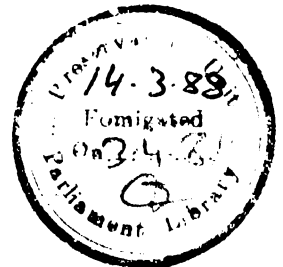


THE COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME I, 1940

(16th February to 10th April, 1940)

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1940



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Monday, 11th March, 1940.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REPAIRS TO MOSQUES IN NEW DELHI.

46. THE HONOURABLE MR. ABDUL RAZAK HAJEE ABDUL SATTAR : (a) Will Government state—

- (i) the total number of mosques, with their localities, in New Delhi ;
 - (ii) the number of mosques, with their localities, which are in need of repairs in New Delhi ; and
 - (iii) the number of mosques in New Delhi, with their localities, which have fallen down for want of repairs ?
- (b) Are Government aware that many mosques in New Delhi are in bad condition and require repairs ?
- (c) Is permission to repair these mosques invariably refused with the result that their condition is becoming worse day by day ?
- (d) Are Government aware that some of these mosques have already fallen down due to the fact that permission for their repairs was not granted ?
- (e) Are Government aware of the religious feelings of the Muslims who regard that once a mosque has been built it always remains a mosque and it cannot be demolished or used for any other purpose ?
- (f) Will Government state the reason for this policy of not allowing repairs of these mosques to be undertaken ?
- (g) Do Government propose to issue immediate orders to the effect that permission to repair any mosque in New Delhi should under no circumstances be refused ? If not, why ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : Information has been called for and will be furnished to the House on receipt.

CONSULAR POSTS UNDER HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT FILLED BY OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN POLITICAL SERVICE.

47. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Will Government lay on the table of this House a statement showing the scales of salaries and allowances of members of Consular Services (a) Indians and (b) Europeans ? If there be any difference in the scales, will Government give reasons for such difference.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : The Government of India have no Consular Service of their own but certain Consular posts which are under His Majesty's Government are filled by officers belonging to Indian

Services. I place on the table of the House a statement showing these posts and the rates of pay and allowances attached to them. These rates are common to both Indians and Europeans.

(a) *Consular posts under His Majesty's Government filled by officers on the cadre of the Indian Political Service.*

Name of post.	Pay.	Allowances.
PERSIAN GULF.		
		Rs.
1. Consul-General	Pay of Resident, 1st Class .	250 Sumptuary allowance. 150 Customs compensatory allowance.
2. Consul, Bushire (Secretary).	Time scale pay of the Indian Political Service.	200 Special pay. 100 Customs compensatory allowance.
3. Consul, Muscat	Ditto .	300 Special pay. 100 Sumptuary allowance.
4. Consul, Kerman and Vice-Consul, Bunder Abbas.	Ditto .	200 Special pay. 100 Ditto (for Bunder Abbas). 200 Sumptuary allowance. 125 Customs compensatory allowance.
5. Vice-Consul, Khorram-shahr.	Ditto .	200 Compensatory allowance. 200 Special pay. 100 Sumptuary allowance. 100 Customs compensatory allowance. 75 Conveyance allowance.
KHORASAN.		
1. Consul-General	Ditto .	250 Special pay. 150 Sumptuary allowance. 100 Conveyance allowance. 150 Customs compensatory allowance.
2. Vice-Consul, Kabul	Ditto .	100 Special pay. 100 Sumptuary allowance. 100 Customs compensatory allowance.
3. Vice-Consul, Zahidan	Ditto .	150 Sumptuary allowance. 100 Customs compensatory allowance. 100 Special pay.
KASHGAR.		
1. Consul-General, Kashgar	Ditto .	250 Special pay. 250 Sumptuary allowance.

(b) *Consular posts under His Majesty's Government filled by officers belonging to other Services.*

Name of post.	Pay.	Allowances.
1. Consul-General, Pondicherry.	Rs. 2,100 p. m.
2. Consul, Marmagao	500 p. m. allowance.
3. Vice-Consul, Jedda	£600-25-700 per annum	£150 per annum—Representation allowance. £36 per annum—Water allowance.
4. Vice-Consul, Kashgar	Special pay of Rs. 150 p. m. to the I. M. D. Officer.	
5. Vice-Consul, Baghdad	Rs. 315-15-405 p. m.
6. Consul, Kandahar	Rs. 600 p. m.	100 Sumptuary allowance. 150 Conveyance allowance. 200 Special pay.
7. Consul, Jalalabad	Rs. 600—850 p. m.	300 Sumptuary allowance. 200 Special pay. 150 Conveyance allowance.

NEPALESE TROOPS.

48. THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the A. P. I. message published in the *Leader* of the 2nd December, 1939, that it had been decided that two brigades of Nepal troops composed of eight battalions should arrive in India early this year and be under the command of Sir Shumshere Jang Bahadur, the eldest son of the Maharaja of Nepal ?

(b) Are the statements contained in the message correct ? If so, why has the help of Nepal troops been taken and the additional forces required not been raised in India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) : (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. The most generous offer of the Maharaja of Nepal has been accepted with gratitude on this occasion as in the last war. The cost of maintaining these troops is being borne almost entirely by Nepal, and they form a very valuable contribution to our resources.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Why were they not sent to some theatre of war instead of being kept as a garrison in India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : The Government of India are very content to keep them in India.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Have they any regard for the feelings of the people in keeping foreign troops as a garrison in this country when plenty of new recruits can be had here ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : The Honourable Member, I am surprised to see, does not seem pleased to get something for nothing. I can only say in reply to his supplementary that the Government of India does not share the Honourable Member's propensity for looking a gift horse in the mouth.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Is it a fact that the Government are recruiting more men in India ? Was it not, therefore, possible for them to send the Nepal troops outside India and get Indian troops to take the place of these Nepal troops in this country without in any way declining to take advantage of the valuable help offered to them by the Nepal Government ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : But the Nepal Government must have a voice in the matter when they are placing the troops at the disposal of the Government of India.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I should like to know, Sir, what the reply of the so-called representative of the Defence Department here is.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : It is a matter of opinion, Sir. But it must be apparent that, if we are getting these troops for nothing, we are making a saving. I read this question as suggesting that we should not have these troops at all but recruit additional troops ourselves.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : What is suggested is that these troops should be used outside India and not in this country.

NUMBER OF PASSENGERS ON THE AIR LINER *Hannibal*.

49. THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS : (i) How many passengers did the air liner *Hannibal* carry on its last voyage and what are their names ?

- (ii) Who was the pilot and what were his qualifications.
- (iii) What was the strength of the crew ?
- (iv) When did the said air liner leave Karachi ?
- (v) What was the next place of call and when did it leave it ?
- (vi) What was the last place of call and when did it leave it ?
- (vii) When was it last heard of ?
- (viii) Was any S. O. S. received from *Hannibal* and by what stations and when ?
- (ix) Was anything done in answer to the S. O. S. and if so what, when and by whom ?
- (x) Were the engines of *Hannibal* tested for air-worthiness before it left Karachi, and were they tested subsequently at the places it called ?
- (xi) Are there means and equipment for testing the air-worthiness of air liners at each station they visit and if the answer is in the negative, do Government propose to consider the desirability of having such equipment and the necessity for testing the engines for air-worthiness before an air liner takes off from any place of call ?

(xii) Have all efforts to trace the air liner been abandoned ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : (i) Four passengers. Their names are—

Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannirselvam.

Air Commodore H. A. Whistler.

Mr. A. Bryn,

Conductor H. Hutchison, I. A. O. C.

(ii) There were two pilots—the Commander, Captain N. Townsend and the First Officer, Mr. C. J. Walsh. Both were in possession of British Air Ministry and Indian Pilots' "B" Licences and Air Navigators' Wireless Operators' and Ground Engineers' licences. The records show that their flying experience amounted to approximately 3,400 and 2,000 hours, respectively.

(iii) Four. Commander ; First Officer ; Radio Operator and Steward.

(iv) to (vi). The air liner left Karachi at 05-54 Indian Standard Time on the 1st March. Her next and last place of call was Jiwani which she left at 11-02 Indian Standard Time.

(vii) and (viii). At 14-38 Indian Standard Time the aircraft made a routine wireless call, which was received by Sharjah. At 14-51 Sharjah W/T station heard the aircraft transmitting a signal in which the only letters deciphered were "O. S." after which the signals became undecipherable and faded out. Nothing further was heard, despite repeated calls by the Sharjah W/T station.

(ix) The facts were reported by Sharjah to Karachi and when the aircraft failed to arrive at its scheduled time a broadcast was issued to shipping and all air stations, Naval, Military, Air Force and Civil authorities were informed. Search by Air Force, civil aircraft, and naval units commenced early in the morning of the 2nd March.

(x) In accordance with invariable practice the engines of the aircraft were tested by running up on the ground at Karachi immediately before the aircraft departed. It may be assumed that the same procedure was followed at Jiwani. The fact that the flight was continued normally for 3½ hours after leaving Jiwani, itself shows that there was no defect in the running of the engines up to that time.

(xi) Tests of the airworthiness of aircraft are comprised in a series of routine inspections of the airframe and the engines. Such inspections are carried out at regular intervals in accordance with schedules prescribed by the company and approved by Government Inspectors. In addition, the aircraft and engines are inspected and certified as safe for flight by licensed ground engineers before the commencement of flying each day. Further, the pilot in charge is required to satisfy himself that the aircraft is fit in every way for the proposed flight before taking off. As regards intermediate stations no special inspection is necessary, but the crew, in which competent engineers are included, rectify any defect which may have developed, or if this is not possible the flight is abandoned. No special equipment at intermediate stations is required for this purpose.

(xii) Yes. As was announced in the official communique issued on the 7th March, search operations commenced on the afternoon of the 1st March and the actual searches which commenced next morning were continued till the 6th March over the whole of the sea and land in the vicinity. No trace of the missing aircraft has been found and there is unfortunately no reason to believe that any of the passengers and crew have survived.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS : Will the Government be pleased to direct an inquiry into the cause of this disaster ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Since the aircraft involved is registered in the United Kingdom and since it disappeared outside Indian territory, it is not within the normal province of the Government of India to hold an

inquiry of this nature. His Majesty's Government has however requested the Director of Civil Aviation in India to carry out the investigation on his behalf and the matter is under correspondence.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS : What steps do the Government of India propose to take to avoid such tragedies ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : Well, Sir, it is not possible to answer that question categorically. Government, in common and in collaboration with His Majesty's Government, are continually taking steps to improve the organisation designed to avert such accidents and they will continue to do so.

BILL PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON THE TABLE.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL : Sir, in pursuance of rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules, I lay on the table copies of the Bill to amend the Coal Mines Safety (Stowing) Act, 1939, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on Wednesday, the 6th March, 1940.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS, 1940-41.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Honourable Members, with reference to the announcement made by me on the 5th March, 1940, regarding nominations to the Standing Committee for Roads, I have to announce that the following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to that Committee :—

1. The Honourable Rao Bahadur K. Govindachari.
2. The Honourable Mr. R. H. Parker.
3. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.

There are three candidates for three seats and I declare them duly elected

RESOLUTION RE MAKING INDIA SELF-SUFFICIENT IN RESPECT OF DEFENCE.

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

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government that India should attain Dominion status at the earliest possible moment and their anxiety to shorten the transitional period and bridge it as effectively as possible, a Committee consisting of representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India and non-official representative Indians be appointed to prepare a scheme for making India self-sufficient in respect of her defence.”

Sir, I had occasion to protest the other day against the manner in which this House has been treated by the military authorities and I have to repeat that protest on this occasion. I know that Mr. Williams is supposed to represent them here. Mr. Williams will, I am sure, represent Government wherever he is sent by them. If he is asked to represent the Indian Engineering Service or the Indian Medical Service, he will have to do it whether he likes or not. But I cannot regard him as a representative of the Defence Department any more than I can regard him as a representative of the Indian Medical Service or the Indian Engineering Service. It seems to

me that at the present time we have no representative of the Defence Department in this House. This is an insult which the Defence authorities have offered to us again and again simply because they know that they are not responsible to the Legislature. Had they felt in the slightest degree the need for carrying public opinion with them, they would not have ignored us in the disgraceful manner in which they have done during this session.

Sir, the Resolution which I have just moved takes as its basis the official announcement made with regard to the conversations that took place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi in February last. It was stated in the official communique that His Excellency emphasised in the first place—

“the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government that India should attain Dominion status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power”.

It was further stated in the communique that His Excellency drew attention to—

“the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection; in particular, the issue of defence in a Dominion position”. His Excellency “made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible”.

His Majesty's Government being desirous of enabling India to achieve Dominion status as quickly as possible and the question of defence being the most important matter that calls for consideration in that connection, I have ventured to suggest to Government that they should take steps to consult both official experts and non-official Indians to consider what steps should be taken in order to remove this obstacle from our path. The meaning of “Dominion status” is well understood for all practical purposes. I need not, therefore, explain what the natural result of measures intended to enable India to defend herself would be if the idea is that she would be responsible for her own affairs as the Dominions are for theirs. Yet, I think it will be desirable if I place in a few words before the House the aim that I have set before myself in placing this Resolution before the House. When Australia started her Military College, the Chief of the General Staff wrote on the occasion of the official opening of the College :—

“The aim of true Australians has always been to have a military force officered and trained by Australians, supplied with arms and equipment made in Australia and ready to lay down their lives in defence of Australia”.

That is the ideal that I have before set myself in moving this Resolution today. No lesser ideal would be in consonance with the idea of Dominion status. I may, however, be asked to define my object more clearly and in a little greater detail in order to give Honourable Members some idea of what exactly it is that I have in view. I may be asked first whether it is desired in pursuit of the ideal of self-sufficiency that our army should be enlarged and that we should be rendered capable of meeting all emergencies without the aid of any other power. Secondly, I may be asked whether even when all that it is possible for us to do with our limited financial resources has been done it will be possible for this country to defend herself if she stood alone and was not helped by the Imperial Government. I shall endeavour to answer these two questions as clearly and briefly as I can.

India maintains forces for her protection which are supposed to be sufficient for such dangers as she might reasonably have to meet *in the circumstances in which she is placed*. I lay great stress on these words, that is, “the circumstances in which she is placed”. Another country of the same size but with a

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

different geographical position might well have to maintain much larger forces than India has to. But advantageously situated as we are that the forces that we maintain though comparatively speaking not large are sufficient in the opinion of the military authorities to enable us to cope with all such dangers as we may be reasonably expected to face. When I ask therefore that we should as far as possible be self-sufficient in respect of our defence I have the same object in view which the military authorities have and I refer only to the forces that are maintained. There is only one difference between the military authorities and myself. To them the composition of the Army in India and the classes from which the officers are drawn is a matter of small moment. To me it is a matter of the greatest concern. I want that all our soldiers and officers should be Indians and that as far as possible our army should be supplied with arms and equipment made in this country. In asking therefore for self-sufficiency, Sir, I am not asking for any increase in our forces. I am not pursuing any impossible ideal of self-dependence. I am only asking that the forces which are considered necessary for our normal needs should consist of Indian troops and Indian officers and that arrangements should be made for the manufacture of munitions of all kinds which would be needed in a war.

Having answered the first question I shall now attempt to answer the second question. I readily grant that even when the immediate object that I have in view has been attained, India may not be in a position to withstand unaided an attack by a first class power. But is there any country that is in such a position at the present time? The British Dominions at least since the Great War, have been steadily pursuing the ideal that Australia set before herself when she started her military college. The arrangements recently concluded between Australia and Canada and His Majesty's Government will enable at least these two Dominions to train a large number of pilots and manufacture aeroplanes on a large scale. Yet, with all the preparations that they have made and all the help that they are receiving from His Majesty's Government in England does anybody think that they would be able to defend themselves without the help of the British Government in case they were attacked by a first class military nation. I need not refer only to the Dominions in this connection. I can well refer to England herself. In the Great War England needed the help of other countries. It received the help of the whole of the Empire including India. In this war too similarly it is receiving the help of the whole of the Empire, and that it values this help is proved by the fact that the British authorities here and elsewhere are making the utmost effort to induce the people of the countries for whose administration they are responsible to co-operate with them in the prosecution of such measures as would enable His Majesty's Government to carry the war to a successful issue. I go further and venture to say that it would have been difficult for His Majesty's Government to meet a country like Germany single-handed. England needs the help of France as much as France needs that of England. Yet England, although she realises that it is necessary in her own interests that she should enter into alliance with other powers, so that she may get the help that she may need in times of danger, does not depend primarily on the armies and officers of other countries for her defence. She has made herself self reliant as far it was in her—power to do so in respect both of men and material. Similarly, though we may have to ask for help from His Majesty's Government, and indeed if our association continues we shall be entitled to receive it, this is no reason why we should for all ordinary purposes continue to be dependent on the British element to the extent that is the case now in our army.

I hope from what I have said so far that I have been able to show that my object in moving this Resolution is not such as is impossible of fulfilment. I ask neither for a large expansion of our forces nor for that military self-dependence which is practically impossible in any country of the world today. I am asking for what is not merely possible but easily practicable if only the British authorities would change their point of view and make up their minds to assist India to carry through those measures on the successful completion of which the achievement of full self-Government primarily depends. I may still, however, be asked whether I think that the present time is opportune for the consideration of a Resolution like this. I venture to answer this question strongly, emphatically in the affirmative. His Majesty's Government are appealing to the people of this country to co-operate with them in carrying this war to a successful issue. India is generally speaking sympathetic towards England because it detests those totalitarian policies which have found favour with the Governments with which Britain is at present at war. But if full advantage is to be taken of this initial sympathy, it is necessary that the country should be assured that the help that it is now giving will be used in such a way as to enable it to become self-governing after the war. It should be made to feel that the arrangements that are now being made are such as are consistent with this objective in view and not such as will make it more difficult for us to achieve full self-Government. Besides, Sir, the recommendations of the Chatfield Committee which have led to the enlargement of the scope of our responsibilities render the carrying out of my Resolution almost imperative. We thought till a few months ago that our responsibilities were of a limited character and were mostly confined to the defence of the internal frontiers, of India, but we are now told that we should be consulting our best interests if we defend the integrity of India not on Indian frontiers but in Malaya and Egypt. If that is so, and it is the desire of the British Government that India should achieve Dominion status as early as possible and that they should receive the fullest help from the people of this country in the prosecution of the war, then is it not desirable that they should take care to see that the troops that are sent out of this country are such as can be regarded as truly national? Now, what is wanted in order to make our troops national? It is the production of Indian officers who will replace British officers. That unquestionably is one of the problems that will have to be dealt with boldly and frankly if India is to be enabled to achieve full self-Government, and it is, as I have said, rendered more necessary than before by the recommendations of the Chatfield Committee. I ask Honourable Members to have a little imagination and ask themselves whether a new wave of enthusiasm would not pass over the country if they saw that the troops that were being sent out of this country were completely Indian, were led by their own officers and would be regarded as national by the people of the country to which they were being sent. Would it not create a different feeling in the country if it was felt that His Majesty's Government were trying to create an army national in every respect. I am sure there is no one here who, if he were to devote a little sympathetic attention to this matter, would not come to the same conclusion and would not realise the immense importance of taking steps of the kind suggested by me.

Apart from this, Sir, His Majesty's Government are at present taking steps both to expand the army and to train a larger number of officers. If at this time when measures are being taken to expand not merely the army but our other forces also and to train more officers the larger object were kept in view and the change in British political sentiment created by the war were made full use of, many of the difficulties that we have had to encounter in the

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past might easily be overcome and India would be able to have completely national forces much quicker than would otherwise be possible. I shall refer to a few facts by way of illustration in order to show more clearly the bearing of what I have said on the realisation of the object which according to His Excellency the Viceroy His Majesty's Government have set before themselves, but before I do so I should like to refer to one other point. I may be told that if my Resolution were to be accepted one of the consequences of it would be that the British Government would have to follow a definite scheme of Indianization, a scheme that could be worked up to within a definite period of time and that this would not be possible from the military point of view. Now, I venture to draw the attention of Government in this connection to the Report of Committees set up by themselves. One of the earliest of these committees, the Shea Committee was appointed by them to consider how a purely national army could be created, how India could be enabled to have an Indian army working entirely under Indian leadership. The idea, therefore, that I am putting forward is not as chimerical as some persons might make it out to be for purposes of argument. Again, Sir, the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference considered this matter and the Chairman, Mr. Thomas, clearly stated in his Report that, when an expert committee was appointed in India to consider all those subjects on which the Defence Sub-Committee had made recommendations, the Reports of the Military Requirements Committee of 1921 and the Shea Committee of 1922 would be placed before it and adequately considered. The resolutions passed by the Sub-Committee, as was expressly said in the report, were subject to this assurance. Yet, unfortunately, when the Committee was appointed, this promise was not fulfilled and the Commander-in-Chief announced on behalf of the Government of India that the Government of India and His Majesty's Government had decided that only 60 officers should be admitted annually to the Indian Military Academy to be opened at Dehra Dun. I am quite certain, Sir, that, if this question had been allowed to be considered by the Committee, the Committee would have arrived at a much more satisfactory decision and we would now have been in a much better position with regard to the number and employment of the Indian Commissioned officers than we are at the present time.

I shall now give the illustrations to which I referred a little earlier. Practically speaking the officers that we have up to now trained in the Indian Military Academy are being used as platoon commanders and the new officers that Government are now training in larger numbers will also be used in the same way. Now, I ask whether the question of the employment of Indian Commissioned Officers as platoon commanders was ever placed before the Legislative Assembly, whether it was ever discussed before His Majesty's Government arrived at a decision on the subject. The Government of India accepted a Resolution in 1921 asking for the recruitment of 25 per cent. of the superior officers annually from among Indians. It was well understood that the object of Indianization was to replace British by Indian officers but what is being done now is to replace one kind of Indian officer by another kind of Indian officer. The Viceroy's Commissioned officers are being replaced by the Indian Commissioned officers. The result is that, although Indian officers are being recruited, Indian commissioned officers are being trained annually and their number has increased, the recruitment of British officers has not gone down. Indianization, therefore, has not been proceeded with, has been practically stopped as must have been evident to anybody who listened to the figures given by Mr. Williams the other day with regard to British recruitment during the last five years.

I need not say much with regard to the air force and the navy. The British authorities have borne testimony to the worth of the Indian officers in both the Indian Air Force and the Indian Navy. The reply received by the Director of Civil Aviation to the questionnaire issued by him to trained pilots and engineers further shows the enthusiasm of the people of this country for service in the Air Force. Another fact that shows the same enthusiasm is the trebling of the number of pilot: under training at the various Flying Clubs in the course of a little less than 12 months. As regards the Navy, equally good testimony is forthcoming. Both the Commander-in-Chief and the Captain Superintendent have borne testimony to the fine quality of the boys that are being trained in the Mercantile Marine Training Ship *Dufferin*, and it is a fact to be noted that, since the creation of the various naval reserves, 23 ex-cadets of the *Dufferin* have been taken in the Royal Indian Naval Reserve and the Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve. Here again, the facts show eloquently that, if Government go about the business in the right way, offer a large number of vacancies to the people and take steps to rouse their enthusiasm, there would be no want of response from the young men in this country and no dearth of suitable material.

Sir, I do not wish to dwell any more on these points. I would say only in the end that the acceptance of the Resolution that I have placed before the House would be a proof of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government's intention to advance India as quickly as possible on the path of self-government. This is not a time, Sir, for delay. There may be dangers in going fast according to the authorities. But there are times when these risks are small as compared with those of proceeding at a slow pace, the result of which might be to alienate permanently the sympathies of the people of the country.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution so ably moved by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru. The proposition that he has put forward is a most constructive proposition and deserves support from all sides of the House. He has made constructive proposals in the Resolution with a view that Britain should take India into her confidence at least in these dangerous times and should help India to be self-sufficient in the matter of defence. I need not go into the past history of Britain in her dealings with India in this matter, but I am compelled to state that Britain has made systematic and deliberate efforts in the past not to make India self-sufficient in the matter of defence. After the Mutiny, the policy followed by Britain has been to emasculate and disarm India. The policy followed by Britain of recruiting people from particular provinces has stifled the enthusiasm amongst the various classes and provinces, and people do not come forward to take part in the defence of their country. The policy regarding Indianizing the officer ranks of the army, followed by Britain, has been to the great disadvantage of India, and in spite of India's enthusiasm to take part in the Great War and to give active help to Britain in the present war, she is not in a position to give as much help as she would desire to give. Sir, India is not responsible for it. It is Britain which is responsible for this, and Britain must mend her ways now.

We have had several committees set up during the last 20 years, after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, but their recommendations have not been given effect to by the then Government as they had to follow the dictates of Whitehall. My Honourable friend had already referred to them. The House knows that the Shea Committee made recommendations to the effect that the officer ranks of the Indian Army should and could be Indianized without any danger to efficiency within 30 years. The Report.

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

of that Committee was shelved, but it was due only to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammad Shafi that something of the Report came to light during the Round Table Conference. I charge the British Government with deliberately following a policy which has not made India self-sufficient in this matter up till now. We are promised Dominion status. If this promise is not a mere declaration of a pious wish, if in the present war Great Britain really desires help from India, I submit that England ought to be sincere and frank and carry into effect the recommendations of at least the Shea Committee. If the Government had given effect to the recommendations of these committees by this time, they would not have felt the need of giving emergency commissions to Indians now. Even in the matter of giving emergency commissions, an inquiry was made by my Honourable friend and we were told that it would not be in the public interest to give the information. Is it in the public interest not to train Indians for commanding their own troops? Is it in the public interest not to train India to have a national army of its own not only to defend India but also to help Britain in time of need? Sir, I have been a great believer for a long time in the declared promises of Great Britain. But, for the last few years, I have come to realise that it is a very easy thing for Britain to make a pious declaration, but she finds it inconvenient to translate it into action when it does not suit her purpose. If that is the policy that is going to be followed even now, then the enthusiasm that we want to rouse amongst our young men will be damped and I regret to submit that the help which Britain desires from India will not ultimately come forward. It is, therefore, not only in the interests of India alone but also in the interests of Britain that Britain should change her policy and should help to train Indians for setting up a national army of their own which will be of use to India as well as to Britain in times of danger. The Resolution of my Honourable friend desires co-operation from all sides. He wants expert advice as well, and therefore he wants the co-operation of the British Government also to draw up a scheme of having a national army for India. I therefore submit that not only all sides of the House but also the British Government should accept such a modest demand and accept this Resolution so that India may be self-sufficient in the matter of her defence. I therefore strongly support the Resolution that has been so ably moved by my Honourable friend.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the Mover of this Resolution has done a great service by moving this Resolution. The Resolution, Sir, makes two suppositions : (1) the desire of His Majesty's Government that India should attain Dominion status at the earliest possible moment and (2) their anxiety to shorten the transitional period and bridge it as effectively as possible. It is not for us, Sir, it is for His Majesty's Government alone and their representative in India, His Excellency the Viceroy, to say if their intentions have not been correctly interpreted. We in India who still have faith in British pledges and British justice do take it that the announcements recently made have been made with a clear and unequivocal desire towards their fulfilment. Even Mahatma Gandhi, the strength of whose leadership we all recognize and whose representative voice always carries great weight with the Government, has repeatedly declared his faith in the inherent sincerity of the British people ; and from his writings we feel inclined to think that an effective and lasting compromise is possible if the

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status of India as a self-governing dominion is recognized. Ideologically speaking, the political ideal of any country can not reasonably be expected to be Dominion status. Every country's political goal cannot be anything but complete independence. If it is anything else it is not worth being called a goal. It is an apology for an ideal. It is a camouflage. But, Sir, although the ultimate cherished end of nobody who can find the wherewithal to live and grow independently can or should be dependence or servitude, and yet he may make co-operative living or responsive friendship a very admirable ideal of his life ; even so, India and Britain will find a very noble, honourable and inspiring settlement in Dominion status which will make the two countries complementary in all their endeavours and lead them from strength to strength to be of service to the common good of mankind. Those of us who value British connections and want to strengthen the ties by purifying them do view with some discontent the lackadaisical manner in which Government are going about the business. When disruptive forces are at work, when delay is the agitators' chief argument for preaching disaffection, when the rising generation is becoming more and more mercurial day by day, the Government continues to be as phlegmatic in its forward move as ever. This Resolution urges Government to move in the direction of making the necessary preparations for the establishment of Dominion status. A lot of spade work will have to be done in connection with the army itself. Dominion status involves the withdrawal of British troops from India. There would, I suppose, be no British units, naval, military or air, stationed anywhere except in relation to strategic points. The Dominion Government will not be able to call upon British troops except for defence against external dangers. India would not like to replace an army of occupation in one day by an army of mercenaries. What she would need would be a national army under national control, manned and officered by Indians. To draw up a plan to achieve this most vital need is what the committee proposed in the Resolution would be required to do. A committee of the type proposed would certainly be the best for the purpose. The functioning of this committee is not going to hamper the work of the Defence Department even during the present time of strain. The necessary statistics are already there. The reports of the various committees, including the Chatfield Committee, would be available to them. But it is very difficult to force the unwilling hands of Government to action in the direction of political progress. The usual chain of pleas that we always hear, of caution against haste, and of warnings against doing anything at the present time, makes one feel that the governmental machinery of this country consists only of brakes and safety valves without any forward propellers at all. The unreality of the situation becomes day by day more evident and such as none can appreciate. I am reminded, Sir, of a few lines from a certain poet whose name unfortunately I just now forget. The lines which were written in praise of a certain writer of fiction also make a reference to horsemanship and are typical of the wide professions and unreal endeavours of the Government of India. The lines are—

" I praise the firm restraint with which you write,
I am with you there of course,
You use the snaffle and the curb all right,
But where's the bloody horse !"

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I should first of all like to express my regret at the fact that His Excellency has chosen to be absent from this debate. I think courtesy requires that he should occasionally listen to what we have got to say, even though the formulation of defence policy is his sole concern.

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

I think the constitutional position in regard to the Commander-in-Chief needs to be revised even before the more comprehensive question of the Indian constitution is taken up. The presence of the Commander-in-Chief in the Legislature is an anomaly and if he feels that he ought not to be present here, a civilian member ought to be appointed to represent the Commander-in-Chief.

Sir, 23 years ago the goal of British policy was declared as progressive realisation of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire. There was much controversy as regards the meaning of the Declaration of 1917. Lord Irwin in 1929 stated that Dominion status was implicit in the Declaration of 1917. After Lord Irwin's declaration a cloud was thrown on it by some references in the Joint Select Committee and other places, and it is therefore gratifying to find that His Excellency's declaration in his speech at the Orient Club makes a distinct advance over any previous utterance of any British statesman in regard to the objective of British policy. His Excellency has stated in the most categorical terms that the objective of British policy in India is Dominion status of the Statute of Westminster variety. He has further stated that hereafter the goal is to be expedited. In other words, what he says is that there is to be an accelerated realisation of the goal of Dominion status of the Statute of Westminster variety. Well, Sir, the question therefore is this, if your goal is Dominion status of the Statute of Westminster variety, what are you going to do to facilitate the achievement of this goal? You want to shorten the transitional period, you want to bridge it as effectively and as quickly as possible, and therefore the relevant question that we are entitled to ask is how do you propose to bridge this transitional period so far as defence is concerned? It is no use saying that there are obstacles in the way of achieving this goal so far as defence is concerned. You have been pointing to these obstacles for the last 60 or 70 years; you have been pointing them out since the last Declaration of 1917. What steps are you going to take to expedite the achievement of this goal so far as defence is concerned, for let us be clear as to what Dominion status is. Dominion status of the Statute of Westminster type would give India complete control over her defence policy, over her external policy and over her internal policy. The Governor General in a Dominion is not an agent of His Majesty's Government. The conception of the British Commonwealth is that of a free association of free and self-governing communities. Well, if that is the conception of Dominion status, it follows that India must be in a position to defend herself and we are entitled to ask you to help us to defend ourselves. Therefore you have necessarily to review your entire policy in the light of your recent Declaration. This means that you must be prepared first of all to review your policy in regard to the composition of the Indian Army. I look upon this question of the composition of the Indian Army as a very important question. I think the army should be an army not of professional soldiers but a real national army, an army open to all sections of His Majesty's subjects. I think it ought to be possible for a Madrasí to find a place in the army if he is otherwise fit to be a soldier; I think it ought to be possible for a depressed class man of the Bombay Presidency to find a place in the army if he is otherwise fit to be a soldier; I think it ought to be possible for other races and other communities which go unrepresented in the army to find a place in the army if they satisfy the test of physical and other fitness. Therefore I look upon this question of the composition of the army as a very important question. Next you have also to change the character of the officer personnel of the army. You have therefore to Indianize the officer

ranks of the army and when we say Indianize we do not mean Indianization in 50, or 60 or 70 or 80 years. We want rapid, rapid, very very speedy Indianization. In the last war you were able to turn out officers in four, six, eight months, a year. If there is the desire to train Indians for officer ranks, you will get the necessary supply. I think there is enough material in our Universities, schools and colleges to supply men who would be good officers for the army, and therefore you have to have a definite scheme of Indianization to be achieved within a reasonably short period of time, a definite programme; nothing less than a definite programme will satisfy the people of this country; nothing less than a definite programme will satisfy the aspirations of the people of this country. Sir, last year we had a Committee to go into this question; it was the Indian Sandhurst Committee. My friends the Honourable Mr. Kalikar, the Honourable Mr. Kunzru and the Honourable Lala Ram Saran Das, they decided to co-operate—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Sir A. P. Patro.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Sir A. P. Patro is a class by himself. I was going to say something. These three friends of mine decided to co-operate with this Committee. This Committee, Sir, as you know, was, if I may use a term with which we are familiar in this country, boycotted by the Congress and by the Muslim League. Even so they decided to co-operate with this Committee. Now, what has been the experience of Mr. Kunzru, what has been the experience of Mr. Kalikar, what has been the experience of Lala Ram Saran Das? All three of them did me the honour of consulting me before they actually accepted membership of the Committee. We all took the line—accept membership of the Committee. If you are accused of lack of patriotism, do not mind, but your duty is clear, go and work on this Committee. What has been their experience? Their experience is that this Committee has been adjourned *sine die* and the war is now given out as an excuse for not going on with the work of this Committee. Now, Sir, is that the way of rousing enthusiasm for the democratic cause? Do Government seriously believe that their declarations in regard to Dominion status will be taken seriously by people when they find that in actual administration they are doing nothing to facilitate the progress of India towards Dominion status? I think that Government should have proceeded with this Committee, they should have gone on with this Committee. The disbanding of this Committee has had a bad effect. I suggest it to the Defence Department that it is lacking entirely in imagination and that it should get some poets to co-operate with it to supply it with imagination. Therefore the question of Indianization of the officer ranks is of very very great importance and we want the Indianization of the officer ranks to proceed on a very rapid pace. Reference was made by the Honourable Mr. Kunzru to the Shea Committee's Report, to the Report of the Rawlinson Committee, to the Report of the Skeen Committee. Well, all these reports suggested an increase in the Indian element in the army. They suggested that the army could be Indianized within 30 years. I think the Shea Committee suggested that the army could be Indianized within 30 years. Nothing effective has been done so far as Indianization is concerned. We know that the annual intake is 60 cadets a year, but then many of these cadets replace platoon commanders and this system of abolition of the Viceroy's Commission has delayed the process of Indianization. Then another respect in which India needs self-sufficiency in the matter of defence is war industries. We want war industries to be stimulated, we want you to take up the manufacture of arms and ammuni-

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tion in this country. We want you even to help Indian industrialists to manufacture aeroplanes in this country. The present war is being utilised by the Dominions for the stimulation of their war industries. Large orders are being placed with Canadian and Australian firms for the manufacture of armaments. Why is the present war not being utilised to stimulate industrial activity so far as India is concerned here? Then, Sir, it may be said that all this will result in extra expenditure. Do you want the army to be expanded, the size of the army to be increased? Well, all these questions have been answered in the very comprehensive speech which the Honourable Mr. Kunzru has delivered here. He has pointed out that no country, not even Great Britain, is self-sufficient in the fullest sense. We are all inter-dependent in one respect or the other. England needs the help of France, France needs the help of England; England needs the help of the Dominions, the Dominions need the help of England; India needs the help of England; England needs the help of India and needs it now at this time more than at any other time.

Sir, I do not take a pessimistic view so far as the future is concerned. I think, Sir, if England will courageously, honestly, vigorously, sincerely pursue the policy which is the only right policy, that of advancing self-government, then all the moral forces of the world will be on her side and she will pull through this war as she has pulled through other wars. But sincerity, courage, imagination are necessary on the part of British statesmen and I hope that history and time will show that they are not lacking in these qualities.

THE HONOURABLE SAYIED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : Sir, I support the Resolution which has been so ably moved by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru. Sir, numerous committees have been appointed time after time to investigate this matter and every one of those committees that have gone into this question has invariably and uniformly reported about the suitability of India to take charge of her own defence irrespective of the different periods in which each committee was of opinion that this ideal could be achieved. Therefore, Sir, on the point whether India will at some date be in a position to take upon herself the duty of defending her shores and her territory, there is no dispute, and this has been answered in the affirmative.

Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru has made it perfectly plain that his object in moving this Resolution, in making this proposal, was not to put the Government of the country to any extra expenditure inasmuch as he stated that all that he proposed for the Indian Army to do was to serve the purpose which the present army is doing in the country. Therefore, inasmuch as it does not entail any extra duty or responsibility, he made it perfectly manifest that it should be possible, with some effort in this direction, to see that in some reasonable way and in as short a period of time as possible, Indians might be enabled to take up their own defence in their own hands.

Sir, as has been observed by the previous speakers, the necessity for this, which has always been realised, has become more urgent and more imperative at the present time. The announcement which His Excellency the Viceroy has made recently makes it incumbent upon the people who are in charge of affairs in India to see that everything possible is done to give the necessary training and capacity to the Indians to take up the defence of their country. But, Sir, I may state this at the outset, as stated by some of my

friends who preceded me, that everything that had to be done in this respect has not been duly done. There is a feeling in the country that, even in spite of the difficulty that the Government find themselves in at present owing to the existence of war, even in spite of the difficulty, something might be done to go forward with the policy of preparing India for her defence. And it is felt, Sir, that instead of putting an obstacle in the way of making an advance in this respect, the present opportunity might be availed of to stimulate efforts in this direction. And I feel at one with those Honourable Members who think that this opportunity should be availed of to try and prepare India for her self-defence.

Again, Sir, there is one more point which makes it quite clear that the present is a very opportune moment when this matter could be taken up. As has been stated, both by me and by my Honourable friends who preceded me, there has been a number of committees who have investigated this question. There are statistics there already. So quite a major portion of the data necessary for a decision on this matter is already there. So that it should be possible for the committee which is now proposed to be appointed to come to a decision more easily and without having to collect all that data that has already been collected by the previous committees. And therefore, Sir, the proposed committee would be in a much better position than the previous Committees for this reason also that recently there have been some more facilities offered to the Indians for training at Dehra Dun. Thus there is some appreciable amount of the experience gained to decide as to what extent Indians have been able to take advantage of the facilities that have been offered to them for military training, how far they have benefited by the training they have acquired, and to what extent they have shown themselves to be competent to be entrusted with responsible positions in the army. With this experience, Sir, this committee might well be in a position to determine what period it should be when the experience and the training acquired by the Indian soldier would warrant his being given responsible positions in the army. Therefore, Sir, the proposed committee would have an additional advantage over the previous committees in this respect and the result would be that the proposals of this committee would have been arrived at with a better knowledge of the situation, with better information and with more reliable data to go upon.

Well, Sir, I do admit that it may not be possible to specify the exact period of time in which our ambition could be completely achieved but, when once we take into consideration the ordinary progress that has been shown by the Indian in this matter, the capacity which he has evinced to take advantage of the facilities offered to him, when all this is taken into account, it should be quite possible for the committee to lay down the rate at which Indians could replace British officers in the army. When once this scheme is formulated, it should be possible to have at least an approximate idea of the time it would take to give India self-sufficiency in the matter of her self defence. Again, Sir, at the time when the previous committees worked, Dominion status was a very remote vista. It was not even visualized. Now, we are told that it is within the range of practical politics, that it is almost within sight. Therefore, Sir, it is necessary that India which is offered this status, this tempting offer to achieve her ambition, should be put in a position to make herself fit for the task which would devolve upon her of defending her shores when she becomes a full-fledged Dominion.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official)*: Sir, it is somewhat disheartening that an important Resolution like this affecting the destinies of this country should be discussed before empty benches—

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : No, they are not empty.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : That is your idea. You will see that the non-official benches are not—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Do not argue. Please go on with your speech.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : Yes, Sir. —as good as the official benches. Sir, I appreciate indeed the ideal and the hope underlying the Resolution. It is the desire of every Indian to see his country self-sufficient in the matter of defence, and there should be national defence of the country. No one would wish that his country should be indefinitely supported or defended by an extraneous agency and that India should not have the necessary material and equipment for defending herself. But the facts are there. The question underlying this Resolution is that there should be a committee to inquire into and work out a scheme for self-sufficiency in the matter of self-defence of India. But I am afraid that this Resolution at this juncture is untimely and, I would say, undesirable. One part of the scheme proposed was the nationalisation or Indianization of the army, navy and air force. With regard to two, namely, the army and air force, a committee was sitting making very important inquiries and collecting very valuable material, and it had only to record its conclusions when the war broke out and it was not possible for the military officers of the Government of India, who were sitting on the committee, to be able to be present and carry on the work ; hence the work of the committee was suspended, much to the regret of the members of the committee and the Government. Now, this Resolution suggests the appointment of a committee composed of the representatives of the British Government and of the Government of India. While the war is going on—and we receive daily very anxious reports—is it possible for the British Government to depute military experts to sit on the committee or the Government of India to spare officials to sit on the committee, to be able to collaborate with the representatives of India and work out a scheme at this juncture ? It is no doubt a very good suggestion that a committee consisting of representatives of all should sit together and prepare a scheme of self-sufficiency. But is it practicable under the circumstances to be able to do it now ? The Resolution, if it is intended to be given effect to at this juncture is, I would submit, not at all practicable from the point of view of reasonable persons. I do not speak on behalf of any of the Government officials because they can defend themselves. But what I do say is, to my mind it seems that however useful a purpose the Resolution will serve in the end, it is not at all desirable in the present circumstances when we are faced with the greatest danger, namely, war. The very existence of things are doubted and in the face of such events it seems to me that the Resolution cannot be a practical one. In addition, we have the assurance of the Government of India. His Excellency the Viceroy issued a communique on the 5th February in which it is stated that as a result of the discussions between himself and another leader of a political party, all these questions relating to India's Dominion status will all be considered very fully in consultation with the representatives of Indians soon after war is over, and when the time is ripe for such consideration, the question of the defence of India, which raises very many issues, complicated and difficult, will be considered and thrashed out by a committee appointed by the Government.

In view of this assurance, it seems to me an additional ground why this Resolution is unnecessary at present. The communique says :—

" With regard to the issue of defence in a Dominion position, he made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came. His Excellency drew attention to the fact that, as he recently repeated at Baroda, the Federal scheme of the Act which at present was in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion status and that its adoption with the consent of all concerned would facilitate the solution of the many problems that had to be faced in that connection "

The communique further says :—

" His Majesty's Government would be prepared to re-open the federal scheme, expedite the achievement of Dominion status and to facilitate the settlement after the war of the issues which it gave rise to, " etc.

So, here is a definite statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy that these questions arising out of the consideration of the problem of Dominion status will be fully gone into by His Majesty's Government immediately after the war. In the face of this statement, as I said, it seems to me unnecessary that this Resolution should be discussed at present, however valuable it is for the purpose of Dominion status. The Honourable Mover has rightly asked the question what is meant by Dominion status and he said it is no doubt well understood. But if Dominion status is as well understood, according to him, as it is in regard to Australia, if that is the position, then we have to consider the suggestions made by the Viceroy in his speech at the Bombay Club. Have his conditions and suggestions been satisfied to any extent? Are we anywhere nearer to Dominion status after the pronouncement made by His Excellency in Bombay? An unqualified offer has been made and now there is no dispute as to the objective of India, which has been made clear. But it was laid on the leaders of the various parties and interests to come to an understanding and agreement so as to accept this offer made by His Majesty's representative in India. The offer is there still and the responsibility is upon the people of this country, upon the representatives and leaders of the various Parties in the country. The difficulties and obstacles are too well known to all the leaders. The whole question is, have we been able to come to an understanding among ourselves as to what exactly we want in the form of Dominion status? Therefore, if I may respectfully suggest it, it is placing the cart before the horse to discuss the theory of self-sufficiency when we are not yet sure of the Dominion status we want. And I may ask, what is the spectacle in the country since the issue of this communique? We see a political party consisting of a few thousands four-anna subscribers arrogating to itself representation for the whole of India, the whole population of 370 millions, and claiming Independence. The Independence resolution of the Congress has followed the statement of the Viceroy, and there is the resolution which has been prepared for the Congress Conference in Bihar. That resolution and the statement made in the independence resolution clearly indicate that they do not want Dominion status. The majority Party in the country rejects the suggestion of Dominion status. Who else then in the country wants it? The Muslims? The independence resolution says that India must sever the British connection and obtain Purna Swaraj and obtain independence. That is the reply given to the communique. And this Congress resolution goes further. It says that Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism and Dominion status or any other status within the imperial structure. That is the reply given to the communique

[Sir A. P. Patro.]

It has been said throughout that a federal form of government is an integral part of the whole scheme of the Indian constitution. The whole thing would however go into revision if only Indian leaders would join hands together, co-operate and come to an understanding and then pursue the matter to a conclusion.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan) : Sir, in supporting this Resolution, although I agree with the speakers on the other side as regards the preamble to this Resolution about the earnest desire and so on of the British Government to give Dominion status, I want to place my view before the House irrespective of that preamble. We have to see if the request that is made in this Resolution is one of principle, necessity and justice. If that is so, then whether Dominion status is coming soon or is not coming at all or something else is coming instead, is entirely beside the point, and effect should be given to this Resolution. In fact I was wondering and waiting to see how and in what words and by what reasonings any Indian can oppose this Resolution. I have just heard one of my Honourable friends opposing this Resolution, and while listening to him I came to the conclusion that what he said was the only thing that could be said by any one who thought of opposing it.

Now, Sir, we ought to consider why the Government is delaying the Indianization of the army and to make us self-sufficient for defending our country. There is a good deal of suspicion in that delay which has been expressed in the speeches charging the Government with trying not to let us have a national army of our own. My Honourable friend referred to the time when this effort began on the part of the British Government, namely, the Mutiny. Well, I do not want to charge any Government which rules the people of another race. It has always been the case that people who want to dominate over other people find excuses of all kinds to keep them as weak as they can so that the ruled may not be able to rise against the rulers.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You dominated in your time also.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : Well, Sir, I want to remove that apprehension or danger from the minds of the rulers. India is not a country ; it is a vast continent. The time of the Mutiny has gone for good, and I honestly believe that if there is ever any revolution in this country it is not going to be an armed revolution ; not because the principle of Mahatma Gandhi of non-violence, will be adopted by everybody, but because we are not capable of an armed revolution and we do not need to have an armed revolution at any time even if Indians decide to separate connection with the British people. India is so situated that it is only the will of the people which will be enough and will decide the fate of India. It is unfortunate that today there are dissensions among Indians themselves and there is no one will in India. The day we make up our internal differences and unanimously say that this is the will of Indians I am certain no power can defy that and no armed revolution would be necessary. Therefore what I want to impress is this. If India has got a national army, if India has got arsenals, if India is capable of manufacturing aeroplanes, tanks, motor cars and these things, then so long as India remains a partner within the British Empire it will really be useful and beneficial for the British people themselves. For instance, today, the British Government needs assistance from this country. Are we able, even if we desire, to give

that help to the British Government which is required from us ? The answer is " No ", except that we provide the British people with some men and some little money ; we cannot supply arms, we have no aeroplanes ; we cannot even manufacture them in India. Let us, therefore, have an army with full equipment worth the name of this vast country. It is entirely a different thing as to how the British Government and the people of India are going to adjust their relations. If their relations are friendly, then all those resources are at their disposal and if they cannot adjust their relations and there is a breach, then that army will not be used as Indians have only to take a unanimous decision and the effect will be given. The army would be entirely useless and only the will of the Indians will be the deciding factor.

Now, I must say that one finds about the committees formed for Indianization of the army that their reports are shelved and not acted upon or dilatory tactics are adopted. Though the recent Committee was adjourned *sine die* owing to war conditions yet a month after an announcement was made that the terms of reference of this Committee have been extended so as to include the Navy and Air Force. One fails to understand this joke. When the Committee has been adjourned *sine die* what was the necessity of this announcement ? It is very difficult for one to understand unless it was merely done by the British Government to fool Indians while the Committee itself is absolutely dead and gone. After the war the conditions will so much change that some other excuse will be put forward, such as a different reference is required or a different personnel is necessary as neither the Congress was there nor the Muslim League was there and therefore something new will have to be started. I would like to impress upon the House that the objections taken is that it is inopportune at the present time is not practicable. I say it is quite the contrary. (Hear, hear.) It will help the present war because you are giving temporary Commissions, then you are having territorial regiments ; we also hear that rifles and other war materials are being manufactured in India. If you accept the Resolution and you sincerely want to raise a national army worth the name of India and provide materials necessary for the defence of the country, you would utilise these very things which you are producing now. In the last war how many millions of people were produced by Lord Kitchener and in how much time ? You are doing the same for this war. This is going to be, as it indicates, a war of a worse kind than the last war and huge preparations and huge sacrifices are necessary. Therefore, if you have a committee for the purpose asked for, that committee will be able to utilise and use these very things for the purpose after the war. This is the most appropriate time for setting up a committee. Now, you have got eminent military officers responsible for training the officers, for providing proper equipment and for manufacturing arms and ammunition required for the war. They can join the committee. I am quite certain that for this important work, the British Government and the Government of India will be able to depute officers and people from the non-official side will be willing to come forward and co-operate. I therefore think that this Resolution must be accepted, and the objection of the Resolution being inopportune should be withdrawn.

With these words, Sir, I support this Resolution.

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

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

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (Nominated Official): Sir, I have been placed in a position of some difficulty by my Honourable friend, the Mover of this Resolution, as he has put down one proposition in his Resolution and advanced another in his speech. The Resolution speaks of self-sufficiency for India but my Honourable friend in his speech went out of his way to admit that complete self-sufficiency is impossible and he followed this up by specifying certain objectives for his proposed committee, which he described as manifestly reasonable and moderate. Well, Sir, Government are bound to take the Resolution as they find it and its strict terms are clearly impossible of acceptance. The essential requirement of the Resolution to which the preamble and the machinery are directed is self-sufficiency for India in respect of her defence. To this essential requirement the answer is and must be that it is not a question of the goodwill of His Majesty's Government or of the Government of India but of bare possibilities. It is manifestly impossible—and the Honourable Mover has frankly admitted it—to make India self-sufficient in the terms of the Honourable Member's Resolution, either at the present moment or at any foreseeable future. I would not wish to repeat the Honourable Member's own arguments dilating on this subject, more particularly from the point of view of naval protection. After all, the cost of even a single battleship would hardly be a popular item in any Indian Finance Budget. The Honourable Member is well aware that in these times a self-sufficient defence force must, if self-sufficiency implies the ability to cope with every kind of emergency, be highly specialised, highly mechanised and technically equipped to a degree which again would involve expenditure far exceeding anything which my Honourable friends opposite, if they are to be consistent, would care to see in any Indian Budget.

There is more to it than that. Modern war is enormously a matter of supply. On this subject, Professor Roberts in his book *The House that Hitler Built*—I do not suggest that it is authoritative but I think that Honourable Members will agree that it is common sense—says :—

“There are 34 materials without which a nation cannot live”. (Of course that means, cannot without them wage war.) “Whereas the British Empire is largely dependent on outside sources for only nine of these, Germany has only two in ample quantities—potash and coal. That means that she must turn to the foreigner for all her supplies of 26 of these and a part of six more. Yet this is the Power that sees fit to launch a plan for complete self-sufficiency”.

I do not quote this passage to suggest that we need take an optimistic view of Germany's war unpreparedness. She may have—it is virtually certain that she has—laid up vast reserves; and this must have been at enormous cost. But here again we are brought back to the question of finance. How many of these essential materials has India herself got? How many can she be sure, in the event of war and of her being dissociated from the British Empire, of getting? And in any case, how many can she pay for from her own finances? I would repeat that the kind of figures which any one catering for self-sufficiency for India, even on the scale contemplated by the Honourable the Mover in his speech, would have to face would frighten the framer of any Indian Budget. Even if the standard to be aimed at approximated to that which the Honourable Member mentioned in his speech as envisaged for Australia, it would involve an amount of expenditure which would place it outside practical politics at any rate for years to come.

The preamble to the Resolution and the speech of the Honourable Member indicate that he finds a necessary connection between Dominion status and defence self-sufficiency. He has cited the Australian objectives: but I would ask him what Dominion in point of fact within the Empire can hope to carry

on without the help of Great Britain, more particularly of her Navy? To put it baldly, the prospect of Dominion status, whether it be near or remote, does not make self-sufficiency in defence a reasonable or even a practicable proposition for India. I would quote the words of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms :—

“Indianisation is a problem which admits of no facile solution and least of all one based upon the automatic application of a time-table”.

The Report goes on to say :—

“It is sometimes said that so long as the officer ranks of the Indian Army are not fully Indianised, complete self-government must be indefinitely deferred. We do not regard this as self-evident. There is no need to accept the theoretical proposition that India's civil and military progress must advance side by side”.

I have endeavoured to show that self-sufficiency has no necessary connection with political advance, that complete self-sufficiency is a myth, and that even the degree of self-sufficiency envisaged by my Honourable friend is wholly impracticable at present, largely on financial grounds. It follows that to convene a committee to discuss a virtual impossibility is hardly a practical proposition.

My Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro has pointed out very clearly the difficulties of running this sort of committee during a war. That is the justification—I fear it will not satisfy my Honourable friends opposite—for suspending the activities of the Indian Sandhurst Committee.

But it seems to me that my Honourable friend the Mover's proposals boil down to this, that the resources of the Empire should continue to be available for the defence of India whilst a scheme for progressively associating Indians with the defence of India is maturing. But that is precisely the position now obtaining. What Government are unwilling to do is to add at the present juncture to the lengthy list of committees which have met, not always with fruitful results, to deal with this and kindred subjects.

I am not prepared to admit lack of responsiveness of Government in the matter of Indianization. The Honourable Member has specified certain points of detail; but I hardly think that a speech on a Resolution of such wide scope as this is a suitable occasion to reply to those points of detail.

I recognise fully that the setting up of such a committee might produce happy political results. Against that have to be balanced considerations of practical utility, and in the balance Government regretfully find themselves unable to accept the proposals of the Honourable Mover of this Resolution.

Sir, I have to oppose this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : Mr President, I was rather surprised by the charge which the Honourable Mr. Williams brought against me. His charge shows, to my mind, his absolute inability to deal with the Resolution on the grounds on which I advanced it. Had he been able to do so, he would not have taken shelter behind difficulties of his own creation—

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DE C. WILLIAMS : Your creation.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU—so far as the language of the Resolution is concerned. The Honourable Member should have understood that as I asked for self-government in respect of military matters in order that India might achieve Dominion status, help from the Empire in the hour of India's need was a corollary to that. The Honourable

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Member said that self-sufficiency for India was impossible in these days and that what I was asking for was that the help of the Empire should be available while India was being progressively associated with her defence. Now, that was not what I had asked for. What I had said was that even when the Indian Army had been wholly nationalised, India had a right to expect help from England and the other members of the Empire because of their all being associated together in one organisation. There is another reason for it also and that is, that India has always come to the help of the other members—really Great Britain—when they have found themselves in trouble. In expecting, therefore, help from the other members of the Empire, India was asking only for fair reciprocity. To turn down my Resolution on the ground that self-sufficiency was not possible and to use merely verbal arguments to deal with the whole subject is neither fair nor in keeping with the gravity of the present situation.

Then, my Honourable friend referred to the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Act and read an extract from it to the effect that it was not necessary to admit that civil and military progress should go hand in hand. I do not know to what extent the opinion of the Joint Select Committee in that respect is deserving of serious consideration. Perhaps, the authors of the Report were thinking of the circumstances in which the British colonies became fully self-governing. If so, they should have remembered at the same time that the continued presence of British troops in these countries after they had become self-governing was found to be an anomaly and that after the war there was no Dominion where a single British battalion or regiment was maintained. We are dealing not with things as they were in the past but with things as they are today. Besides, in asking for progress in respect of military matters so that India might be able to achieve Dominion status, I was only taking account of the argument that is daily urged against us by our critics. If this argument has no force, if we can have additional powers of administration in our country without military self-government, then why has it been used against us at any rate for a quarter of a century? Why did His Excellency the Viceroy point that out to Mahatma Gandhi when the two discussed the question of Indian Dominion status?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You do not know the details of the discussion.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Sir, I go by the communique which is an official document and which has been published in an official organ called *Indian Information*.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Those are the broad points on which there was discussion, but what the many details were nobody knows.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: A thousand other things might have been discussed between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi to which no reference is made in the communique. Nevertheless the fact remains that His Excellency the Viceroy pointed out that the serious problem of defence required consideration and solution before the Indian desire for full self-government could be satisfied, and that is the only thing that we are concerned with. If what my Honourable friends Mr. Williams has said has been advanced as a real contribution to the debate and not merely as a debating point, it is not worthy of a moment's consideration. It is not

fair ; it is not honest. When we ask for full control in military matters you say it has no necessary connection with self-government. When we ask for self-government you point out to us that we are unable to defend ourselves. You cannot have it both ways unless you mean to be absolutely unfair and to use any argument you like simply because you have the power at present to retain all authority in your hands.

Another point which my Honourable friend referred to was the question of supply. He pointed out that war is at present eminently a matter of supply. I think I am repeating his exact words, and he asked us how many of the 34 materials required for military self-sufficiency to which he referred India possessed. Well, how many countries are there that possess all of them ? Is there even one country with the possible exception of the United States of America that possesses all of them ? How many countries are there that possess even a majority of the materials referred to by him ? Yet for all practical purposes the bigger nations are self-sufficient in the matter of military supplies. They however still want the help of other countries. They cannot take themselves out of the world. No nation can lead its life in a political vacuum. Foreign policy is merely a recognition of the fact that every nation has to take account of the existence of the rest of the world. It is an expression of the truth that in order to achieve the full life we are capable of we must have at least a few powerful friends in this world. When I ask for military self-sufficiency in the circumstances in which India is situated why is it assumed that I am forgetting this elementary fact ? Why is it asserted by implication that if India asks for military self-government she must be prepared to stand on her own legs even in a serious crisis when no first class military nation at present can do that ? Besides, though we may not possess many of the articles that are required for the manufacture of munitions, yet the Chatfield Committee recommended that the manufacture of munitions should be expanded so that India might produce all that was necessary for her requirements. Surely the members of the Chatfield Committee knew what they were about. I am sure they were aware of the verbal objections that clever people like Mr. Williams could urge against self-sufficiency in the production of munitions, but that did not deter them from putting forward a proposition which if rightly understood is eminently practical. Again, Sir, the other day the Defence Secretary stated in another place that such progress had been made in the manufacture of munitions that he expected that India would become self-sufficient in respect of her ordinary requirements, soon or after the war. I do not remember his exact words, but I have no doubt whatever that my Honourable friend Mr. Williams is aware of them. If I ask then for military self-sufficiency either in respect of the human material or of those supplies on which the fighting forces have to depend why should it be supposed that I am not speaking in the same practical sense in which the Chatfield Committee recommended the expansion of manufacture of munitions and in which Mr. Ogilvie spoke the other day in the Legislative Assembly ? Sir, the arguments that my Honourable friend Mr. Williams has used to demolish a case which I did not advance, a case which the language that I have used if reasonably interpreted could not be held to put forward, the objections of principle that he has advanced, seem to me to have no force whatsoever in them. It was hardly fair of him that he should in a serious discussion use arguments that seem to me to be almost frivolous.

Sir, there is only one point more in the speech of my Honourable friend which I need reply to before I sit down. He referred with approval to the remarks that fell from my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro. I have no doubt

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

that he as invariably approves of Sir A. P. Patro's remarks as we disapprove of them. We are used to getting general support from Sir A. P. Patro but opposition on every specific point. Nevertheless I must say that I was surprised when he opposed my Resolution. When he was a Member of the Indianization Committee he gave interviews expressing strong sentiments on the subject of Indianization, and yet when a practical Resolution on the matter is put forward he does not find himself able to support it. Now the argument that he used against the acceptance of my Resolution was that the time was inopportune and that it was hardly to be expected that His Majesty's Government would be able to spare military officers to consider the question brought forward in my Resolution. Well, Sir, I remember that, notwithstanding the preoccupations connected with the Great War, His Majesty's Government did send military missions to other countries, because they thought that the missions would be able to achieve something of national importance.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : May I remind the Honourable Member that the Mover of a Resolution is only entitled to fifteen minutes by way of reply. ■ ■

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I had forgotten that, Sir. In the present war too, Sir, if it was necessary to send a mission containing military representatives to any country, say to the United States of America, His Majesty's Government would, notwithstanding their preoccupation with the war, be able to find the officers required for the purpose. They may not be able to find officers for doing important work in India, because they may feel that they can carry on the war with the aid of a few classes and without the full support of the people of India. If they could only feel that the support of Indians would be of more importance to them than an army, not merely in the immediate future but ultimately, they would be able to find not one but a dozen military officers to undertake those investigations on which the status, and consequently the self-respect and contentment, of the country depends.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Resolution moved :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government that India should attain Dominion status at the earliest possible moment and their anxiety to shorten the transitional period and bridge it as effectively as possible, a Committee consisting of representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India and non-official representative Indians be appointed to prepare a scheme for making India self-sufficient in respect of her defence."

Question put : the Council divided :

AYES—10.

Askuran, Hon. Mr. Shantidas.
Ataullah Khan Tarar, Hon. Chaudhri.
Chettiyar, Hon. Mr. Chidambaram.
Kalikar, Hon. Mr. V. V.
Kunzru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.

Mahtha, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sri Narain.
Padshah Sahib Bahadur, Hon. Saiyed
Mohamed.
Sapru Hon. Mr. P. N.
Sinha, Hon. Kumar Nripendra Narayan.
Yuveraj Datta Singh, Hon. Raja.

NOES—21.

Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.
 Conran-Smith, Hon. Mr. E.
 Devadoss, Hon. Sir David.
 Dow, Hon. Mr. H.
 Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.
 Govindachari, Hon. Rao Bahadur K.
 Hissamuddin Bahadur, Hon. Lt.-Col. Sir.
 Hydari, Hon. Mr. M. S. A.
 Jagdish Prasad, Hon. Kunwar Sir.
 Jones, Hon. Mr. C. E.

Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.
 Lall, Hon. Mr. Shavaz A.
 Lloyd, Hon. Sir Alan.
 Menon, Hon. Sir Ramunni.
 Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.
 Nihal Singh, Hon. Sirdar.
 Parker, Hon. Mr. R. H.
 Richardson, Hon. Mr. J. H. S.
 Russell, Hon. Sir Guthrie.
 Sobha Singh, Hon. Sardar Bahadur.
 Williams, Hon. Mr. A. deC.

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* SENIOR GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS OF RAILWAYS.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution that I desire to move reads as follows :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Senior Government Inspectors of Railways for reporting on accidents, etc., be placed under the administrative control of some authority of the Government of India other than the Railway Board."

Sir, I do not propose to make a long speech on this Resolution. The commendation embodied in the Resolution has the support of the Pacific Locomotive Report and I shall just invite the attention of the House to certain parts of that Report.

Sir, the duties of an Inspector of Railways have been defined by section 4 of the Indian Railways Act. Those duties are :—

"(a) To inspect railways with a view to determining whether they are fit to be opened for the public carriage of passengers, and to report thereon to the Governor General in Council as required by this Act ;

(b) To make such periodical or other inspections of any railway or of any rolling stock used thereon as the Governor General in Council may direct ;

(c) To make inquiry under this Act into the cause of any accident on a railway ;

(d) To perform such other duties as are imposed on him by this Act, or any other enactment for the time being in force relating to railways".

Now the important duty which I have in mind is this (c) "to make inquiry under this Act into the cause of any accident on a railway". Sir, it is greatly to the credit of the Senior Government Inspectors that they should have discharged their duties with as much independence as they have hitherto, but I think the principle of placing them under the Railway Board is wrong. This is what the Pacific Locomotive Inquiry Committee has got to say about the present position :—

"We understand that, under the Government of India Act, 1935, it is contemplated that the Inspectorate will be separated from the control of the Railway Board. This

[Mr. P. N. Saprū.]

is very desirable, in so far as it will eradicate the present anomaly of the Board being the Inspecting as well as the Executive Authority. We were informed that the Board fully appreciate the position, and would welcome the change, although it appears that, in practice, Government Inspectors have generally retained their freedom of judgment. We would only add that, for the efficiency and success of the new Inspectorate, the officers selected should have the assurance of permanence and continuity of appointment. It would, therefore, appear necessary to prescribe that persons selected will not normally revert to individual Railway Administrations, or to posts under the Railway Board, except in special circumstances".

And then they say, after noting the recommendations of the Acworth Committee and the Railway Retrenchment Committee :—

"The circles were reduced to five, under two Chief Engineers and three Deputy Chief Engineers ; all are drawn from the Engineering Cadre of the State Railways, and are directly subordinate to the Railway Board. This may be embarrassing, particularly in the case of officers who may find themselves in the position of having to criticise the administration of a Railway to which they may later return".

Sir, it is not right that persons who have to perform judicial or semi-judicial duties should be under the control of the very authority they may have to criticise, namely, the Railway Board.

Sir, with these words, I commend this Resolution to the Members of this House.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL (Chief Commissioner for Railways): Sir, I propose to follow the very excellent example set by the Honourable Mover and only say a very few words. First, I would like to thank him for the tribute he has paid to the independence of Senior Government Inspectors in the past. I can assure him that it was not because they had been bullied by the Railway Board in the past and made to conform to the views of the Railway Board that the proposal was put forward that they should be independent of the Railway Board.

As regards the Pacific Locomotive Committee's Report, I may say that Colonel Mount, before he made that recommendation, consulted me about it and I said the recommendation had my full support.

I think that is all I need say to indicate that Government accept this Resolution. We are not quite certain when we can bring it into effect but I hope it will be very shortly. Ever since the European Group last year in the debate on the Demands for Grants in the other House moved a cut motion on this, we have been examining the whole question and going into what machinery is required, and we hope to bring the new scheme into force in the very near future.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Senior Government Inspectors of Railways for reporting on accidents, etc., be placed under the administrative control of some authority of the Government of India other than the Railway Board."

Question put and Motion adopted.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 14th March, 1940.