Waziristan people. Why? They tell us these tribesmen are gangsters and kidnapers and ruffians and rascals and scoundrels: as if there was no scoundrel or gangster in Mexico or the United States of America or among the civilized people of Europe and all gangsterism and all kidnapping and all rascality was concentrated in the tribal territory. If you go to that simple land where nature is seen in its original form, and come into close contact with the Waziris, the Bhattanis, the Mahsuds and the Muhmands you will find them a lovable people. They do occasionally kidnap some of the British subjects and raid sometimes into British territory. But why do they do it? It is not their habit. They do it because you go into their country, you want to subjugate them; you want to make them your subjects, whereas these people love their homeland more than their lives. They say "Let us alone." They say "Live and let live". But you do not believe in that principle. I have seen these people. They never drink, they never commit adultery: the honour of women-folk is safe with them; and they are not addicted to those vices which are the glory of western civilisation. God save them from this civilisation. My friend Sardar Sant Singh says that these Bhattanis and these Waziris have been kidnapping Hindus because they are fanatics. I will remind him, not in my own words, but in the words of a great Congressman who has compiled a big report in which he has collected some statistics. These figures will open your eyes and the eyes of. . .

**Sardar Sant Singh:** When did I say that?

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Sir, I am glad he disavows it. There are a number of critics who say that these Mahsuds and Waziris kidnap Hindus, they are Ghazis and they look upon the Hindu as his easy prey. The fact is that from 1923 to 1936 in Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan the numbers are: Hindus killed—13, Muslims killed—38: Hindus wounded—8, Muslims—29; kidnapped Hindus—82 and Muslims 27: probably these critics want that the proportion should be Hindus 27 and Muslims 82—That would have been so if only the Muslims were as rich as the Hindus are: (Interruption.) You are always for votes whether for majority or minority; but my principle is the principle of the Koran:

"*Kam min fatin qalebatin ghalabat fiatan kasirah*" —  
which, rendered into English, means:

"Often you have seen in the history of the world a handful of men have overcome a large number of people. That is my principle." (Interruption.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Will the Honourable Member go on with his speech?

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** I shall not enter into any controversy with anybody, but I was criticising the forward policy of the British Government in India and the rank folly of those who are in charge of this policy of carrying on this war at a moment when England is engaged in a life and death struggle with Germany and Russia on the western front. We want men to be sent to the western front: Extend your help, if you can, to Finland and Lithuania and Esthonia and Latvia and other countries which are in danger of being engulfed by the forward march of Germany. But

you do not go there: you come and spring a surprise upon your neighbours: If you had only assured them that you do not want to interfere with their liberty, if you had only pacified them, if you had spent one-tenth, one-fortieth, even one-hundredth of what you spend on a single day in the great war, if you had spent that money on hospitals and schools and providing them with social amenities, they would have been your friends. But you have a peculiar knack of turning your friends into your foes. That is the habit of the Englishmen and those who are responsible for the conduct of the administration in this country. I must point out that the Muslims of India are feeling keenly the attitude which the British Government have adopted in the North-West Frontier Province. There is a universal demand—I believe in it and the Congress joins us in this demand and even the Hindus Mahasabha and the Nationalist Party will join us—that this war in Waziristan must be stopped at once. . . .

**Sardar Sant Singh:** By one party or by both?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not interrupt.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** It can be stopped, and it is the height of statesmanship to see to it that some conditions are now evolved out of which peace could be established. What do you want? You want peace on the borderland. Peace can be obtained very easily.

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

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** In that one minute I would suggest to the Defence Secretary, and in this connection I would also address the Honourable the Finance Member, that the most expedient and wise policy for the British Government in regard to Waziristan and in regard to the North-West Frontier would be to carve out an autonomous buffer state from the coast of Makran right up to Chitral with a population of 30 lakhs. Give them a subsidy, make them self-sufficient, and they would form your defence against a possible march of Russia towards the south. Afghanistan and this new state that you would carve out would mean that India would be safe. I have put these ideas before you. Think over them and you will find that ultimately you will stand to gain and not to lose, by adopting this course. You must remember the world is changing. A great change has come over the world. There is no longer the talk of the Crescent versus the Cross, those days are gone. Today Turkey is a friend of England. The Muslim block of States under the Saadabad Pact comprises Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Hejaz and the whole of them are on the side of England. You want to enlist the sympathies of the Muslim world. When you want to enlist the sympathies of the Muslim world, how is it you are invading a territory of Muslims? Go and tell Haji Mirza Ali Khan, the Faqir of Ipi, whose word is law in Waziristan,—tell him that England is not inimical to Islam, and that you want to cultivate friendly relations with the Islamic world in the North-West.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Only one word more. I want an assurance from the Defence Secretary that this war that is going on in Waziristan is not intended to subdue Waziristan and deprive the Pathans of their liberty, but that it is only a disciplinary measure, and that directly the war is over the British forces would leave Waziristan in the position in which it was before. With these words, I move my motion.

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

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 11th March, 1940.