

24th January, 1923

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
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THIRD SESSION

OF THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1923.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 24th January, 1923.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock.

Secretary of the Assembly: I have to acquaint the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. President from to-day's meeting.

Mr. Deputy President then took the Chair.

POLICY OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT WITH REFERENCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, I have to lay on the table a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, Public No. 62, dated the 2nd November, 1922, regarding the policy of His Majesty's Government with reference to the Government of India Act.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Are copies available to the Members?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Certainly.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,

2nd November 1922.

Public,
No. 62.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
IN COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

More than a year has elapsed since Your Excellency's Government forwarded to my predecessor the report of a debate which took place in the Legislative Assembly in September of last year, as a result of which a motion was carried recommending that the Secretary of State should be informed that the Assembly was of opinion that the progress made by India on the path to responsible government warrants a re-examination or revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929. On the 28th February last my predecessor stated, in reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons, that he intended to address a Despatch to Your Excellency's Government, in reply to this motion, which would follow generally the lines of his speech in the course of the debate on the address a fortnight earlier. Circumstances, however, prevented the fulfilment of this intention, and since it has fallen to myself to make the reply which it is desirable that the Assembly should

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

receive, I do not imagine that Your Excellency's Government will have expected that I should address myself to so large and important a question without mature consideration, even though some further delay was involved.

2. The result of my consideration is that I have little to add to, and nothing to qualify in, the statement of the case made by my predecessor in the concluding portions of his speech in the House of Commons on the 14th February last. The policy deliberately adopted by Parliament in enacting the Act of 1919, and recently reaffirmed by the present head of His Majesty's Government, was to provide an instalment of self-government, but at the same time to make further progress in that direction dependent upon experience of the practical results achieved in the working of the new constitution as a whole. It would have been a matter for surprise had any speaker in the Indian debate of September of last year attempted to prove as the result of six months' experience of a new constitution that its possibilities were exhausted and that nothing remained to be learned from further experience of its operation. No such attempt was made, and the arguments used in support of the motion consequently lose some of their cogency in my view, for three reasons. In the first place, they assumed that progress is impossible under the existing constitution, and can be achieved only by further amendment of the Government of India Act. This assumption I believe to be fundamentally erroneous.

3. The outstanding feature of the change made by the Act of 1919 was that it provided British India with a progressive constitution in place of an inelastic system of government, and that consequently there is room within the structure of that constitution for the Legislatures to develop and establish for themselves a position in conformity with the spirit of the Act.

4. In the second place, however great the merits shown by the Legislatures as a whole and by individual members (and I am far from wishing to underrate them), the fact remains that the merits and capabilities of the electorate have not yet been tested by time and experience. The foundation of all constitutional development must be the presence of a vigorous and instructed body of public opinion operating not only in the Legislatures, but—what is even more important—in the constituencies. Until this foundation has been firmly laid, progress would not be assisted, and might indeed be retarded, if fresh responsibilities were added to those with which the electors have so recently been entrusted.

5. Thirdly, the new constitutional machinery has to be tested in its working as a whole. Changes have been made as the result of the Act of 1919 in the composition, powers, and responsibilities not only of the Legislatures, but also of the executive Governments. No estimate of the success of the new system could pretend to completeness which was not based upon proof of the capacity of these bodies, as now constituted, to administer the duties entrusted to them—duties which, from the point of view of the public welfare, are at least as important as those of the Legislatures; and trustworthy proof of such capacity can only be established by experience of the extent to which the increased association of Indians in the sphere of executive responsibility has justified itself in practice.

6. I would add that, even were these reasons for patience less cogent, an opinion based upon six months' experience of its working that a new constitution, in the elaboration of which over two years were occupied, stands in need of revision, is hardly likely to commend itself to Parliament, since it is clear that sufficient time has not elapsed to enable the new machinery to be adequately tested. It would, in fact, be without precedent if a constitution, deliberately framed to provide a basis for development in whatever directions experience may indicate, were to be brought under review within a few months of its inauguration; and indeed any such process could hardly fail to deprive the constitution of a large element of its value, by determining prematurely the precise directions in which further progress is to be made.

7. I shall be glad if Your Excellency's Government will cause copies of this Despatch to be laid on the Table of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) PEEL.

THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL.

The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes (Commerce and Industries Member): Sir, I present the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill to define the liability of employers in certain cases of suits for damages brought against them by workmen and to provide for the payment by certain classes of employers to their workmen of compensation for injury by accident.

NICKEL FOUR-ANNA AND EIGHT-ANNA PIECES.

Mr. Khagendra Nath Mitra (Bengal: Nominated Official): Sir, I wish to ask a question of which I had given private notice to the Honourable Member concerned.

Is the Government aware that there has been for the past few days a rumour in the city of Delhi that the nickel four-anna pieces are going to be withdrawn from circulation? If so, will the Government be pleased to say if it is a fact? Is the Government aware that much inconvenience has been caused to the business men as well as to the private citizens by the refusal on the part of people in many cases to accept these coins?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): I am much obliged to the Honourable Member for giving me an opportunity of stifling this idle rumour. The Government of India understand there has been such a rumour in the local bazar for a few days; it is entirely unfounded; the local authorities took whatever action was possible and the rumour has since been dying out. I am informed that the nickel four-anna pieces are now being freely accepted. It is not true that these coins are about to be withdrawn from circulation. Similar rumours have been current for a few days in various parts of the country at different times and they have been repeatedly contradicted. I may add that the local Commissioner is going to be asked to put up a notice in prominent places in the city of Delhi with a view to stopping this inconvenience.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): There is also a similar rumour in regard to the eight-anna nickel pieces?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The same remarks apply.

LASCARS IN THE GREAT WAR.

**Letter from the Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce, to Mr. K. Ahmed, No. 323, dated the 11th January 1923.*

As you will remember you asked in the Legislative Assembly on the 7th September last for information on the following points:

- (i) The number of Indian Seamen and Lascars working as Serang, deck crews, firemen and butlers in steamship companies and in merchant vessels, etc., in Indian Waters and abroad;
- (ii) The number of Indian Seamen and Lascars killed by enemy action during the Great War; and
- (iii) The number of Indian Seamen and Lascars captured and imprisoned in foreign countries.

* Vide pp. 1349 and 1352 ante.

[Mr. C. A. Innes.]

I am afraid that we are not in a position to give you exact figures in all cases; for instance the Government of Bombay, who were consulted, have informed us that information as to the number of Indian Seamen and Lascars shipped from Karachi and other Ports (excepting Bombay) in that Presidency is not available. However I give below what information we have been able to collect and hope that it will serve your purpose :

(i) Numbers shipped from			
Bombay	29,000
Calcutta	39,207

(These figures are for 1921-22.)

(ii) 3,427 (this includes 33 who died from exposure while on war service, but excludes 47 who died while interned in Germany).

(iii) 1,200 (I have assumed that you refer to Enemy countries and not all foreign countries).

RESOLUTION RE EXAMINATION FOR THE I. C. S.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): Sir, the Resolution that stands against my name and which I propose to move reads as follows :

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the present system of conducting Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service be changed and that a different method of conducting the Simultaneous Examinations so as to give a fair chance to candidates belonging to different communities and different provinces be devised, if necessary, by having a limited form of competition."

Sir, in moving this Resolution, I wish to attack it or deal with it on very broad lines. It is not my desire to interfere at all with the efficiency or the traditions that are attached to the honourable service well known to us all as the Indian Civil Service; but I move this Resolution standing as I do as a representative of one of the minority communities in India and as such I believe I have every right to place before this Honourable House the views of one of the minority communities, leaving representatives of other minority communities to voice their views. In attacking this subject I do so with great diffidence because I represent a community unfortunately, which, for educational purposes, runs a very bad second so far as other minority communities in India are concerned. Why that is so I am not prepared to argue out just now, but let that pass. India as we know—I would call it the continent of India—is a mass of heterogeneous classes and races, talking different languages, with different ideas, and different creeds. There is no doubt that the cementing influence here is the British element. Take that away and I think very few will deny or disagree with me that we are likely to crumble like a pack of cards. The idea is no doubt to Indianise the Services, and being an Indian and a citizen of this country I join with them that the idea is to Indianise the Services. Minorities of course claim a place in that. The Indianisation of the Services really means the replacement of the Englishmen by the various communities of India. There is no doubt that the Indian Civil Service which is manned largely by Europeans will in time be replaced by Indians. The cry now is that this Service together with other superior Services is manned by Englishmen to a disproportionate extent compared with the rest of India. How true that is, how necessary it is, it is not my purpose to argue now. But the fact remains that Indians look forward to Indianising the Services entirely in time. Their ideal is to replace Englishmen with recruitment from among their own

men, that is, Indians. But when dealing with the recruitment of the Services, the Public Services Commission which sat in 1913, and submitted its Report, apprehended such an eventuality, namely the replacement of Europeans by Indians. Now it is very extraordinary how prophetic or ultra-prophetic has been the safeguard, because if I understand rightly, since the simultaneous examinations have been in practice one province in India has been able to monopolise,—be it said to their credit no doubt,—at least 50 per cent. of the appointments in the I. C. S., and taking that as your criterion, and accepting that as a criterion for the future, it seems as if it is quite legitimate to apprehend that within a few years' time Englishmen will be replaced mainly by one community, or by the community mainly occupying one province. I understand I am right in saying that the struggle just now is between East and South *versus* North-West of India. I do not say that in disparagement of the communities that have succeeded, but there is no doubt that it is going to be the ultimate position unless some safeguards are put into operation in time. I ask this Honourable House to see or to visualise the Punjab being administered by no one else but by people from the south and *vice versa*. I take the same position from East to West, Bengal and Bombay. As I say, India is a continent with a number of communities, each wanting to attain the maximum of speed in regard to communal benefits from the Reform Scheme. The major communities in India are protected and are able to look after themselves, while the minor communities, I regret to say, are being neglected, and it is to protect these minor communities that I, as a representative of the Domiciled Community in India, move this Resolution. In doing so, I think I am in good company when I quote, with your permission, Sir, an extract from the Report of the Public Services Commission from page 172.

"*Safeguards and Reservations.*—These safeguards and reservations are two in number. First two candidates should be nominated each year by the Secretary of State, on the advice of the Government of India, from amongst graduates of the various Universities, and of an age similar to that of the competitors at the examination. Such nominees who should be termed 'King-Emperor's cadets', should rank as probationers below the other successful candidates of their year, pending the result of the final examination. Otherwise, they should be on an equal footing in all respects. This would make it possible to give representation to young men, of good family, who had shown literary attainments of a higher order, but who were not intellectually quite in the front rank. Members of the domiciled community and Burmans might also benefit under this provision."

The Report further goes on to say:

"The Committee itself should be made up so far as may be of persons in touch with educational interests, and should consist of the vice-chancellor of the university concerned, the director of public instruction of the province chiefly interested, and three other members to be nominated by the syndicate of the university whose area is in question. Should it be found that the candidates successful at the examination are coming too markedly from one particular area, we think that the best remedy would be to hold the examination by groups of areas in rotation. But we deprecate any such arrangement unless experience shows that it is absolutely necessary. Subject to these qualifications the examination should be conducted by the civil service commissioners, who, after consultation with the educational authorities in India, should devise a scheme having the same relation to the Indian educational courses, as the examination in England will, under our scheme, bear to the education given in the British secondary schools. To give effect to these recommendations, we recognise that it will be necessary to amend the Statute of 1858, and we advise that legislation be undertaken accordingly."

Well, Sir, these were the safeguards recommended by the Public Services Commission and to avoid a swamping of these coveted posts by any one particular community, I have brought forward this Resolution

[Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.]

feeling as I do that those who represent the minor communities will support it. It is up to the Government to suggest which will be the most feasible and the most easy method by which the minor communities could be safeguarded and represented. Personally, I think the easiest solution will be to leave the examinations as they are, and to make certain safeguards and reservations by nominating from among those candidates who have passed the examination, representatives from the various communities. This would give all communities a fair chance; there is no doubt that it will create a feeling of harmony, and this House will be putting into execution one of its primary and most important duties, namely the protection of the minor communities in India. If this House refuses to accept this Resolution, I make bold to say that it will be failing in its duty to discharge one of its most important duties. (*Voices*: "Hear, hear.") I see some Members from Bombay say 'Hear, hear'. I trust it is meant.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Ironically.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Sir, I wish to put forward this Resolution and I will ask the House to give it its support and so protect the minor communities in the Motherland of India.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I beg to move the amendment which stands in my name to the Resolution which has just been moved, and after the amendment has been made the Resolution will read thus:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the present system of conducting simultaneous examinations for the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service be modified so as to provide for a fair representation of suitable candidates of different castes and communities residing in British India."

Sir, I am one of those who stand and very strongly too, for the Indianisation of the services. Government might say that 'look here, you Indians want Indianisation of the services and then want communal representation.' Sir, I am the last person to have claimed communal representation, but since communal representation has been granted by Government partially, I submit that it is very unfair to other communities if it is not extended to them. One happy expression has been used that the Hindus belong not to a minority community but to a majority community. I submit with the greatest respect that it is quite wrong: The meaning of minority and majority can be ascertained from their methods of living, their methods of interdining and inter-marriages. So far as these are concerned, I would say that Hindus are divided into a very large number of castes and creeds, and they can neither interdine nor inter-marry.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadian): They will.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: Dr. Gour says they will, but when his Civil Marriage Bill is passed, and not before that. (*A Voice*: "Not even then.") Now take for example the broad divisions among Hindus, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. Then, again, all these are divided into a very large number of sub-castes who would neither intermarry nor interdine. I might say, for example, my own caste—the Vaisya community—is divided into several sub-castes—Agarwalas, Khandelwals, Oswals, Rajshahis and so forth. If the principle of communal representation is worked out in such a way that so many posts are given to, say Muhammadans—I hope I shall be excused for using that expression—and so many for Hindus, then they

might say that Hindus mean 70 per cent. and Muhammadans mean 30 per cent. I would say that that calculation is quite wrong and quite misleading. The word "Hindus" may be applied to a large number of persons who are really Hindus, but when we come to the deeper question of inter-marriage and inter-dining, we find they are a combination of several castes and communities, and that is the reason why I have put down the word "different castes and communities residing in British India," so that, if the principle of communal representation is once accepted, I would say that it should be worked out fairly and squarely and, on the other hand, I am quite prepared to drop this question of communal representation altogether if that principle is eliminated from India. I am sure the time will come when the principle will be abandoned but, as matters now stand, I think that one community should not be allowed to have an undue share of Government posts or the like at the expense of other communities. Surely, I don't say that the minorities should not be protected. At the same time, the question is "what do you mean by minorities?"

With these few remarks I move my amendment.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, the Honourable Mover of this Resolution has appealed to the representatives of the minor communities of India to support him. I am a representative of one of those communities whose support the Honourable Mover of this Resolution has asked for. But I am sorry to say that, far from supporting his Resolution, I strongly oppose it. Does the Honourable Mover of the Resolution realise the full effect of the Resolution if accepted by the House? Does he know that his community in this country represents only 100,000 souls? What is the proportion of that community to the rest of the population of India? Well, Sir, if you examine the question, you will find that my Honourable friend, the Mover's community will stand in the proportion of 1 to 3,150. The result would be that my friend's community will get the third of a post in the Civil Service out of a cadre of 1,250. Is that the proportion that my friend wants? Is that the proportion which my friend desires his community should have in the public services of this country? He has spoken at very great length upon the value and utility of communal representation. My friend, Mr. Girdhari Lal Agarwala, with a sub-conscious humour, gets up and says the communities in India are so numerous that it will require not one but many Royal Commissions to categorise them, and then will begin a struggle between one community and another, between sub-communities among themselves and I think the time of the public services will be devoted mainly to deciding the disputes between these contending communities. Is this what my friend, Mr. Agarwala, wants the public services in this country to do? He has, Sir, referred to the present policy of the Government of India. I am glad he has done so. No one on this side of the House deprecates that policy more than I do. The High Courts of India—the High Court which is the palladium of public justice is recruited as if it were a representative institution, and what is the result? Let any practitioner in the High Court tell you what the result is. The public services throughout India have been more or less recruited upon a communal basis. I hope, Sir, that, if this debate leads to any good result, it may lead to this that this policy will be reversed in the future. We do not want people because they belong to a particular community—we want a public servant because he is efficient and capable for the discharge of the duties entrusted to him, and that should be, and I hope will be, the sole criterion for recruitment to the public services in this country.

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

We have been told by the last speaker that communal representation is recognised by the Government in the constitution of this House. There again, I deprecate communal representation. I am sorry, Sir, that communal representation was ever introduced in the first constitution given to this country and the sooner it is eliminated the better for the ultimate good of this great land. I think, Sir, I have shown that communal representation will not only serve no good purpose but would be positively mischievous and I therefore strongly oppose this Resolution.

Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney. I was surprised to hear the eloquent speech of my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour. It is surprising that on the one hand we criticise the prevailing system and with one voice ask that communal representation should be given to us and claim that the present system is leaving us discontented and dissatisfied, and on the other hand we come forward and oppose this Resolution for extending the principle of communal representation still further. When we have communal representation in this Honourable Assembly, why should we object to its application to the Services. If the present system is accepted, let us compete with the British Civilian as they are. But if we are not satisfied with it, then I think it is the right of everybody to come forward and claim representation. I think it shows great courage on the part of my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, that he should come forward on behalf of a very small community and show that it would be in the interests of India at large that the principle of communal representation should be accepted. Now, Sir, I will draw your kind attention to the fact, which everybody knows, that the present system of recruitment to the Civil Service stands condemned. What are the general defects which are to be found in the Civilian recruited according to the present system? I do not want to be personal, but it goes without saying that the present system is bad on the following grounds. The first thing is that when the young Civilian comes to this country, he is rather closed to the people, because he is not in touch with them. Those days are gone when the Civilians were advanced and this country was backward. Now the country has got a sort of general awakening and everybody understands his interests. When we come to judge our own interests I think it is only fair that communal representation should be respected in spirit and word and that it should be safeguarded. The case of England is quite different. There you have one nation, one religion and one language. But here, in India, you have got so many different States; I might call them so many small countries. Every province has got its own sentiments and its own interests. That being the case, I think it will be in the interests of the country and in the interests of the British Empire that competition should be held separate in each province. My Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, did not enlarge on the defects of the present system of competition. At present, the young Civilians who come from England and who compete have different standards of education. For instance, some may take up Mathematics and some may take up Science. But they are not experienced in the difficult problems of humanity. It takes a long time before they study the book of humanity. They are so biassed when they come here that they administer the laws in this country but do not temper them to the needs of the governed. That is the difficulty which is felt by everybody and I think Government must be realising it. If the

leaders on both sides really want to have Swaraj I do not want that it should be either the Punjab Raj, or Bengal Raj or Madras Raj; it should be an all-India Raj, and if you want an all-India Raj, it cannot be had unless you respect the interests of the different communities. My Honourable friend, Dr. Gour, insisted that "the survival of the fittest" must be held to be the guiding principle. I think that is wrong. When we claim the same things from the English people, we are perfectly justified on the same grounds in claiming the same privileges from each other. With these remarks, Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting Colonel Gidney's Resolution in spirit and in word.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): Sir, I rise to oppose the Resolution moved by my friend, Colonel Gidney. I assure the House that when I oppose this Resolution, I should not be understood to be in favour of monopoly, if there is a monopoly, of certain castes. Monopoly of any one community or any race or any caste is to be deprecated and must be put down. But, Sir, in the first place, nobody has yet shown that any one community in India or any one caste in India has got a monopoly of the public offices in this country. (*An Honourable Member*: "They have.") It must be proved first before we are asked to do something to do away with that monopoly. Then, Sir, it has been said by Colonel Gidney that the Resolution which he has moved is in the interests of the minority. I should like to know from Colonel Gidney and the people of that way of thinking what is the connection between a community being a minority in the country and the method of selecting candidates for public offices. Are the candidates selected by votes? Sir, if the candidates were selected by votes of the members in the country, certainly the minorities do require protection. But the candidates are selected by merit, which is decided by examination. Even if 10 candidates from the community to which my Honourable friend has the honour to belong compete, at least a few of them will pass if they have got the merit. Their passing or failure does not depend upon his community being a minority. I therefore feel that the point which my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, has made has no relevancy to the question which he has raised. My friend, I think, remarked that his community has the misfortune of being somewhat backward in education. I do not know whether I heard him correctly. (*Licut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney*: "Yes.") He says "Yes." Sir, it is a misfortune that any community in this country should be backward in education, and all those communities which are backward in education should have not only the sympathy but the active support of all the Members of this Assembly. But, Sir, is the measure which my Honourable friend proposes useful in removing that defect from the community? If my Honourable friend had felt the want of education in his community or in other communities, he should have proposed another Resolution asking the Government to give special facilities for education for those communities which are wanting in education, and I am sure the whole House would have sympathised with him. But unfortunately he does not take that course—I do not know why. I have got my own surmise, but I do not wish to speak out that here. Then, Sir, before Colonel Gidney asks this House to decide this question in his favour it would have been better if he had told the House what the object is with which these officers are appointed by the Government. What is the duty which these officers have to perform? The officers appointed by Government are not appointed to represent certain communities in their offices. These officers are appointed to render certain services* for the country and every officer

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

is expected to forget his caste, is expected to forget his religion, is expected to forget his race while doing his duty. Therefore, the caste, the race and the religion of an officer has nothing to do with the duties with which he is entrusted. On the contrary, Sir, if I am asked what sort of officer Government should appoint, I say the highest qualification for an officer to be appointed is that he has the capacity to forget his religion, he has the capacity to forget his race, he has the capacity to forget his caste and such other considerations. Somebody asks me whether they do actually. Sir, it is a great pity if they do not. My point is this. The man to be appointed must have qualifications for the work, and one of the qualifications is that the man must not have a strong bias for his caste and must be able to forget all these considerations while doing his duty. If you once bring in this consideration in making appointments, then I am sure the conflict of caste, religion and race will never pass away from this country. Unfortunately, if we accept the principle which Colonel Gidney has enunciated, we shall be perpetuating these distinctions instead of trying to remove them. I feel therefore that this House will be well advised in not accepting this motion. Sir, if Colonel Gidney had thought sufficiently over this question, he would have found that the whole proposal is impossible to work out. How are the numerous and innumerable communities in India to be represented in the Government service? Moreover has he mentioned all the circumstances by which people are divided in this country? He only mentioned a few. Did he mention that the whole world, not only India, is divided into poor, middle class and rich people? (Mr. N. M. Samarth: "Depressed class.") If the officers of Government are swayed by any consideration more than any other, I feel they are swayed by the considerations of the economic class to which they belong. A man belonging to the higher class finds it difficult to understand the difficulties of a man belonging to the working class whatever be the caste of the working class.

Suppose now you have got a gentleman belonging to the community to which my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, belongs and he is a great employer; there is another gentleman belonging to the community of my Honourable friend who is one of the working classes. If the former becomes a Government officer, will he sympathise with the latter if he comes into conflict with his capitalistic master simply because the servant belongs to his community? Therefore, if Colonel Gidney will go deep into the matter he will find that the system which he proposes will fail if that system is worked out with thoroughness. In order to show the absurdity of his Resolution I think the Government should appoint a Committee to make thorough-going proposals to give effect to the principle which he has enunciated. If the minority communities, if the backward communities were to take their proper place in the public services of this country, the best remedy for them is to ask the Government to give them special facilities for education and for training. That is the only way in which their present grievances will be removed, and I am quite sure that the whole House will support them in their demand if they make a demand for special facilities. I hope therefore that this House will not accept the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney.

Munshi Iswar Saran (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): If I had been a member of the Anglo-Indian community I would have at once proposed a vote of censure on the President of

that body. The President in his zeal and in his anxiety for his community, perhaps encouraged by those who do not like to come out into the open, has initiated a discussion which is unfortunate, which is extremely to be regretted. Colonel Gidney has given us a peep into his own mentality. He has told us that the various communities are using the Reform Scheme for the advancement of their communal interests. That may be Colonel Gidney's point of view, but the point of view of the rest of us is that we are trying to use the Reform Scheme as far as possible for the advancement of the interests of the country as a whole. But that is not all. Colonel Gidney, finding the difficulty of his position, has clearly said, "Oh! If you cannot devise means by which all these various minor and backward communities cannot be fully represented, resort to nomination." He has really "let the cat out of the bag." There are some people who are in constant horror of competition. They prefer the back door to the open door. I say, Sir, once again with the kindest of feelings for my Honourable and gallant friend that when he goes home this evening and in his mind tries to reflect on his heroic performance to-day he will feel that he has really done a positive disservice to the community to which he belongs. Let me pause for a second and let me tell Colonel Gidney that this is a game at which two can play. This is not a game which Colonel Gidney can play alone. Accept the principle of representation for the moment. How much representation are you going to give,—I will take the Anglo-Indian community to it? In proportion to what? To numbers, to education, to the taxes that they pay, to the stake that they have in the country? I should be sorry in spite of the provocation offered by Colonel Gidney to the whole House, I should be sorry to say a word which should be at all unpleasant or unkind either to his community or to any other community. But I shall request him and others of his way of thinking to calmly consider that if they once bring about a discussion of the claims of the various communities, they will be driven to a position from which they will willingly like to extricate themselves. There may be some justification—for which a great deal of responsibility must rest on Government—I say there may be some justification for this principle being adopted as regards certain minor appointments, but when you come to the Civil Service are we going to accept this principle? Do we want a man in place of Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith because he is an Anglo-Indian, or because he is, according to my friend, Mr. Agarwala, a Vaisya, or according to me, a Kayastha, or according to my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, a Brahmo. (*Lala Girdharilal Agarwala*: "I never meant that.") You withdraw your amendment then. In the deep there is a lower deep. My friend Mr. Agarwala's amendment is infinitely worse than the Resolution of Colonel Gidney. If you go into the question of caste, I do not know where we are going to end. Take the Kayastha. There are 11 sub-sections, and then there is my friend, Mr. Samarth. How are you going to decide the claim of each? Mr. Agarwala I never knew was developing into a social reformer. What on earth has interdining and intermarriage got to do with this problem? Simply because you do not dine with the member of another caste, does it follow that you will not be able to discharge your duties thoroughly and honestly? But, Sir, I shall invite the attention of the House to the words of the Resolution itself:

"A different method of conducting the simultaneous examinations so as to give a fair chance to candidates . . ."

That implies that the present method does not give a fair chance to the various communities. Has Colonel Gidney proved it? Here is this.

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

competitive examination. Anybody who has got the brains, anybody who has got the capacity, anybody who is willing to undergo that test, is welcome. How do you say, how do you make out that the present system of conducting simultaneous examinations does not give a fair chance to the members of all the communities? The only logical conclusion is, that having regard to the fact that the members of certain communities wish to depend on favours rather than on merit they would like to make short work of all competitive examinations and would like to get into the Service through the back door. Then it does not stop there. A fair chance is to be given to different communities and to different provinces. Take the Hindu community to which I belong. Suppose Mr. Samarth passes the Civil Service examination . . .

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I am too old now.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Suppose my friend, Mr. Chaudhuri, passes the examination, then I, as a United Provinces man, with less brains than both of them, will say "My community has not been represented and my province has not been represented."

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: What about appointments to the High Court?

Munshi Iswar Saran: In the High Court, if appointments have been made on communal considerations, the blame is not ours. The blame must attach to those who have made those appointments. Then we are asked to accept a limited form of competition. There are varieties of competition it appears. One is limited and the other is unlimited. The limited form of competition, it is rather difficult to understand. What is this limited competition? Perhaps, it means that you take a few by competition and the rest have to be taken by nomination.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Shoved in.

Munshi Iswar Saran: My friend, Mr. Jamnadas, who is an authority on excellent phraseology, says "Shove them in somehow." The whole fact of the matter is that we cannot accept it. As my friend Mr. Joshi has said, it is the duty and the bounden duty of every Member of this House and of every Indian to see that the communities which are at a disadvantage on account of lack of education and so on should receive every encouragement, but it is the duty of those communities to see that by introducing these novel, may I say mischievous and wicked changes into the system of recruitment for the Civil Service they should do nothing to impair the efficiency of this Service. What will be the result? Not only the Anglo-Indian community or the Agarwala community but the whole of India will suffer. These appointments are made not with a view to give jobs to this or that community. These appointments are made, these examinations are held so that you may get the very best men for the discharge of the work that will be entrusted to them. That is and, I submit, that ought to be the only and the sole criterion for recruitment to this service. I do hope that after a little reflection Colonel Gidney will show his good sense and will earn our thanks if he will withdraw his Resolution. (Voices: "No.") Then, Sir, if he does not withdraw this Resolution, it will meet the fate it so richly deserves.

Mr. Deputy President: The amendment moved is :

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the present system of conducting simultaneous examinations for the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service be modified so as to provide for a fair representation of suitable candidates of different castes and communities residing in British India."

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: I need hardly say that I rise to oppose the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney. I must however, at the outset, remove the misapprehension that it seems to me prevails in the minds of some of the Members with regard to the meaning of the word 'Indianisation.' As I had the honour of moving this Assembly in the matter of Indianisation I may at once point out that by Indianisation I do not mean that Englishmen who are the present incumbents of the Services should be removed bodily and be replaced by Indians. No. Not only that. I do not even mean that in future, although the policy of recruitment in India may be accepted, as it ought to be accepted, the services should go exclusively to Indians and not at all to Europeans. All that we mean by the term Indianisation is that the bar which at present obtains against our countrymen because most of the services go exclusively to Europeans should be removed and that the recruitment in future should take place in India and in India alone. Now that does not exclude the possibility of Europeans competing for these services. If there are men from England coming out in sufficient numbers to appear at these examinations, there should be nothing to prevent them from doing so. If in the examination it is found that the European proves to be a better candidate for the services in open competition, then by all means the post should go to him as well as to the Indians of course on new conditions with regard to salary, etc. To bring down the word Indianisation to a very narrow interpretation is in itself a mistake and if my friend Colonel Gidney's Resolution is based on that mistake, having realised this mistake, I hope he will see his way to withdraw his Resolution. Now, Sir, what is it that he asks to do. I personally look forward to a time when examinations will be conducted in India alone open of course to all candidates that come either from India or from Europe. If simultaneous examinations go on, then some of the posts, he says, must go exclusively to representatives of various communities which are said to be, to use Colonel Gidney's phrase, the minority communities. Now I ask one question. I put one question to those who think with Colonel Gidney. Have we ever approved of the distinction that is made on the ground of race? I do not think any representative of any community, any one who takes the name of Indian has ever approved of this distinction being made on the ground of race. If that is so and if we argue that the racial distinction which is wrong should go and go immediately, is it right that in our own country we should create communal distinctions and then be justified in claiming that racial distinctions should go. Is that the way to contribute to the elimination of racial distinctions that have been perpetuated in this country by those who are in authority?

13 Noon. We shall be strengthening their hands, we shall be giving them a handle, we shall be giving them an argument, for the perpetuation of racial distinction which each of us, I think, in the country has always abhorred. If by claiming communal representation we are going to create feuds and quarrels in this country, so that, they would lead to those in authority continuing the *status quo* and continuing the racial distinction

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that has gone on in this country for a long time, I ask those who think with Colonel Gidney, are they serving the country thereby, are they advancing the cause of their communities, are they advancing the cause of their countrymen, and of the country to which I am sure, they feel proud to belong? You are losing the cause altogether by claiming for your communities that which is the right of the country alone, who prevents these communities from sending their candidates to the examinations? Is there any law, is there any clause saying that only the Hindu community will represent itself at the examinations, and that the Anglo-Indian community or the non-Brahmin community is precluded from sending candidates? Is it a sign of strength that, if they are not precluded from sending their candidates to the examinations, is it a sign of strength that they should ask that, even if their candidates do not prove fit, they must be given posts because they must have communal representation? I say, I do not know whether it is doing a service to the community to deny the strength and the capacity of the community. I am not prepared to believe that the community is so weak or helpless that it must have its own men sent, although they prove themselves totally unfit for the service. I, on the contrary, am prepared to believe that if their community sends men to the examinations, then I am sure that in their community they will find men who are able to hold their own with the other advanced communities in this country. To deny that, to deny that capacity in their community is a grave injustice, a distinct disservice to their community. But what are we really coming to? We are claiming self-government for the purpose of advancing rapidly the cause of our country. Are we claiming self-government, are we claiming further reforms for the purpose of giving an opportunity to every community to grab for itself what it can out of these reforms or what it can out of this advancement? (*An Honourable Member*: "What about protection?") Let us not discuss irrelevant subjects here. If you do not understand the meaning of protection which has nothing to do with communal representation, discuss it and fight it out when you come to discuss this question in the Assembly as I am sure the opportunity will come to the Assembly to discuss that subject. Let us not talk irrelevant things and interrupt in an irrelevant manner in order to break down arguments you cannot break down. Well, there is, if I may use another argument, that League of Nations established for the purpose of serving all the nations. At present there is a sad picture of each component part of the League of Nations trying to grasp for itself what it can out of other nations. The picture is sad enough. There is another picture of men like Lord Curzon claiming for their race a superiority which they have not the slightest right to claim. The picture is sad enough. Well, I was about to say the picture is blasphemous enough. Are we going to add to the sadness and to the blasphemy of that picture—those of us who claim self-government for this country, by claiming for our little communities what can be the right of this country alone and of none else? Think of the picture of an India not united under the banner of one God but under the different banners, of all the petty little communal gods claiming communal representation for the so-called advancement of their respective communities, leaving the country in the lurch, and asking it to take care of itself. It would be a fatal day if this Resolution was accepted. It is conceived, if I may say so with all respect to my friend, Colonel Gidney, in a spirit of pettiness and narrowness which does not do credit to a Member of this Assembly. I feel as one who feels that all racial distinctions should go, that all communal differences should go, and that we should all proclaim ourselves believers in

the fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of man. It would be a fatal thing to do to carry this Resolution and to thus injure the prospects of this country.

Mr. Deputy President: Perhaps it will be to the convenience of the House— if I call upon Mr. Shahani to move his amendment at this stage.

Mr. S. C. Shahani (Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars: Landholders): Sir, my amendment to the Resolution that has been moved by Lieutenant-Colonel Gidney is:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, even if necessary, the present system of conducting simultaneous examinations for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service be so changed as to give a fair chance to *duly qualified* candidates belonging to different communities and different Provinces."

The object with which I move this amendment is that if on account of any extraneous considerations this Resolution comes to find favour with some in this Honourable House, the most objectionable part of the Resolution may be taken away from it. Colonel Gidney, I am sorry to say, has come forward to suggest that capacity and character should not be fully taken into account in the selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. He is putting a premium on communal representation; that is to say, he is suggesting that at times even incompetent men, and men of no character, if belonging to communities that are not represented in the Service, may for that reason be taken up.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: No, not at all.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Then I would like very much to understand the meaning of 'limited competition' which he suggests for the Indian Civil Service. Limited competition can only mean this that even if there are candidates of superior capacity and character available, their claims might be ignored on account of their not belonging to communities that are not represented in the Service. What other meaning you could attach to the word I cannot conceive. I am surprised that anyone belonging to this Honourable House should make bold to make a suggestion such as has been made. I have heard 'no', 'not at all' from Lieutenant-Colonel Gidney; but I would like very much to have an explanation from him of what the real meaning of the phrase 'limited competition' is. It can only mean what I have said, and nothing else. If the meaning is the one I am assigning, I trust that Lieutenant-Colonel Gidney's Resolution will be rejected, and summarily too, in this Honourable House. But supposing it is not rejected, supposing it finds favour, for instance, with Government, then I say, it will be desirable for us to effect a compromise to this effect, namely, that considerations of character and capacity first, and communal representation next. Never should communal consideration be given precedence over considerations of character and capacity. I have got to say just a few words with regard to what fell from the lips of my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi. He said that the highest qualifications for the Indian Civil Service should be capacity to forget one's caste, race and religion. I trust he referred merely to the credal part of religion and not to the cultural. So far as I can see, the cultural element of all world religions is the same, and, according to me, the more religious a man is, the more fit is he for the Indian Civil Service. I was surprised not a little when yesterday a distinction was made between 'moral' on the one hand and 'good' on the other: and I must confess I felt depressed when I heard cries of 'Hear, hear' at my stating that no one who was immoral could be really good. I

[Mr. S. C. Shahani.]

have yet to understand that a man who has not been a good husband or a good son can prove to be a good citizen. I have yet to know it.

Do you think that a man who is not a good member of his family will ever really be a good citizen of his country? It is unthinkable. The mistaken concept of goodness without morality has to be corrected, and corrected on ethico-political grounds. It is easy to smile when a suggestion of this kind is made to you: but great or high-placed as you may be, it will, I assure you, do you a lot of good if you will bend your mind to the suggestion, and consider it in the light of the real import of your concept. Your Indian Civil Servants must be altruistic, and must respect the pieties and relationships of life. If they do not respect the obligations which are involved in the position that is assigned to them, I feel sure that they will not be able to administer rightly the affairs of the country. The more we are truly mindful of our castes and races and religions, the more fitted we are to occupy positions of trust and responsibility. Lieutenant-Colonel Gidney's Resolution is calculated to destroy the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service; it is calculated to destroy considerations of a higher nature which should guide us in our selections for the highest of our places of trust and responsibility. I do hope that his Resolution will not be accepted, and that it will receive the treatment which it deserves.

Mr. Deputy President. The amendment moved is:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, even if necessary, the present system of conducting simultaneous examinations for the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service be so changed as to give a fair chance to duly qualified candidates belonging to different communities and different provinces."

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Honourable Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has made a speech in this House as if a Plato was teaching his disciples. He is a wise man; but sometimes in his wisdom he overlooks facts. Another Member, Dr. Gour, in his usual way has been led by his irrelevancy into talking about matters which were not before the House. In his zeal in opposing the Resolution he has attacked the present system of representation in this reformed Council. I do not think, Sir, that Dr. Gour's remarks can be allowed to pass unchallenged in this House. I would like to know—and I should like to be convinced on this matter—how many of my own community, or how many of the Sikh community, would have been sitting in this House to-day if there had not been communal representation? I would like to know how many non-official Europeans would have been Members of this House if there had not been communal representation. Different communities have different interests in this country. The population of this country is not made up of one particular community and a single interest. It is made up of different interests, different peoples and different ideals and different languages. Can my friend, or anyone in this House, convince the House that by eliminating communal representation, all the different classes of the people can be adequately represented in this House? It would be a sheer impossibility. This fact has been established; it is realized by all sane people whose opinion is worth having that this fact cannot be ignored; the different communities cannot be represented in the reformed Legislatures without communal representation. But whatever merit Dr. Gour's case might have, he has destroyed it by his exaggeration. My other wise friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, has also

proceeded on the same lines; but surely he must know the fate which exaggeration always meets, even when the suggestion contained therein is more or less wise. I will not dwell on that point at length, but will confine myself to the question which is before the House, and that is about the representation in the Civil Services of India. Do my friends here who advocate the cause of examination speak from experience, and can they say that merely by cramming and passing an examination a man becomes fit to govern the country? Can a man, simply by reading a few books and passing an examination, become a good executive officer? Certainly not. That requires something else. I have seen many men, very well educated people, who, placed in the position of responsibility of an executive officer, have proved greater failures than others who did not know more than the rudiments of reading and writing. Many qualities are required of a man before he can govern a country and occupy a position of responsibility with efficiency. A person who may have passed examinations in law need not necessarily make a good Judge or Chief Justice; in such a position he may be an absolute failure although he may know the law well enough; it is in the application of the law that he fails; he fails because he does not possess the essential qualities which go to the making of a good Judge. The same thing applies with greater force when it comes to the executive line. A man may be a very good mathematician; but would that ensure his success in the position of Home Member? I think not. But what Colonel Gidney has said is a totally different thing. I hope that he did not mean that inefficient people from one community should be appointed in preference to efficient persons from other communities. What is the idea behind this question of the Indianisation of the Services? What is the basis of this cry? The fact is—and it cannot be disguised—that the people believe that the English people have not been properly safeguarding the interests of indigenous communities, and they desire that the Indians should come in in larger numbers and be given a fair chance to develop their country properly. If that is the basis for their asking for Indianisation of the Services then I do not see why different communities should not have safeguards for their communities as well. If there is any examination, I would much prefer that it might be held in England, because England is a totally different country from India. In England where everybody is supposed to be equal and free the only test is that he should pass certain examinations, that he has received a proper education and that he is well trained. But in India the fittest man is not the person who has passed a certain examination. A man with lesser education but a stronger character would be a much better man than he with a higher education but with no character. Mr. Joshi may talk of his ideal world and ideal India; but I suppose his dream will be like Plato's dream. The world has never been perfect and India can never be perfect, Sir. He may say that India expects that public servants should forget everything, their caste, their creed, etc., but of course expectation is a different thing from what actually happens. Is it actually happening to-day? Does he mean to say that India, a conservative country, will forget like that in the near future? Will his dream be realised within a decade or so? I do not think so. It will take years and years. Of course when India is so perfect that every individual Indian forgets that he belongs to a particular caste or creed there will be, I suppose, not a single soul and there will be no Colonel Gidney at that time to ask for communal representation. But we are talking of the present; we are talking of present conditions; and when we talk of present conditions we should see how India is at present, and according to the present India we cannot see any other way but to ask for

[Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

communal representation. My friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, may say that communal representation is a game of the present Government

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: I have never said so.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: You meant that by saying this, that with these jealousies existing and all this kind of friction there can be no advancement in the country. I think that without this there can be no improvement in this country, unless we have communal representation. The different communities will develop themselves; they will have no jealousies. Formerly what used to be the case? Take any instance. Take the Councils. Take the District Boards. Take the Municipalities; take anything. What were the elections based on? It did not matter how efficient a man was; if he did not belong to a particular community nobody would vote for him. Do the gentlemen who advocate the elimination of communal representation realise what the state of affairs is in the districts? Go anywhere. If a Jat is standing I do not think that a Rajput can get a single vote from villages where Jats are living; where Rajputs are living the Rajputs will get all the votes. If a Muhammadan is standing and any Hindu gentleman is standing, probably the Muhammadan will be fortunate enough to get a few votes of his own friends. . . .

Mr. Deputy President: Order, order. I would draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the fact that he has exceeded the time limit and that he should bring his remarks to a close.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: Very well, Sir. On this basis I think that the Resolution which has been moved by my friend, Colonel Gidney, should be adopted by this House and I hope that the House will adopt it.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I did not intend to intervene in this debate, but I wish to emphasize two or three points which should not be forgotten in giving a vote on this Resolution. Let us remember that we are now considering the question of the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and nothing else—not the provincial service—but the Indian Civil Service which can boast of Sir William Vincent, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Mr. Innes and Mr. Denys Bray who are our colleagues here. Let us remember that (Mr. K. Ahmed: 'And Mr. Chatterjee')—I am not going to mention the Indians now for the very best of reasons. You are recruiting to this service Indians to compete with these gentlemen whom I have named; you want a Chatterjee, you want a Monomohan Ghose, you want people of that sort who can hold their own against these mighty fellows who come out from abroad and do signal service to our country. We who speak of castes and creeds, let us remember that we do not by doing anything on our part create a caste, an inferior caste in the Indian Civil Service. Let all men be equal in that service; let us not lower the reputation of that service which has won for itself a reputation all over the world. By adopting this proposition you are running a grave danger: the danger is of reducing, of impairing the reputation which it has built for itself for a whole century. The Indian Civil Service will only be proud to own in its ranks men who can by their calibre, by their capacity, administer the affairs of this country. The time is not yet when we the Legislature can do the work of this country. For years and years to come I think we will have to depend upon the Indian Civil Service, composed mainly, I hope, of Indians. In years to come

they will still hold their own and carry the flag of bringing civilisation, bringing knowledge, bringing capacity in the discharge of their duties and uplifting this country as it deserves to be uplifted. Therefore, let us remember that. What is the good of talking about representation in legislatures, representation in taluk boards, representation in village panchayets? How is that an analogous question at all? Why confuse the issue by bringing in those questions? Now, I am quite willing to admit that we have to recognise this unfortunate and ugly fact that there are communities and sects and sub-sects—I know it from my own bitter experience of the small community to which I belong. Colonel Gidney spoke of minorities. I am in a minority community; we are one million out of 44 millions in our province. I am not fighting for my community at all; a time may come perhaps when I may have to stand up and fight for my community, but not yet; I hope better sense will prevail with my countrymen and that they will not carry these small ideas in their heads when they have got a bigger task before them. I know the country does not want this; a few educated people in the upper ranks are clamouring for the public services, as if public service alone is the only method of enriching this country. Am I to be told that land should be parcelled out according to the strength of the communities? Am I to be told that commerce and trade should be parcelled out according to the strength of the communities? Who prevents these people from coming forward and claiming all these benefits when you have got open competition? Uplift yourselves. Those gentlemen who are interested in their communities should do everything to uplift the members of their community. I am surprised that such a proposition should come from Colonel Gidney. Why, Sir, he belongs to the most petted and most fondled community. Look at the Telegraph list, look at the Customs House list, look at the Police; look at any of these services. Is he represented there according to the strength of his community? Why, Sir, they are a most favoured community, and I am surprised that Colonel Gidney should come forward with this proposition. If he gets his deserts according to his numbers where will he be? And that Colonel Gidney should complain comes as a surprise to me, for has he not come out in a competitive Service, topmost, I hope? At any rate, he is topmost in his profession, and he has not failed to achieve a reputation in that Service. Therefore, let us remember that we are dealing with a Service which requires our best men. If really we want them to make their mark in the Civil Service, if we want them to hold their own against men of the calibre whom we have named, and if you accept this Resolution, I say you will be lowering them in the estimation of their colleagues, you will be putting them in a lower caste, you will be treating them as Parias in the Civil Service. Remember that danger when you vote for this Resolution.

Bhai Man Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I rise to support this Resolution. It is rather sad that I have to oppose those friends of mine whom I had always the privilege to support, but time comes when one has to differ from his friends, and with all deference I beg to differ from my friends like Mr. Rangachariar, and Dr. Gour. At the very outset, I should point out the defects that arise from the predominance of any one single class in certain Services to the exclusion of others. Why are we complaining against the predominance of the English element in the I. C. S.? There might be many other reasons, but to my mind there are two very important reasons against it. One is that an European officer does not fully understand the language, the ways and manners and habits of the

[Bhai Man Singh.]

people. Naturally, Sir, if another class in India gets the same preponderance in the same Services, it would surely be under the same disadvantage. If a gentleman from a distant corner of India goes to govern another distant part of the country, he will be in exactly the same position as an Englishman. I don't mean to suggest this about any particular gentleman, but if there are hordes of gentlemen like that, they will be exactly in the same position as Englishmen, because they will not know the language and customs and manners of the people of those parts. The other thing is the want of sympathy which we so often feel. I submit, Sir, it will be well nigh the same thing if one class predominates in a certain Service. It does not lie in our mouths to say 'Indianise the services, let anybody come at any place, we should not mind it.' I do say that I am very much in favour of the Indianisation of the Services. I am very much in favour of merit being given its due weight. But let me ask, is efficiency the monopoly of any certain class? There are mainly three objections which up till now I have been able to gather against the Resolution of my friend, Colonel Gidney. One is that efficiency should prevail; the other is that it will break down our nationality and that we should consider ourselves as one nation; and lastly the third thing is the impracticability, and that is the principal thing. There are so many castes and creeds. These are the main objections which I have so far been able to gather. There might be some others which might have escaped my notice.

Now let us take the first objection, that is, efficiency. Efficiency is not the monopoly of any one particular class or community, and efficiency does not necessarily consist in literary education alone. I am surprised to hear long sermons on efficiency now forced upon us about literary examinations. With all humility and with all deference, I bring forward this argument—I do not mean to attack the motives of any friends of mine here, far be it from me—but I say that it is a certain mentality that certain people think in a certain way, and this might be due to that.* When I was arguing this very point two years ago while we were discussing the Esher Committee's Report, I was pressing that the communities who had proved their efficiency till now in the military service should get commissions. I know that a good many of my nationalist friends—by "nationalist" I mean those who are now saying that this proposition would now demolish our nationality—I mean those friends who hold such views, opposed me then. Sir, in the military line is it the efficiency of letters only that should prevail? I remember how very strongly and severely I was opposed when I was fighting for the rights of those communities who have proved their efficiency in the military line. Efficiency, I submit, does not consist in book knowledge and in writing articles and papers. How are you to know that a gentleman who is able to answer so many questions in mathematics would prove a good Commander of the Army? How do you know that a gentleman who knows a good deal of the History of India or who can answer well a good paper on Logic would prove a very good administrator? I submit there are instances in actual practice where students who were always at the top in Arts and Law Colleges have proved themselves utter failures as practical lawyers. We cannot always say that the present competitive examination is the only test to judge merits and that it is the only successful test. I do say that it is one of the tests. And what is it that we want according to my friend Mr. Shahani? We want duly qualified candidates. Well, we say let there be a competition

between us first, and let us show that we too have got our capable men, and let them be tried. If you find that some of them cannot write answer papers like others, let them be tried whether they can administer better justice or prove better administrators. I don't mean to say that there should be no efficiency, but let the minorities too have a chance. I am sorry my friend Mr. Jamnadas is not here. He was very virulent over my friend Mr. Bagde, and said 'For God's sake do not bring in irrelevant matters,' but I say let the trade of Europe openly compete with the trade of India. Because the interests of industry in India are at stake and they want protection; let them grow and let them give a fair chance of showing their capacities for development and then you can show that we compete with anybody. So, I say now let the minorities have a chance of competing among themselves. Let them prove their merit and then we shall say after some time that we can compete with anybody when we are fully grown. Minorities—the principle of defending minorities is not a bad one. I think, if you give a chance to the minorities to develop their resources, and to come abreast with you, you will be strengthening the weaker communities and creating a stronger India thereby. Sir, if there is a competition between communities themselves, if we should decide that we should have 5 Sikhs and 2 Muhammadans and 2 Hindus—I beg your pardon, I do not mean that these are the actual figures—but suppose there are so many Bengalis, so many Muhammadans and so many Mahrattas, for God's sake nobody can say that the candidates that we select from the Muhammadans or the Sikhs or the Christians or the Madrasis are bad to the extent of 20 per cent. or would have an efficiency of 10 per cent. in one case and 20 per cent. in another. Well, all we are saying is let every community have a proportion, we are not at all wanting to decrease the efficiency of the Services. We are rather giving minorities a chance of developing themselves further, so that they may give us better men in future. So much for the action proposed. We simply want that the best men from every community be taken and if there is competition between these men all over India, nobody can say that we are favouring any particular community. It has been deprecated strongly by Dr. Gour that the principle of communal representation has been adopted in the High Courts. May I ask, Sir, if the Hindu and Muhammadan Judges have not both proved highly efficient. Who can deny that the Right Honourable Mr. Justice Amir Ali was one of the best Judges as were a good many of our Hindu friends. I think the Punjab is proud of the name of our present Chief Justice, Sir Shadi Lal, and the late lamented Mr. Justice Shah Din.

Sir, the next point is about nationality. This is perhaps a most touchy point, about which it is sometimes said "We shall spoil our national unity." I would simply deplore, Sir, that our nationality should be spoiled. I would rather like that we should not come into existence as a nation if we are not to exist as a strong nation. But how can national sentiment be developed? There is absolutely no use in denying facts and dwelling on ideals. Facts are facts and cannot be changed. Communities do exist. Communal feelings do exist. There is no use saying "My dear Sir, do be quiet. People will call us bad fellows if we fight among ourselves. Sit silent. We will develop." What does it mean? As I said the other day, the cat does not run away if the pigeon shuts its eyes. Your communal differences will not run away by simply saying we should ignore them. Recognise the fact and find out a solution. I submit, Sir, that the present practice does recognise this.

[Bhai Man Singh.]

May I remind the House of a little fact—I think I am right—of course my information is not very definite—but I am told that on the retirement of Dr. Sapru a certain province, perhaps from the South, said that Bombay should now be represented in place of Dr. Sapru. Does it mean merit or efficiency, does it mean nationality? Is not the Government of India, even in the selection of its Executive Councils trying to find out, of course, efficient and very efficient men but trying to represent different communities and different provinces? Why deny facts? Does the feeling actually exist? Then, Sir, it is very easy to say "We deprecate the existence of the principle of communal representation in these Councils." But do you really think, Sir, that if certain communities had no elected men at all in this House they would be satisfied? Would the heart-burning created in the minds of these minorities be conducive to national unity? It is all very well from the point of view of one people but it is not so pleasant from the point of view of others. National unity? I mean to say the fact exists and that fact has been recognised on all hands. For so many years the Indian National Congress tried to ignore these hard facts of the existence of Hindu and Muhammadan communal feelings. They said "No, we will have a united India." But they had subsequently to recognise the fact. I go a step further. You will say perhaps the Congress men of that time were weak men.

Mr. Deputy President: I must draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the fact that he has exceeded his time limit.

Bhai Man Singh: Very well, Sir. Then I will bring my speech to a close. Even Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Dass had to admit that we should decide about the rights of the different communities. If everybody in a family is getting his own share the family will live in peace. If some individuals of the family do not get their proper share and others predominate over them, there is bound to be a rupture. It is the same with a community. We shall become a nation when we shall learn to respect the rights of others, to give our minorities their dues, to recognise that they exist. Sir, I am sorry that I cannot further discuss the practicability of the question, and with these remarks I support the Resolution.

(An Honourable Member: I move, Sir, that the question be now put.)

Mr. Deputy President: The question is that the question be now put.

The Assembly then divided as follows:

AYES—28.

Abdul Majid, Sheikh.
Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
Abdul Rahim Khan, Mr.
Ashan Khan, Mr. M.
Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Barua, Mr. D. C.
Cabell, Mr. W. H. L.
Ghulam Sarwar Khan, Chaudhuri
Gidney, Lieut.-Col. H. A. J.
Gour, Dr. H. S.
Holme, Mr. H. E.
Ibrahim Ali Khan, Col. Nawab Mohd.
Ikramallah Khan, Raja Mohd.

Man Singh, Bhai.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Muhammad Ismail, Mr. S.
Nabi Hadi, Mr. S. M.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Reddi, Mr. M. K.
Sen, Mr. N. K.
Shahani, Mr. S. C.
Singh, Babu B. P.
Sinha, Babu Ambica Prasad.
Sripivasa Rao, Mr. P. V.
Subzposh, Mr. S. M. Z. A.
Webb, Sir Montagu.
Yamin Khan, Mr. M.

NOES—27.

Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
 Asad Ali, Mir.
 Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
 Basu, Mr. J. N.
 Bhargava, Pandit J. L.
 Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
 Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
 Dalal, Sardar B. A.
 Das, Babu B. S.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Hussanally, Mr. W. M.
 Iswar Saran, Munshi.
 Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr.
 Misra, Mr. B. N.

Mitter, Mr. K. N.
 Mukherjee, Mr. J. N.
 Nand Lal, Dr.
 Pyari Lal, Mr.
 Ramayya Pantulu, Mr. J.
 Samarth, Mr. N. M.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
 Sarvadhikary, Sir Deva Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. S. N.
 Sinha, Babu L. P.
 Ujagar Singh, Baba Bedi.
 Vishindas, Mr. H.
 Zahiruddin Ahmed, Mr.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): In view of the course which this debate has taken, I had at one time some doubt whether I ought or ought not to intervene. Indeed, I hope, Sir, you will not accuse me of flippancy if I say, that I have at times felt a little like the Irishman who seeing an affray going on in the road asked, "Is this a private fight or may I join in?" But I cannot of course neglect my obligations in this respect. My friends here have asked me to define the attitude of Government in the past and present on this question. I have incidentally to clear up certain misapprehensions which have been voiced by Members here. The discussion has been so prolonged that I shall confine myself very strictly to the terms of the Resolution. I shall not be led astray, as some of my friends here have undoubtedly wished, into a discussion regarding isolated appointments such as those of Judges in the High Courts. Believe me there are certain experienced animals before whom it is quite useless to wave a red flag. I am one of them. We are talking purely about the Indian Civil Service. Then again, I shall not be led astray into attempting to justify the retention in our Electrical Rules of the principle of communal representation, since that is alien to the subject. Nor shall I be inveigled into reviving a discussion, in regard to a matter we debated yesterday, and which Mr. Shahani wishes me to resume to-day, whether a gentleman who is unfaithful to his wife can or cannot be a sufficient surety for a bad character. We are talking, as I said, solely of the Indian Civil Service, and Colonel Gidney's Resolution refers specifically to a change in the manner in which we obtain recruits for our Indian Civil Service in India, as distinguished from the Home Examination. The question has a long history. If time served, I could go with the House back to the year 1838, the year in which the famous declaration was made that:

"There should be no governing caste in British India and whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinction of race or religion shall not be of the number."

But I will not on this occasion take the House through the stages of that history, because, after all, the main point then debated, indeed the main point debated right up to the eighties or nineties of last century, was the question of what was then described as the monopoly of the European, and that, at present, is not the question under discussion. We first of all considered the question of communal representation in our Indian recruitment, if I may use that convenient term, in about the year 1886 when the Aitchison Committee, the first of our great Committees on public Services, made its recommendations. It was in

1 P.M.

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

favour of open competition among Indian recruits for the provincial Services, holding that there must be one test of eligibility only, the test of intelligence and character, and that other considerations should have no weight in the choice of Government servants. But it recognised that this system was not universally applicable; that there was a strong feeling in India that the claims of different communities and different religions should be balanced; and it accompanied its recommendation by a stipulation that where necessary the local Governments should still choose by nomination in order to attain the object to which I have referred. The Government of India in the main affirmed this view, though it expressed a preference for competition among nominated candidates when pure competition was not adopted. I omit subsequent stages, until I arrive at 1904, when the Government of India issued the well known Resolution of that year on Education. Its attitude was then determined partly by considerations of educational requirements; in dealing with the question of competition it pointed out the disadvantages of that system, showed that it did not in itself afford a test of character, and emphasized that a competitive examination was in itself a disadvantage to the progress of education, since it ceased to be liberal, and confined itself entirely to the attainment of success in examination. It was under the influence of those considerations that they then decided that local Governments need not follow the competitive system in making appointments to their provincial Services. Three local Governments had initiated the system,—Madras, Bengal, and Bombay,—and they at once discarded the competitive system and returned to nomination pure and simple. The Punjab adopted it, though only in respect of a very limited number of appointments.

I pass—again with some omissions—to the Public Services Commission of 1911. I have no doubt that the recommendations of that Commission in this respect are well known to the Assembly. I apologise for taking the Assembly through this retrospect but it is important to the explanation of our present position, for the present state of our ideas on the subject is the development of what has happened in the past. The Public Services Commission decided that it was undesirable to lay down any hard and fast rules as to the proportions of communal representation; its necessity should be met by the judicious use of the nomination system. That opinion was not unanimous. Mr. Chaubal deprecated attaching too much importance to this factor and would prefer the negative form, namely, that posts in services should not substantially be the monopoly of any one caste in India. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald thought that communal representation was a bad system, and that it should be abandoned, but he added that it could only be abandoned with an improvement in education and growth of a common civic spirit. Sir Abdur Rahim thought it inadvisable to emphasise the principle of communal representation as against that of impartial selection of the best men, and though on occasion it was advisable to secure communal representation, subject to the insistence of adequate qualifications, he added the recommendation that substantial recognition should be given wherever possible to the general conditions of a competitive system. The point was discussed at length in dealing with the report of the Commission; I pass over the somewhat divergent opinions recorded by local Governments, and merely give the decision of the Government of India. It was given in this form: "The Public Services should be recruited on the principle that they should be filled by the most competent men available. This principle is, however, subject to modification in the interests of the

training of Indians in the administration of their own affairs. "Full opportunities should be afforded to Indians to qualify themselves for the more important posts in the public services and to demonstrate their fitness for responsible duties. It must, however, be recognised that intellectual qualifications combined with physical capacity should not be the sole test for admission to important posts in the public services. Due regard must also be given to such considerations as character and hereditary connections of candidates both with Government and with the people with whom their work will mostly lie; while in the present conditions of India it is essential that there should not be an undue predominance of any one class or caste. The circumstances of each Service will have to be considered in view of the above principles." When Government sets out to lay down a formula on a question of this importance, it not infrequently happens that in the nice balancing of considerations on both sides its conclusions lack some of the virtue of definiteness. In this case we have a very nicely balanced judgment (*A Voice*: "Too nice"), which certainly combines all considerations inherent to a decision on such an important question; if the sense of balance is more obvious than the definiteness of the conclusion, nevertheless I think it will be agreed by all who have heard it that it contains a moderate and reasonable statement of principle, namely, that you should get the best men available, but that you should not allow the preponderance of any one class or any one caste in your public services. I lay stress indeed on that negative form; it is one to which I shall have to refer again. I must pass over again in my rapid retrospect the many important discussions which took place in the Imperial Legislative Council when it dealt with the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. My friend, Mr. Sarma, was one protagonist, Sir Muhammad Shafi took an important part in the discussions; there were other famous figures engaged. While the main discussion centred again on the question of the maintenance of a fixed European proportion as against progressive Indianisation, there were many, such as Nawab Ali Chaudhury, who claimed that the particular aspect of the question which we are discussing to-day should receive primary consideration. It is interesting to remember that when some Members of the Council objected that open competition pure and simple would mean that Brahmins from Southern India would largely dominate the lists, both Mr. Sastri and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya promised on behalf of the Brahmins of Southern India they would stand aside until it was generally decided that it was no longer necessary for them to do so. But indeed, whenever we discuss the question of the Services at large, and the problem of their Indianisation, this particular aspect of the question has always come athwart the discussion. It did so when Mr. Jamnadas raised the question of Indianisation a year ago in our debates. It will be remembered that Mr. Bagde then moved an amendment much in the form of some of the amendments that have come before us to-day. I have troubled, I hope not unduly troubled, the Assembly with a retrospect showing how we have arrived at our present position; and I propose now to show exactly what our rules are in regard to the recruitment of Indian Civil Service in India itself. There has been some misapprehension on the subject. Indeed, I myself, as representing Government, have found it difficult to-day to understand fully whether our present position was being attacked or was being supported, and if so, by whom it was being attacked and by whom it was being supported. Here are the facts. We still look to London to supply us with the bulk of our candidates, and there of course the Indian competes without previous nomination or selection. Next, I take our Indian recruit, that is, our candidates recruited in India itself

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to whom this discussion particularly applies. Our practice here is to announce 67 per cent. of the appointments for Indian recruitment as available for open competition. I do not enter into the reason why that particular figure was taken; it is due to the fact that there are certain direct appointments from the Bar and to the existence of listed posts. 67 per cent. then are announced as available for open competition. Nomination is provided for in section 97 (6) of the Government of India Act in order to secure to some extent representation of the various provinces and communities in India. It will not of necessity take place every year, but only when the results of the open competitive examination in India fail to give the representation required. If the distribution of successes in the open examination turns out to be such as will meet the requirements of the various provinces and communities, resort to nomination will be unnecessary, and the vacancies held in reserve will be filled as far as possible by selection from among candidates who sat for the competitive examination and attained a certain qualifying standard. Failing this, they will be filled by nomination. Now that shows at once the very limited scope reserved for nomination, and the reasons for which we have adopted it. The scope is limited because nomination only comes into play when it is found that the 67 per cent. open competition does not give something like adequate representation of different provinces and communities, and nomination again will only be used for one definite purpose, namely, to insure that the main provinces and communities shall not be unrepresented. It will at once appear therefore that we do not and indeed never have intended that this limited reserve of nomination should be for the purpose of representing minority communities or backward classes. Our sole object may, as I have said, be described rather in a negative form, namely, to prevent the over-weighting of our Services with any one particular class or representatives of a particular province. It will interest the House if I analyse the result of our first open competition in India. There were 11 posts open for competition. They were filled up as follows; three from Madras, one from Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa and two from Bengal. All were Hindus. We reserved in addition four posts for nomination, and on this occasion utilized the provision to the full. One reason was that we required a Burman recruit; it has been considered desirable that Burma should be placed on a separate basis, that is to say, if no Burmans succeed in entering by the open competition, that we should nominate a Burman candidate. One of the four was a Burman, one was a Muhammadan from Bengal and the remaining two were representatives from the Punjab and Assam. This was strictly in accord with the general principles which I have described as guiding us in this matter. I now proceed to my conclusion, which is to give the attitude of Government on this Resolution. I have explained the very limited scope to which we now resort to nomination and the object with which we do so. Let me be clear again that it is not the intention of Government to resort to nomination in the Indian Civil Service merely to secure that advancement of minority or backward communities. Indeed, taking the matter only on its practical side, I do not myself know how we should proceed to promote the cause of minority communities. They are already many; and directly we attempted to help one, others would declare themselves. Greater communities would disclose unexpected cleavages; claims to representation based on novel and hitherto unaccepted standards would be set up. For my own part, I should shrink from so Herculean a task as, an attempt to arbitrate between the conflicting claims of the different minority communities in India, and

to establish standards for ascertaining their comparative value to the State. We are already engaged in a difficult enough task,—and we only make the effort because this much seems clearly justifiable—in seeing that the claims of any one Province or of any of the great communities are not entirely outweighed. I can with truth add that Government itself would be only too happy to avoid any system by which we had to discriminate in recruitment for the Public Services. We should be glad to avoid a system under which we run the risk of imputations of partiality to one community or another. We want nothing but the best men. We want men who are judged by one test only, the test of character, intelligence and efficiency, and the greatest of these is character. But facts are what they are. We have been led into our present system by the history of the past; and we have to ask ourselves whether India at large has yet arrived at that stage of social development in which there need be no consideration at all of provincial claims or the claims of the major communities. India has not, I take it, yet arrived at that stage in politics. However much some of us may desire to see the end of communal representation on the franchise, the history of the last three years has shown us that India at large is not yet ready to abandon it. There may come a time when educational and social advancement will secure that result, when there will no longer be recognition either in politics or in the Services of the claims of particular religions or particular communities, when all such differences will be lost in the larger sentiment of nationality or social service. But that time is not yet. In the meanwhile the position of Government is clear; we are proceeding on grounds which obviously lay themselves open to very little criticism; and we ourselves see nothing in the trend of current opinion which indicates the necessity for a change. The Resolution asks for a change in our present system; I have declared what our present system is; and for ourselves we see no necessity for any modification. For this reason, I could not support the Resolution even if indeed I perfectly comprehended its terms. When affairs are moving so rapidly as they are now, to again attempt to change the system of recruitment for one of our major services,—to again open the whole of this question to discussion, to again invite an interchange of opinions which, amicable as it may be in form, as it has been to-day, yet nevertheless discloses strong differences of standpoint among various communities—is in my view not desirable. I can only support the system as we have it at present, and claim that it should continue.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Sir, with your permission I wish to state that I am prepared to accept Mr. Shahani's amendment to my original Resolution; and in doing so, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity afforded me by the Government Member of making a few remarks on the way this Resolution has been received. At the outset, Sir, when I consented to move this Resolution, I knew that I was running the gauntlet—I was perfectly aware, judging from the threats that I received from the Bombay Member that he would rap my knuckles, from the Madras Member that he would "go" for me, and, as my community is a small one, I was perfectly prepared to run that gauntlet. It was a sort of an intensive attitude of threats to me. The result has been as I expected. My Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, has addressed an admonition, and desired that I should suffer a censure for having the audacity to present this Resolution. I would have thought, and I still think, that when he goes home this evening and thinks seriously he would change his mind and pass the very opposite of a censure on me for having had the courage to expose my community to his attack, knowing

[Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.]

fully that, by putting forward this motion before this Honourable House, I was risking a reference to certain subordinate preferential treatment for specific services rendered. I realize that that day is gone, and to-day my community is not enjoying preferential treatment. Therefore, as the representative of a minority community, I make bold to put forward this motion, feeling that my community has rights like those of the rest of India and having that feeling, with great pleasure, I accept this censure passed on me by my friend Munshi Iswar Saran. But I do feel that he should think of it, and reflect on it, seriously. Now my Honourable friend Dr. Gour, in his thunderous voice, said to me, "what do you want, you belong to the Anglo-Indian community, you are only about 100,000 in number and your proportionate claim for appointments when compared with the rest of India is 1 in 8,150 according to which you are entitled to only one-third of an appointment per annum." He seems to have worked this out with mathematical precision. Possibly Dr. Gour belongs to the Rajput community, and feels he is entitled to come here and to try and have a sword thrust at me, but, what I say is, 'we are a minority community, and therefore, in common with the rest of the minority communities in India, we ask for the protection of this House.' I am only fighting the case of a minority community which I think should receive the solicitude of Dr. Gour. He remarks in a very scathing way that, because we are such a small proportion, we are not entitled to get one-third. Have we got a third? I want to know. He refers to all the Services. I am talking of the Indian Civil Service alone, which is the subject of this Resolution. If you scan the list of nominations, you will find that my community has not received it. Dr. Gour seems to have the right to mistake differential for preferential treatment.

Then as to my friend, Mr. Rangaachariar, who belongs to that famous learned class, the Madras Brahmin—all credit to them, I believe he said his population is one million, but he did not tell you what percentage of successes that one community has obtained in the Indian Civil Service examination. There is all the more credit to them for any successes gained, but it is just to avoid a repetition of monopoly that I have brought forward this Resolution. I purposely deal with this matter on very broad lines, because I realize I am walking on tender ground and I do not wish to offend any community. When my friend, Mr. Rangaachariar, turns round and says, 'what about the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs.'—I may for his edification refer him to the latest report of the Madras Presidency which was a half-yearly report, G. O. No. 618, dated the 31st December 1921. I am not talking of Railways, although it was my community that elected to work like slaves on the Railways; it was my community that elected to work on the Posts and Telegraphs when they were not attractive. The members of my community are equally with others named citizens of India, and we are prepared to run a level race with the rest of India, I do not ask for preferential treatment for them. Mr. Joshi says that when appointments are made, they are not voted. I quite agree with him. In fact Mr. Joshi said to me before I moved this Resolution, "I do not think you had better move this Resolution, I think some one else had better do so." I think, Sir, in the circumstances I deserve more praise than censure from my friend, Munshi Iswar Saran. Mr. Joshi did not stray off the right path of my Resolution but he asked if such examinations were made on votes or for the benefit

of any particular community. No one suggested or requested this. He seemed to lay great stress on the type of men who should sit on Selection Committees and I agree with him that such Committee men should forget their communal distinctiveness. But I have yet to learn of a man who sat on a Selection Committee and who could dissociate self from self. There are certain things that go to form the subject called 'human nature,' and you cannot alienate yourself from them. Then we come to the question of Education, and Mr. Joshi makes a suggestion, that is "educate yourself." In theory, it sounds very well,—'educate yourself.' Well, supposing that one educated himself, what is the prospect? I think Honourable Members will have had an idea of what retrenchments are going to be effected in Bengal,—in Education a cut of Rs. 35 lakhs; and it is conceivable that the various provincial Legislative Councils may begin to curtail the education grant for European schools—I bring this out merely to show to Mr. Joshi that it is not a question of time; it is a question of minor communities having been caught napping, Englishmen included, under the Reforms Scheme. The Englishman has been caught napping and he is still sleeping. It is my minority community I want to protect by this Resolution. He calls my Resolution a "ridiculous Resolution." It may be,—yet you have to consider those ridiculous things called "minority communities." Then my friend, Mr. Joshi, said, that I wanted to enter by the back door. I wish to do no such thing at all. The Honourable Member in charge of the Department, Sir Malcolm Hailey, has stated the procedure adopted by the Government of India. He has also explained the provisions he has made so as to get an equilibrium and satisfy all classes. They sound very nice. I have not asked anyone to transgress the law of efficiency. I wish you to accept a bar of efficiency. I do not ask you to take an uneducated man and put him into a position such as the Indian Civil Service or to put him in through any backdoor influence. I do not wish to send in a monster petition to a certain big Government official and say, "such and such a man should get an appointment as a High Court Judge, or so and so should get an appointment as the next Member of Council from Bombay or Madras." I do not wish to do that. There is no doubt that at the next Indian Civil Service Examination you will find Madras again coming up and getting the first four places. You will probably find the community to which my friend Munshi Iswar Saran belongs, securing the next two, leaving nothing for the rest of India. It is for the rest of India that I am putting forward the proposals I have submitted to the House. Unless you act somewhat on these lines, the Englishmen now administering this country will be replaced by those inhabiting the south and the east of India. The Indianization of the services was admirably enunciated by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, and the interpretation has been slightly altered now. The fact is that the Indianization of the services in the way Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has enunciated it, has really been to replace Englishmen in order to get a cheaper market and a cheaper return for work. It is down here as one of the reasons. But I want to attack the idea of the monopoly of 2 or 3 provinces in India, for the sake of a minority community. The Government of India have also apprehended this swamping and Sir Malcolm Hailey has shown how wise was the Public Services Commission in asking for safeguards. He has almost supported the Resolution which I have put forward here for the protection of minority communities. I put forward this Resolution for the acceptance of the House and I accept Mr. Shahani's amendment to it.

Mr. Deputy President: The original Resolution moved was :

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the present system of conducting Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service be changed and that a different method of conducting the Simultaneous Examinations so as to give a fair chance to candidates belonging to different communities and different Provinces, be devised, if necessary, by having a limited form of competition."

To this an amendment has been moved

Mr. S. O. Shahani: Sir, in view of the very worthy remarks which have fallen from the Leader of the House I beg to withdraw the amendment.

The amendment was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Deputy President: The question is that the original Resolution be adopted.

The Assembly then divided as follows :—

AYES—27.

Abdul Majid, Sheikh.
Abdul Quadir, Maulvi.
Abdul Rahim Khan, Mr.
Abdulla, Mr. S. M.
Agarwala, Lala Girdharilal.
Ahsan Khan, Mr. M.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
Bagde, Mr. K. G.
Barua, Mr. D. C.
Das, Babu B. S.
Ghulam Sarwar Khan, Chaudhuri.
Gidney, Lieut.-Col. H. A. J.
Hussanally, Mr. W. M.

Ibrahim Ali Khan, Col. Nawab Mohd.
Ikramullah Khan, Raja Mohd.
Man Singh, Bhai.
Misra, Mr. B. N.
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. T.
Muhammad Ismail, Mr. S.
Nabi Hadi, Mr. S. M.
Reddi, Mr. M. K.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Mr.
Subzposh, Mr. S. M. Z. A.
Venkatapatiraja, Mr. B.
Yamin Khan, Mr. M.
Zahiruddin Ahmed, Mr.

NOES—48.

Aiyar, Mr. A. V. V.
Ayyar, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri.
Bajpai, Mr. S. P.
Basu, Mr. J. N.
Bhargava, Pandit J. L.
Blackett, Sir Basil.
Bradley-Birt, Mr. F. B.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Cabell, Mr. W. H. L.
Chatterjee, Mr. A. C.
Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
Cotelingam, Mr. J. P.
Crookshank, Sir Sydney.
Dalal, Sardar B. A.
Faridoonji, Mr. R.
Gour, Dr. H. S.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hailey, the Honourable Sir Malcolm.
Holme, Mr. H. E.
Hullah, Mr. J.
Lwar Saran, Munshi.
Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr.
Jatkar, Mr. B. H. R.

Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Lakshmi Narayan Lal, Mr.
Ley, Mr. A. H.
Mitter, Mr. K. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. J. N.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
Nand Lal, Dr.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Pyari Lal, Mr.
Ramayya Pantulu, Mr. J.
Rangachariar, Mr. T.
Samarth, Mr. N. M.
Sarvadikary Sir Deva Prasad.
Sen, Mr. N. K.
Shahani, Mr. S. C.
Sinha, Babu L. P.
Sircar, Mr. N. C.
Srinivasa Rao, Mr. P. V.
Stanyon, Col. Sir Henry.
Subrahmanayam, Mr. C. S.
Ujagar Singh, Baba Bedi.
Vishindas, Mr. H.
Webb, Sir Montagu.

The motion was negatived.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Quarter to Three of the Clock. Mr. Deputy President was in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE SCHOLARSHIPS TO INDIANS FOR RESEARCH WORKS.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju (Ganjam cum Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Resolution which I propose to place before the House for its consideration runs as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that twenty-five scholarships, each tenable for five years at about Rs. 4,000 per head per annum eventually costing not more than five lakhs annually, be given year after year (and with your permission I will add here 'as funds are available') from the Imperial Revenues to Indians of great promise specially for research work in any part of the world and in any branch of knowledge approved by the Central Legislature."

Sir, my task has been lightened very much by the Resolution which was moved by the Honourable Mr. Samarth on the 28rd of February last, when the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee who was then Secretary in the Industries Department, indicated the Government policy with reference to the training of Indian youths. I may perhaps here say in parenthesis that we congratulate the Government on the fact that, for the first time, an Indian official has been raised to Cabinet rank, and, because of his ability, character and integrity we find that he has been raised to the position of a Member. I hope during the period of his Membership there will be no change in the Government policy which he has once announced. Sir, the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee stated that "it is the duty of the State in India to provide adequate facilities in India itself for the training of our youth in all the different industries" and that "this is the policy that every civilised and progressive country has adopted." He further added: "No established industry in any country can prosper, if it has to depend either for its supervisory or higher labour, or for the masses of the artisans which it employs, on men imported from abroad or on men trained abroad." I quite appreciate that, because every country which wants to be self-reliant must see that their men are sufficiently trained, either in their own country or abroad in order to replace foreign experts or specialists. But the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee has stated that there must be a time when we need not send anybody abroad for training. Perhaps that is an ideal time, I do not know when it will come to India, but I can assure the House and I also mention it to the Honourable Member for Education that it takes a very long time before even a Government with all its resources can say "We have established institutions in the country so that persons need not be sent abroad." May I mention, Sir, that the expenditure incurred on all the Universities and research institutes in India by the State and otherwise is much smaller in amount than the expenditure of one University in America. Columbia University in New York spends nearly two crores every year, whereas the utmost we are able to get for the Bangalore Institute is only Rs. 4,90,000, of which the Government of India contributes Rs. 1,50,000 and there are a number of Universities in America which are spending 50 lakhs or even a crore. Besides, there are Institutes which are to be found in other countries, in England and Germany, and some in France where our people can go with advantage. I do not think it is possible for a very long time to come for us to educate our youths entirely in the country without finding it necessary to send them abroad.

But, Sir, I find certain difficulties in the matter. We know from the various speeches made by Government Members that they are very sympathetic with reference to making India self-sufficient in the matter of education, but we often notice the adoption of a timid policy by them, or

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

what might be called "the drag and brake" policy. In a generous moment they will announce "Oh! We shall do this," but next moment they say "Perhaps we are going too far;" and they put on the brake. Now, we do not want such a policy of "drag and brake."

We want the Government with reference to this matter to adopt a clear and definite policy because we know their general views as they have been stated by Mr. Chatterjee: what we want is a definite policy as to the manner in which the training of Indians for research should be directed and developed. If we leave it to the future, it will never be done. The Government should come forward and lay down a definite programme. The Member in charge of Education, the Member in charge of Revenue (who has certain subjects under him) and the Member in charge of Industries should all three work together and obtain the approval of the Viceroy to any scheme they have worked out. They can then say "This is the manner and the method we propose to adopt in order to provide for research scholarships." I appeal to them to do this at once, because they have to do it some time, if not to-day, then to-morrow. They cannot avoid it. Next I would ask them to make sufficient provision to find out to what extent the existing institutions should be re-modelled and expanded so as to further such research. That they have to do because I may mention in this connection that there are only three institutes. One is the Sir Jamsetjee Tata Institute at Bangalore, the second the Imperial Institute at Dehra, and the third the Imperial Agricultural Institute at Pusa. I know the Indian Government have contributed something for a sugar expert at Coimbatore; but I find when I read the report submitted to the Government of India by Sir Henry Pope, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Sir H. H. Hayden and Dr. C. V. Raman with reference to work in the Indian Institute at Bangalore, I find they say it requires 20 or 25 lakhs of capital expenditure to make it thoroughly efficient, and an additional expenditure of Rs. 60,000 for its upkeep, while providing only a few subjects which they have mentioned—I need not enumerate them here—which they wanted to have there. Further they suggest that even with reference to persons who have to be sent abroad they should be trained in India in order to find out their special aptitude with reference to particular subjects. If the present facilities at Bangalore are inadequate, you may say there are two other Institutes. I have not got with me any public report except what was stated by the Secretary in the Revenue Department of the India Office when he was giving evidence before the Lytton Committee. Mr. Turner (that was his name) then said—page 292 of the Lytton Committee's report—that with regard to the complaint that no facilities were given to students to undertake research at the Institutes at Dehra Dun and Pusa and that they were confined only to professors and teachers he believed that the contention was broadly speaking true, but that he thought there had been exceptional cases of students undertaking research work at Dehra Dun though full information could be obtained only in India. I have therefore given notice in order to get information on this point. But the broad fact is, as I have stated, that proper facilities are not given either at Pusa or Dehra Dun for Indian students in the matter. I think that the Member in charge of Education or the Member in charge of Revenue should see to it that Imperial Institutes like those on which we are spending a lot of money should give facilities for research to Indian students. Thirdly, I suggest, Sir, at what stage and through what agency Indians whose scientific and technical equipment has been completed so

far as the institutional resources of this country are concerned should be selected and deputed for further scientific training abroad. My object in making this suggestion is in order to avoid some misconceptions on the subject. When I gave notice of this Resolution that students should be trained for research, several members naturally thought that five years were unnecessary as those persons would be sent abroad at public expense. But I have taken this course with a view to meeting the objection of the Committee appointed to find out the working of the Research Institute at Bangalore. They say the students should have training in India and for that training about two years will be necessary in most cases, because we must know whether the students whom we select have the aptitude for a particular branch of work or not; and also that whatever facilities India possesses should be availed of to the full. When these boys have been trained in that manner we can send them for three years abroad for research. After all, we are not sending these people in order to get employment for them afterwards. It is not a purely service question. We want these persons as specialists or as experts. They must be persons who can develop their master-minds in order to add to the world's knowledge. Therefore we do not want mediocrities. We want great men in order to replace the great men we are getting at present from foreign countries. We find three American specialists were brought in for the Pusa Research Institute. Our object should be in course of time to train our own boys in order to fill up these important posts. Fourthly, I would suggest that the Government should also make up their minds to ensure that Indians should be trained at as early a date as possible and in ever-increasing numbers to fill scientific and technical posts for which abilities of the highest order are requisite. We were told on the last occasion that about 118 students were sent by the Government of India and that they are employed, suitably employed. I do not know how many were employed in Government Institutes but they must be very few. We know as a matter of fact when we refer to the members of the services that very few Indians are occupying important posts. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that proper men should be trained so that when they are well qualified we can employ them in their own country and avoid the unnecessary employment of foreign experts. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee was kind enough on the last occasion to quote with approval what the Japanese Government were doing at that time. They were sending large number of students for training abroad in order to replace the foreign experts in the country. That is exactly my purpose. One objection I may mention here, that has been raised to my Resolution is whether Rs. 4,000 per annum is necessary. Some people think a lower figure would be sufficient; but I may say that the Lytton Committee themselves stated that they were obliged to increase the scholarships for Oxford and Cambridge from £250 to £350; and they thought that owing to the high cost of living which obtains at the present moment from £300 to £400 were absolutely necessary if persons are to have proper education at Oxford or Cambridge. That comes to Rs. 6,000; and I know that if it will not cost Rs. 6,000 it will certainly cost Rs. 5,000 to send a man to New York to Columbia University. If you send him to California University or to Harvard University at Boston, perhaps it would cost less. To send students at this time either to Germany or Japan would be still less. But this matter will have to be settled by the Government, as to what is required, and therefore I use the expression "as funds are available". I am only pressing the matter in order that when funds are available the scholarships may be instituted and increased from year to year. But, I may also state, Sir, that I do not think the Government

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

would feel that there is want of talent in the country. I hope they do not entertain any such idea. The brilliant examples which we have in India do not at all discourage the Government in thinking that there is talent in the country. There are persons who, if appreciated and facilities afforded, will turn out to be experts, quite as good as any country could produce. India has in its own time produced experts, but for some reason or other we have not got the same facilities and therefore we are unable to count so many. We, however, have them in this country. If you want mathematicians, if you go to Madras, you will find any number. You have got the best professors and physicists in Bengal; we have also got Mr. Sircar, the greatest historian. We have the greatest persons in science. There are also other persons and I do not think I need name them. Therefore I think Government would not at all be discouraged that India has not got such talent for the purpose. I am asking for a modest sum of Rs. five lakhs eventually and only ask for Rs. one lakh now. If the Government are spending Rs. 12,000 lakhs every year, may I not ask them to spare out of the Rs. 12,000 lakhs, Rs. one lakh for this year for this purpose? I hope the Government would help us in securing the regeneration of the country by not opposing this Resolution and giving early effect to the Resolution and by putting into practice what they preach and what they promise.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Education Member): Sir, I am intervening in this debate at this early stage in the hope that I might be able to specify the position of the Government with reference to this question and that might assist the House to come to a fairly early conclusion on the subject raised by the motion of my Honourable friend. I wish, Sir, at the outset to express my own gratitude for the personal reference that my friend has made to me and I can only ask for the same indulgence, the same generous indulgence, from the Members of the House to me in my present capacity as they have always accorded to me throughout my membership of this House. The Honourable Mr. Raju prefaced his remarks by quoting certain statements which I had made on the occasion of the debate raised by the Honourable Mr. Samarth with regard to the training of Indians in industries outside India. Sir, I must state that neither the Government nor I have wavered in the policy that was then stated by me in this House. I can only repeat that the Government of India fully agree with the Honourable Mr. Raju that research is a very important—indeed one of the most important elements—in securing industrial development in this country and also for the purpose of the advancement of general culture in order to build up the nation. Sir, I would go even further and I think probably every Member of the House would agree with me that just as in the case of industrial training, so in the case of research, it is very desirable so far as possible that research both for the purpose of industrial development and for the purpose of culture should be conducted by indigenous agency. Therefore, Sir, it will be admitted that the question is an important one and I hope that I am voicing the feelings of all Members of this House when I say that the Honourable Mr. Raju has done a good service by bringing this question before the Assembly. Perhaps, Sir, Mr. Raju would agree with me if I make a further statement and that is that research should be conducted so far as possible in India and not abroad. I do not quite know whether Mr. Raju contemplated that students should pursue research both in industrial subjects and in cultural subjects abroad and then give it up when they come

back to India. I think, Sir, it is most essential that facilities should be provided for the students to carry on their research after they come back to India. It is not much use sending students to be trained in the methods of research in European countries or in America or Japan if they find when they come back that they have neither laboratories nor libraries nor other equipment to enable them to pursue their studies. The two things, therefore, Sir, must go hand in hand. We should make every possible endeavour to send our students, men of promise, to foreign countries in order that they might obtain the very best possible training, but at the same time we must not forget to provide them with facilities in this country. Progress in the first direction must be conditioned by progress in the second direction. I was rather distressed to find a current of pessimism through the speech of the Honourable gentleman. He seemed to think that Government might make promises, but then they would follow a policy of what he called 'drag and brake' and that Government would not carry into effect what they had promised. I do not think, Sir, that there is any justification for any pessimism or despair of this kind. The Government of India have not been oblivious of their obligations with regard to the promotion of research. The Honourable gentleman himself has mentioned three institutions, namely, the Institute of Science at Bangalore, the Agricultural Institute at Pusa and the Forest Institute at Dehra. He has admitted that the Government of India give a very handsome grant every year to the Institute of Science at Bangalore. He has also admitted that large sums are spent on the institutions at Dehra and Pusa. He has given voice to a complaint that at Pusa and Dehra Dun sufficient opportunities are not given to Indian students for training in methods of research. I am not personally acquainted with the most recent developments in these two institutions and I would leave it on some future occasion to my friend the Honourable Member for Revenue and Agriculture to defend himself with regard to those two institutions. But I have had something to do with the relations between the Government of India and the Institute of Science at Bangalore and I can assure the Honourable gentleman that the Government of India are most anxious that that institution should be utilised to the very best advantage by Indian students and every possible help that the Government of India can give in the matter has been given and will be given in the future. The Honourable gentleman has instanced the case of the Columbia University where, he said, several crores of rupees are spent, whereas all over India we spend only a very small sum. It is quite true, Sir, that the benefactions devoted to Education and Research in the United States are really magnificent, but, Sir, it is well to bear in mind that most of those foundations depend on private benefactions. I have been over the Columbia University and I have also been over the University belonging to the City of New York. I have very great admiration for both those institutions, but so far as I could learn, they were dependent practically indeed almost entirely on private benefactions and on grants from local bodies like the Corporation of the City of New York. I do hope, Sir, that Mr. Raju's Resolution and this debate will bring forward more private benefactions in these causes than we have had hitherto. I do not depreciate the endowments that have already been made by wealthy Indians in the cause of education and research. We have the Bangalore Institute in mind, and we have many more institutions like the Bose Institute in Calcutta and the Science College in Calcutta, and many other institutions all over India, but we want a great many more. I wish that my countrymen would realise

[Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.]

that these things cannot all be provided merely by the State; that they must also come and aid the country in proper development in all directions. Apart from the institutions which Mr. Raju mentioned, there are others also devoted to research, which Government have helped from time to time. There is, as I mentioned just now, the Bose Research Institute in Calcutta to which the Central Government make an annual grant. Then, Sir, I think the House is aware from the speeches that were made on previous occasions that there is the Indian Medical Research Association, which is doing most valuable work in the field of medical research, to which the Government of India make a very handsome annual grant. Then in the pre-Reform days, when the Government of India could help the universities, in the days of peace and plenty, as some one remarked the other day, very large sums were given in aid of university education and post-graduate studies in different universities, and we hope that a very large proportion of those grants were devoted to purposes of research. The Honourable Members of the House are also aware that Government are making efforts to establish a School of Mines and Geology. There also it is hoped that a certain amount of the work of the staff, as well as of the students, will be devoted to research purposes in order to assist in the development of the mineral resources of the country.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): When will it come into existence?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I think you will know at Budget time. Honourable Members are also aware that as one of the results of the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, a committee was appointed under the presidency of a distinguished scientist from England to go into the question of chemical research in India. That Committee made certain recommendations. I do not say the recommendations have been carried out, but I am mentioning this just to indicate that the Government of India have not lost sight of the importance of this subject in relation to industrial development. Then again, Sir, with regard to the training of scholars abroad, perhaps the House is not aware that there are already a number of scholarships given by the Central Government or by Provincial Governments for research in languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic. Then, even among the ordinary scholarships given at present by Provincial Governments to students for training in England, a number are given in order to train these students in methods of research in foreign countries. I may instance the case of Dr. Dhar, who is now a distinguished professor in Allahabad, a pupil of Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, who was trained abroad in chemical research as a Government scholar. Then, Sir, the Committee presided over by the Earl of Lytton, of which my distinguished friend opposite was a Member, went into this subject, and if you will look at Appendix IV of their report, you will find that there are already quite a number of Indian students doing research work in foreign countries.

I find that the number of scholars who are given there as doing only research work comes to about 28. They are conducting research in such various subjects as Economics, the English language, History, Mathematics, Moral Sciences, Natural Sciences and Oriental languages. I may

mention that there are at least 12 Indians who are now undertaking research in Natural Sciences in Great Britain and 9 Indians doing research work in Oriental languages. It is clear, therefore, Sir, that a good deal is already being done. I do not say that more could not be done but we are confronted with the present financial position of the Government of India. I am glad, Sir, that the Honourable Member has recognised that fact by the addition that he has suggested to-day in the Resolution proposed by him. The financial position of the country is well known to all Members of this House and it is not for me to emphasise that point. I can only mention, Sir, that it is on account of these financial difficulties that the Government of India have not been able to proceed with the recommendations made by the Chemical Services Committee; it is on account of these financial difficulties that we cannot develop the School of Mines and Geology as fast as we should like to do; it is on account of these financial difficulties that we have had to postpone a project for the establishment of an institution in Calcutta which would have absorbed the present institution for research in Tanning maintained by the Government of Bengal. Honourable Members of this House are aware that we are now undertaking an inquiry for rigorous retrenchment in every direction, not merely for economy but for rigorous retrenchment. In these circumstances, Sir, although we have every sympathy with the Honourable gentleman's aspirations and wishes, and as I hope I have indicated that all my sympathies are with him, we can only hope for better times to come when effect can be given to these ideas and to the principle of this Resolution. I have dealt with the principle of the Resolution only. The Honourable Member himself has said that so far as the details are concerned they must be left to later judgment, to fuller consideration both by the Government and by this Assembly when the time and the occasion arise. I hope, Sir, I have explained that the Government have every sympathy with the Resolution which the Honourable Member has placed before the House, but we cannot give effect to the proposal immediately; we can do so and we shall do so as soon as funds permit.

Mr. Deputy President: I think it will be better if we take the first amendment at this stage.

Sardar Gulab Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution so ably moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Raju. The cause which he has advocated is the noblest one possible, and the country stands in great need of encouragement to improve its industrial condition as the natural resources of India which are many could not be utilised to their utmost without having experts or specialists. I beg to withdraw the amendment that stands in my name in the list of business as the Honourable Mover of the Resolution himself has removed the defect in the original Resolution by the necessary additions of the words 'as funds are available'. I hope that this Honourable House will accept the Resolution as it stands amended.

Mr. Deputy President: I would request the Honourable Member in future if he wants to withdraw his amendment under the Standing Orders merely to say 'I withdraw the amendment that stands in my name.'

Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadikary (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, we rejoice that the spirit of the Government reply is sympathetic. That certainly will conduce to early disposal of this motion so far as the

[Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

academic side of it, if I may so call it, is concerned. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee has deprecated the current of pessimism underlying the speech of the Mover of the proposal. But in his heart of hearts, does not Mr. Chatterjee feel that there is more than room for pessimism in this concern that has been given expression to to-day and much more than that? I happen to know, Sir, that he feels as keenly as any one of us in this Assembly or outside, with regard to the utter lack of facilities in these directions. As Secretary in another Department not primarily connected with education, he did all he could to further research work connected with Commerce and Industries. I join again in the tribute that Mr. Raju has paid to his single-hearted devotion to educational advance in connection with commerce and industries and we welcome his advancement. I welcome his reply from another point of view, namely, that the recommendations of the Lytton Committee's Report are not likely to be adversely received by the Government, although he has taken good care to keep the expression of that sentiment from the Assembly; read between the lines, I believe that the recommendations have commended themselves to the Government here and in England. Mr. Chatterjee referred to the schedule of Research students in the Report. In Government parlance, which no Secretary or Honourable Member can avoid when he has been in Government environments for a fairly long time, he asked the Assembly to believe that *quite a large number* of research students are doing good work in England and that a *good deal of work* is being done there. I do not propose to talk shop at length, because I have had a good deal to do with this Report. But I may give the Assembly some figures which will enable them to see what *quite a large number* and a *good deal* in Government parlance means. This is undoubtedly a nation-building Resolution to which no one can demur and from which no one can differ, at all events so far as what is called showing sympathy is concerned. The whole point of the Lytton Committee's recommendations is that if India is to advance, if the Reforms are to be at all successful, India must be educationally self-contained and Mr. Raju's Resolution and Mr. Samarth's Resolution now on the shelf for more than 12 months will be one of the first steps towards the attainment of that ideal. I shall take some subjects—important subjects, that I suppose the Legislature would first consider in connection with Mr. Raju's recommendation, if accepted, when the question of choice of subjects for the proposed scholarships comes before them. In Dyeing, what is this large number spoken of by Mr. Chatterjee studying in England?—2. In Mining—8. Mr. Chatterjee will bear me out that in connection with some recent appointments relating to mining with which he and I had to do, our greatest difficulty was that we had not properly trained men out here and therefore the go by had to be given to most of the men on the spot because they had not had enough training abroad.

In Leather Manufacture the figure is 6. If this Research Institute in Calcutta that Mr. Chatterjee spoke of is ever to come, how many of these 6 will be available for work there and would even all the six be enough? In Metallurgy, upon which one of the most important key industries of the country must always depend, we had the tremendous number—1. In Naval Architecture—1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is here and he will appreciate how much towards the naval defence of the country we are going to contribute with that one solitary single student studying Naval Architecture, whatever that may mean, in England.

And, Sir, in Oceanography we have 1. A largely growing subject in India with its tremendous ocean frontage which we shall not know how to defend when the time comes—one is studying. I hear a voice crying out "Nature will defend us." God be praised and Nature be thanked!

In Pottery, in which India can do any amount of good and useful work we have 2. And in Town-planning, which we hear of everywhere all over India the figure is 1. I do not say these are all suitable subjects and that there are not more. On the other hand, we have scholarships in Phonetics, in scientific study of the Languages, in what is called Natural Philosophy, that is mostly ordinary Physics and Chemistry, suitable for college work. We have all that, but we want a great deal more and something better. The question must be as to whether the work of co-ordination should not be undertaken and undertaken in a way that Mr. Raju's and Mr. Samarth's Resolutions suggest. Sir, I do not wish to labour the matter, but I welcome the Resolution and the spirit in which the Government is giving it its support as an earnest of recognition of what the Lytton Committee has insistently demanded—that India shall be educationally self-contained and the men who can contribute towards that must be trained abroad. Mr. Raju has been just out of the country. I am glad he has seen for himself what education abroad, particularly in research, can do. I quite appreciate that men, coming back with the newest ideas on research work and the newest methods, coming and seeking appointments in the Education or some other Department either as glorified clerks or as Assistant Secretaries are not properly placed. But whose fault is it? It is as much the fault of the Government as of the people that capital resources and co-ordination of arrangement are not forthcoming. Government has made itself responsible in various matters with regard to that, which need not be detailed here, and facilities are wanted for people who come back. This fact must not be lost sight of. I am glad, Sir, the amendment for reduction of the number of scholarships is not going to be pressed because 25 after all, even when they come, will not be at all too large a number for all India. Mr. Samarth's Resolution has been referred to. We do not know what is going to happen to it. We have been referred to the provinces with regard to the provincial subjects. Probably that is technically right. But what is happening in the provinces now? With their attenuated university resources, with their tremendous 5½ lakh cuts in educational grants, the provinces will not be able for a long while to do much. I do not say the government resources here are plentiful, but when asked for a paltry five lakhs of rupees as the first step towards nation-building processes, the Government of India's obligations cannot be ignored either by the Auditor General or by the Member for Finance or Education. We have got to make a beginning and an earnest beginning and a beginning at once, and if this Resolution is now accepted, I hope it will not meet the same fate as Mr. Samarth's Resolution action on which has been pending for the past 12 months and over. I think these matters ought to be taken up in the spirit in which Mr. Chatterjee has spoken to-day and not treated in the way in which Mr. Samarth's Resolution has been so long.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): I move, Sir, that the question be now put.

Dr. Nand Lal (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the former part of the speech of the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee was very encouraging. The Government should be thanked for their very sincere sympathy with this motion no doubt. But I am very sorry to see that the Honourable

[Dr. Nand Lal.]

Mr. Chatterjee told us that there is a lack of funds and consequently he is unable to say when practical effect will be given to this motion. With reference to those remarks I feel bound to address the House. Sir, this is a question of education. I think the whole country and this House especially will be very glad to provide any sum for this most desirable enterprise. We want research in India and a number of scholars are quite ready to undertake that work. I think it will not be right to give this answer that we had better wait, because the money is not available. Money is being spent for a good many other matters and affairs. The question of culture, I mean to say, the question of education, industrial and scientific development, is not a whit less important than those matters, and those affairs, in which money is being spent. If this proposition may be accepted, then I believe the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee will be pleased to concede that immediate effect should be given to the spirit of this Resolution.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official): Not the letter?

Dr. Nand Lal: With these remarks, I support the motion which has been so very ably moved.

Mr. Deputy President: What about your amendments?

Dr. Nand Lal: I withdraw all the amendments in the light of the discussion which we have had on the motion.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I move, Sir, that the question be now put.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Nagpur Division : Non-Muhammadan): Let the question be now put.

Mr. Deputy President: Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala.

(Cries of "Withdraw.")

Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala (Agra Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural): I simply want to say a few words in support of the Resolution. (Cries of "Withdraw.") Will the Honourable Members allow me to speak?

Mr. Deputy President: Does the Honourable Member wish to move his amendment?

Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala: I want to support the motion which is before the House and not the amendment. Sir, I had no intention really of moving my amendment, nor do I move it. But I simply wanted to support the Resolution. I am thankful to the Government for giving us the assurances, but I wish to say a few words in regard to them. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee has told us that scholarships have been granted for research work—in what?—in Arabic in England and other places, in Sanskrit—where?—in Germany, and in philosophy and so forth. But I wish to know what good these scholarship holders can do to the country, when they come back. I want research work on the technical and mechanical lines. I want our Indian young men to be able to manufacture in India, as I have said before, aeroplanes, steamships, motor cars,

spinning and weaving mills, machinery, electrical goods and also those articles which we have now to bring from other countries, and thus to make India a self-contained India. We do not want too many poets in Arabic and in Sanskrit. We do not want to count how many words appear in a particular book and so forth. I submit that the work which has been done so far by the Government on these lines is not conducive to the good of India. Further, I suggest that the Government will, at the time of making the selection, see that first class boys are sent up and not second class boys. At the same time, I hope that Government will see with clear glasses and not with coloured glasses that an opportunity is given not to only one section of the community. Of course, I do not want to bind the Government in any way, but when other things are equal, I hope that considerations of communities and castes will not be totally ignored. I have already said that I do not want to move my amendment and I simply support the Resolution as it stands, in the light of the remarks which have been made in the House.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: I move that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy President: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that 25 scholarships, each tenable for five years at about Rs. 4,000 per head per annum eventually costing not more than five lakhs annually, be given year after year from the Imperial revenues, as funds are available, to Indians of great promise specially for research work in any part of the world and in any branch of knowledge approved by the Central Legislature."

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* SUPPLY OF FACILITIES TO ENABLE MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURES TO DISCHARGE THEIR PUBLIC DUTIES.

Rai Bahadur Lachmi Prasad Sinha (Gaya cum Monghyr: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that all the Government officials should furnish every Member of the Assembly with all the necessary informations with full particulars and give all the facilities towards the discharge of their public duties."

The Resolution demands that Government officials should be required to furnish information with necessary details to the Honourable Members of this House relating to any matter of public welfare and utility and give them facilities towards the discharge of their public duties. The demand, Sir, I think is a very reasonable one and if accepted by the House is calculated to do immense good to both the Government and the public and further lessen and lighten the task of the Council. The mass outside have sent us as representatives to this body and expect that we would conscientiously discharge our responsibilities. They also expect that we would not be failing to take up their right cause whenever occasion arose and that we should keep strict watch over their rights and interests wherever they are in danger of being jeopardized. In addition to the responsibilities which we owe to our constituencies, we are further bound by oath to be faithful to His Majesty the King-Emperor and to faithfully discharge our trust in the welfare of both the rulers and the ruled.

[Rai Bahadur Lachmi Prasad Sinha.]

Our position therefore is a very delicate one and if we are to be honest and faithful Legislators we ought to be true and loyal both to the Government and to our constituents. But, Sir, this is not possible until and unless we enjoy the confidence of both the parties. There can, however, be no doubt in the constituents' reposing their unconditional and entire confidence in us as this has amply been proved by the fact that they have chosen us to represent their cause in the Assembly here. Now remains the question of the Government's confiding in us and this requires to be settled. I am afraid I am not able to enunciate the policy of the Government in this respect. If there is some doubt in it, it would be anomalous for the Government to expect our confidence in them without their confiding in us. Mutual trust is a source of great pleasure and satisfaction and it is mutual trust we demand and demand not unreasonably. As representatives and trustees of the people and confidantes of the Government we claim to be supplied with all information relating to a public matter, and if it is absolutely necessary in the benefit of mutual interest that the officers and servants of Government should, whenever required, allow us, the representatives of the country, to know what is being done for the public and facilitate our inquiries by enlightening us on necessary details.

It has always been seen that strict secrecy is maintained on behalf of the officials over matters of grave importance and nobody is allowed to know the real details. As a result of this, matters drift from bad to worse and ultimately the whole blame is thrown on the Government, rightly or wrongly it is for those to judge who are in the know. Blame to Government or discredit to the officials, the result is all the same and it is that the mass outside have to suffer. It becomes calumnious and goes a great way towards shaking the faith of the people in the Government. I am not a believer in the fact that the Government do wrong always, but the best of their motives are even dyed black by this attitude of studied secrecy maintained towards the people and their representatives.

During the strike over the East Indian Railway last year which was said to have sprung out as a result of an alleged assault of a European on an Indian fireman, I am informed by one of our Honourable friends that he devoted full 24 hours in running from Moghalsrai to Tundla in order to find out the real clue of the strike, but his attempt failed totally. No one gave him any information about it. None of the railway officers or employees at the intervening stations dared to give him any information relating to the strike, as they were probably afraid of furnishing such information lest their higher authorities would get offended. Now, I represent the people of Monghyr and the big workshop of the East Indian Railway Company located at Jamalpore is only a distance of about 6 miles from the place. There were troubles at Jamalpore owing to the strike, and a great exhibition of Military force was made at the railway station, but I, a representative of the people, living only next door, was never consulted. There is no denying the fact that situations could have been saved by intervention of popular leaders, but no recourse has ever been taken to this device. We are kept in the dark and the officials do not care to give us any information in the absence of any orders of the Government.

There are numerous examples and it would be needless to make mention of them here, but I must say that if the Government only trusted us

and allowed us to know what we wanted to know, a vast amount of their responsibility would have been transferred to our shoulders and we would have helped to bring about a speedy and happy settlement in troublous matters. The fact of our being in the know would do much to dispel the doubts of many who, possibly, getting influenced by the harrowing and grossly exaggerated stories published in the Press, are losing faith in the present form of administration.

I know, Sir, that we have a great responsibility before the public we represent and the public has also got a right to inquire of us as to what we are doing for them and the country. If we are ourselves to remain in total darkness, how can we be expected to throw light on others. It is therefore a matter of absolute necessity that the Honourable Members of this House should be acquainted with all the facts and figures available only in the offices of the Government here and elsewhere, in the districts and in the provinces.

Sir, in order to enable us to discharge our onerous duties and the honest functions that have been imposed on us and entrusted to our care by our countrymen and the public as also by the Government, the Government must assist us and facilitate our cause.

With these few words I conclude and I hope the Resolution will meet with an unanimous support of the House.

Maulvi Miyan Asjad-ul-lah (Bhagalpore Division: Muhammadan): (The Honourable Member spoke in the Vernacular.*)

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Halley (Home Member): The Mover of this Resolution put his case forward mainly on the ground that we do not sufficiently trust the Members of this Assembly; he said that his own position and that of his friends was difficult; that they had a duty to discharge towards their constituents and towards the public, and that we give them no assistance in the discharge of it. How does he propose to supply that deficiency? We having apparently failed in our duty, having failed, answered questions directed to us, and having never put Members of this Assembly on the way to receive the information that they require, how does he propose to gain it? He would have us order all Government officials to furnish him and other Members of the Assembly with all necessary information. That is how the proposition starts. Its effects have been well illustrated in the speech of Miyan Asjad-ul-lah. He told us that village officers make great mistakes,—frequently act against the law; he considers that it would be well if Members of this Assembly had authority from Government to interfere with such village officers, and see that they do not break the law. He desires again that when he requires information from any Government office it should be immediately given. He tells me that if I desired to do my duty conscientiously I should immediately accept this Resolution; nay, more, I ought really to have initiated the measure myself. If I have to decline that invitation I have to do so mainly on the ground of practicability; for it is no use considering a principle unless you can translate it into practice: and it is no use issuing rules if they are a dead letter the minute they are printed. Now, it is impossible for us to issue any such instructions to the servants of Local Governments. Let us assume for a minute that such instructions were issued and they were disobeyed; or assume again—and it is no very wide assumption—that in reply to a demand for

* The original speech and a translation of it will be printed in a later issue of these Debates.

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information the servants of a Local Government were to supply information so inaccurate and misleading that a Member of this Assembly would, if he took action on it here, stand in a very false position before the public. What power should we have to bring such officers to book? None at all. It is perfectly true that we are entitled to call upon Local Government for information; but we must obtain that information ourselves from Local Governments. We are not entitled to enter into direct relations with their employees. That is one difficulty. There is an even greater difficulty. Some of the Local Government's servants belong to Transferred Departments. We have no authority under the Devolution Rules for interfering even with the Local Government in a Transferred subject. The House will remember that on a well-known occasion, Parliament itself decided that it would not be right for it to interfere directly with Transferred Subjects. So much so then for the possibility of our issuing a Regulation of this nature in regard to the servants of Local Governments. There are however a large number of servants employed by us direct. We have Government servants in areas which we directly administer, Delhi and the North-West Frontier Province, and we have Postal servants, Telegraph servants and State Railway servants and the like. I take their case also on the ground of practicability. Now, it is clear that you cannot ask a Government servant to discuss orders that have been given to him by a superior, not even for the sake of earning the greater confidence of the Legislative Assembly, could we as a Government, or could indeed any other Government, allow a procedure so destructive of discipline? Then again, it is not reasonable to depend on inquiries made from any such subordinate servants in regard to facts. They do not see the whole of them; their individual information may frequently be misleading. Thirdly, and this is even more important—it is not fair to ask a subordinate Government servant to judge whether that information is confidential or not. It would place on him an unfair responsibility, since his use of it might subsequently bring him into discredit with his superiors. There are obviously therefore very substantial grounds why no such instructions should be issued to the servants whom we directly employ in the Central Government. Of course

it is true the Honourable Member might demand that he should
 4 P.M. be allowed to call upon the head of a Department for the information he requires. If he were allowed to do so, he would practically be using the same agency as we use ourselves, but with this difference; if on an inquiry that we make from the head of a Department we consider that his answer is misleading or insufficient, then we see that he completes it, and in the result it is we who stand responsible for that answer to the Legislative Assembly. The House will now, I hope, agree that I have brought my argument to reconciliation of practice and principle. If, as I claim, our present practice is the only procedure practicable, I claim also that it undoubtedly coincides with the true constitutional position. Members of this Legislature are in direct relation with Government and not with Government employees; and the measure of the success with which they discharge their duties to the public, is the extent to which they influence us directly or indirectly in this Assembly. I know of no country with Parliamentary institutions which has regulations such as the Honourable Member would desire to see enforced. I believe that nowhere is it laid down that Members of the Legislatures are entitled to enter into direct relations with the employees of the Executive Government. I believe that everywhere the practice is that where information is desired, it is obtained from Government itself, and for a very good reason; the information that

is sought must be complete, and must be such that Government is prepared to be responsible for it, and for which the Legislature can take Government to task if it proves unsatisfactory or unreliable. For these reasons I think that the proposal of the Honourable Member is not only unpractical but also undesirable from the constitutional point of view; and if I fail to comply with his invitation to show greater confidence in Members of this Assembly in this respect, I do so on substantial grounds; for I believe that such a measure as he desires would be unwise from every point of view.

Rai Bahadur Lachmi Prasad Sinha: On hearing the reply of the Honourable the Home Member I beg permission, Sir, to withdraw my Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

RESOLUTION RE KING'S COMMISSIONS FOR INDIANS.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commission for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

In moving this Resolution, Sir, the first thing I want is that Honourable Members of this Honourable House may not misunderstand my motive in moving this Resolution. I am not actuated by any racial feeling; I do not wish to in any way minimise the great services rendered to the Indian Army by the British officers for a very long time past. British officers in India have played a great part in teaching discipline to the Indian army and in maintaining peace and order in the country. The great quality of a Britisher of knowing his duty is well known to all Members of this Honourable House, and the whole House, I hope, will agree with me and will support me in appreciating the services which British officers have been rendering to India. They have taught such good discipline that the fruits of it were found on the battlefields of France, Mesopotamia, Palestine, South Africa, China and other places. British officers have led the Indian troops in a remarkable way, and they have won great fame for the Indian army. So I do not want in any way, as I said in the beginning, to minimise the services of British officers. My motive in moving this Resolution is a totally different one. My first object is to try and get the stigma which attaches to Indian soldiers as a class removed. This is, I suppose, the only country where we have got regiments from a civilized country and from martial races officered by men of other nations. Indian officers have played a great part and they have shown great capacity in many a field and they have proved that they can be capable officers. If such officers who have distinguished themselves in the army are promoted only up to the rank of a Lieutenant or in rare cases, to that of a Honorary Captain, I think it is not doing justice to them; it will mean that their services are not properly appreciated. Indian soldiers and Indian regiments have won battles for the Empire and it was through Indian hands and Indian soldiers that success was achieved for the British Army in countries like Mesopotamia and Palestine. I think, Sir, that when Indians have proved themselves so worthy as soldiers of the Empire, they deserve better treatment and their services should be properly appreciated and recognised and in a more liberal manner. In India we have got a particular class from among whom

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men are recruited for the army. It had been for a long time considered that the Indians who come to join the Army are illiterate people and they could not go above a certain status. Now, I find from that very class of people and among them there are a good many people who are very well educated. The sons of soldiers, the sons of Viceroy's Commissioned officers are very well educated now. They are receiving their education in public schools, in universities and they can be very efficient officers, if they get a commission from the King. They have got a martial spirit. They have got a tendency. They have got behind them the spirit of centuries. A son of a soldier comes to join the Army and probably the same regiment to which his father belonged. And it is happening in most cases and there is no reason why, if a sufficient number of young men can be found from amongst these people, they should not be given King's Commissions and their status should be limited to getting a Viceroy's Commission only. I think that great liberality should be shown towards these people and they deserve it. Up to now, Sir, one difficulty that was the foremost difficulty was that among the martial classes educated people could not be found and that I have explained that difficulty is being removed every day. Even if that difficulty had not been removed, was not going away by itself, it was the duty of the State to provide proper education in recognition of the services of these soldier classes so that they may be properly educated and they may be trained after the manner of their forefathers. Indian regiments were recruited in the time of the East India Company in this way. The Indian regiments of the East India Company had Indian officers among them but a certain incident—unfortunate incident which happened in 1857 took away the confidence we had in the Indian officers of the Indian regiments, and a policy was pursued after that of keeping proper control over the soldiers. And that policy was pursued on account of this that, if the officers were Europeans, they would properly control and there would be a safeguard for the East India Company or afterwards for the Crown too. I dare say, Sir, that that may not be the solitary fact, that may not have been the only guiding factor in adopting that policy. It might have been that the East India Company wanted to train their soldiers after the manner of European discipline and they imported British officers from England to train the soldiers on those lines. But times have changed since then. Now, we find in India many young men who go and receive education in England. They have received education in European style, and this has been widespread in India for the last three decades at least and a sufficient number of young men are available who can be trained like British young men are trained at Sandhurst. In this way, Sir, I have been saying that for some time past His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has shown some liberalism in getting King's Commissions for Indians in a larger proportion than used to be the case formerly and India is thankful to him for that. But I should say, Sir, that the number in which the Indians are getting to-day is not sufficient and that is not satisfying my conscience. My object in moving this Resolution is that there ought to be two bodies of army organisation in India, one purely the British Army and the other purely Indian Army. The Indian Army should be officered by Indian officers only and the British regiment should be officered by British officers. and I will not in any way go beyond what circumstances will permit. I quite realise that India at present depends largely on British assistance and British control in this country. If the British "left to-day, there will be anarchy in India. But though we may not be able to defend our shores,

though we may not be able to defend our frontiers, I want that Indians should receive proper education and proper training to defend their country, and the best course of doing it would be by giving effect to the Resolution which I am proposing. My Resolution, Sir, has been misunderstood in some quarters. I found some discussion in the press which is due to a misunderstanding of my Resolution altogether. My object is not that if a vacancy falls in the regiment of the rank of a Colonel, a new Indian should be brought there and appointed a Colonel or a Major or even a Captain or even a Second-Lieutenant to-day. My object in moving this Resolution is that officers of the Indian regiment should be limited now. Particular offices should be reserved for the Indian Army, and I suppose that is so, unless they are changed from the British Army. But there should be no change from the British Army. The officers who are reserved for the Indian regiments must stick to the Indian regiments. Suppose there is a vacancy in the rank of Colonel. Of course, a Major, *ipso facto* either in this very regiment or from the other regiment, whoever is senior, will take his place and will be promoted to the rank of Colonel. People from below will take their precedence and will have promotion. Now, the only vacancy in this way will be that of a Second-Lieutenant or a Lieutenant, and this should be filled by an Indian. All the vacancies which will occur as Second-Lieutenant in the Indian Army should be filled by properly trained Indian officers. I propose in this Resolution that Indians should be given King's Commissions in such number that they may fill all those vacancies which may occur as Second-Lieutenants in future. Now, Sir, by this process, if I am not wrong, as far as my information goes, it takes 22 years to become a Colonel—it may be something more than 22 years, it may be 24 or 26 years, but whatever period it takes, after that time, these Indian regiments will be officered by Indian officers only. So, if effect is given to my Resolution to-day, it will take at least 22 years from now to Indianise the Indian regiments only. In this way there will be no harm, and when we have got the reformed Councils, when we have got the statutory period fixed at ten years for revision which, of course, the Government have acceded to curtail sometime ago according to the debates in the Assembly—then, Sir, if it had been for ten years we would have known how much progress India has made towards getting its own army. In ten years probably we would have had all the Captains in the Indian regiments Indians, and only Majors and Colonels would be by that time British officers, but by slow process they would be replaced by Indian officers. There is another safeguard. I know that it might be argued that the English character—British character—when I use the expression “English” I hope the House will understand me to include in it the Scotch and Irish as well (*A Voice*: “How Irish?”)—will have to be preserved. The British character will continue and all the officers will give these young men proper education, and these young men who will come there as Second-Lieutenants will be associating with the British officers and will receive the same training as the British officers in the same regiments and preserve the British character. The same discipline will continue and that will be purely after the English style. After that period, there will be a great saving in the Indian regiment. Now, in the Indian regiments we have got a double system of officers. We have got King's Commissioned officers and Viceroy's Commissioned officers, a double system of Commissioned officers. I do not see what is the use of having two systems, two kinds of officers. The Indian officers are simply kept to help the British officers, or their chief work is, I understand, simply to get recruits. In British regiments we have not got this double system. They have got the non-commissioned officers which we have got in the

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Indian regiments as well, but these Viceroy's Commissioned officers are simply there for show, or to give help to these King's Commissioned officers. If effect is given, after 22 years we shall have only one kind of officers, and probably before that comes, once we have got all the Captains and Lieutenants in the Indian regiments Indians, then there will be no necessity to keep a risaldar major or risaldar or other officer of lower rank. Those people who will come as such will bring recruits or there might be a certain percentage in every regiment appointed as a recruiting officer. Now, Sir, I think that will be a great saving in the Indian revenue and the Indian Army will be able to stand by itself. This will not affect in any way the position of British regiments in India. The point which has been argued and which might be argued on behalf of the Government that there is always a fear of breach of the peace might be removed too. Last year in the Budget speech His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said and that gave rise to a lot of criticism in this House that it would take years and years to get the Indian Army. Of course I am not going into controversial matter and I do not wish to revive the same discussion to-day. I do not wish to move this Resolution in that spirit but I wish to move this Resolution in the spirit in which I have spoken to-day. There used to be one bogey. Every time there was a question of Indianisation of the Indian Army the Afghan bogey was put forward and there is the question of Bolshevich Russia. The Afghan bogey is no more. We have got no fear from those quarters. There is a treaty settled with the Afghan King and Afghan Government is a peaceful ally of the Indian Government. Bolshevich Russia is far removed. I think even if those questions were present to-day, my Resolution would not affect them because this would not bring in any sweeping change. This would not bring a change in a day or two, in a year or two but it will bring a change certainly after more than 20 years. Then, Sir, riots may take place in India like those in Malabar. For the purpose of keeping down such things, there might be a strong British army, if that British army is really required in the strength in which it is kept. That is a question on which I do not wish to dwell because that question is covered by another Resolution of mine, which is not for discussion to-day. We find that the regiments which were employed in Malabar were mostly Gurkhas and other Indian regiments too. So I can say that Indian regiments can always be safely trusted to deal with situations like that and there is no reason not to trust the Indian officers who would be trained in the British style and according to the traditions of British regiments. This is, Sir, my chief motive in moving this Resolution, and I think, Sir, and I hope that it will meet favourably from the Government party, and I hope and I think this is not such a request which may be not granted. I hope His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will see his way, knowing the need of the country and the object for which I wish to move this Resolution and what is my idea, to accept it.

Mr. Deputy President: Resolution moved:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commission for Indians by direct recruitment and by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that all vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers only till all Indian Regiments are wholly Indianised."

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Sir, I welcome this opportunity to say a few words in reference to this Resolution. The Government are well aware that Members of the Legislatures, and indeed an

even wider circle of political opinion in India, are deeply interested in this very important problem. I can assure you that the Government have taken, and are taking, an equally keen interest in it, though circumstances have so far not made it possible to make a definite announcement with regard to the matter or to state the measures that are in contemplation in order to secure the object which the Honourable Member has in view. From statements already made in this House Honourable Members are aware that the Government is still not able to set on foot any specific scheme of Indianization, or even to say really now when this will be possible. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to make an announcement at no very distant date when the correspondence which is still proceeding between the Government of India and the Secretary of State has been concluded. The correspondence has been prolonged, and the consideration given to the matter has been very thorough, as indeed the importance of this matter deserves. The Resolution does not therefore deal with any new proposal but with one which has already been very fully explored. In these circumstances, it will be clear that it would not be open to the Government to accept the Resolution as it stands, since they cannot prejudge a matter which is still under discussion. On the other hand, the Resolution is not unwelcome, since it gives me an opportunity of placing before the House some at any rate of the considerations on which a decision must ultimately depend, and also of stating in their proper relation the measures which the Government have already undertaken to grant His Majesty's Commission to Indians. Now I presume it is thoroughly understood by every Member of this House that Indianization is a process which relates only to the Indian Army. I am not sure that there has not been in certain quarters some misunderstanding in this respect. Indianization is in no way connected with the British units which serve in India or with the question of reducing their numbers. The question of Indianization arises only in regard to a specific portion of the Army in India, namely, the Indian Army, and the object in view is, primarily, the replacement of British Officers of the Indian Army by Indian Officers holding King's Commissions.

Now, before I go any further I want to say that you cannot expect me as Commander-in-Chief in India to view with unmixed feelings the possibility of eliminating the British Officer from the Indian Army. Whatever may happen in the future, if India is in the end able to do without the British Officer in the numbers that have hitherto been employed, Honourable Members of this House and I hope also a much wider circle will recognise the inestimable value of the services which the British Officer has rendered to India in the past and of the conspicuous part that he has played in building up and consolidating the Indian Army, an army of which the people of India have every reason to be proud. The Indian Army has a traditional reputation for efficiency and reliability which is I think universally acknowledged. It will be unnecessary for me to dilate on their heroism, their self-sacrifice; for Honourable Members all know the great achievements of the Indian Army before the great war, during the great war and since the great war, both in India and overseas. And if any testimony as to the share which the British Officer has had in these achievements were required, it would be, I know, readily forthcoming from the most authoritative quarter possible, namely, from the Indian Officers and the Indian soldiers themselves. To me one of the happiest and most striking features of the British Raj in India is the respect, unquestioning obedience and, I would add, the genuine affection which

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for many years his Indian comrades have invariably given to the British Officer of the Indian Army. I should not do justice to anyone, least of all to the representatives of the people of India if I did not at the very least pay this tribute to the order which the Resolution of my Honourable friend apparently seeks to change. Now, it would be idle to ignore, on the other hand, the desire for change that comes very naturally with changing times, and I can readily understand that as the people of India claim increasing independence they should also claim increasing opportunities to fit themselves for self-defence. A desire that the Indian Army should be Indianized follows as a natural sequence, and Government, as I have already said, have for a considerable time recognized that a demand of this kind is inevitable and they have spent much time and pains in investigating the best means of assisting the people of India to realize their ambition without at the same time sacrificing even for a time the traditional efficiency of the Indian Army. It goes without saying that even in the transitional stage it will be essential to preserve the country's means of defence efficient and unimpaired. This is the first and the greatest difficulty of the problem before the Government. An efficient army is composed of intensely human factors, one of the chief of which is an inherent dislike for violent changes. A change of this nature which would rapidly eliminate a large number of British Officers would certainly be a violent one. Obviously a step of this kind would best be taken when the skies are clear and the process of transformation undisturbed by the presence of dangers either external or internal. And I need hardly remind the House that ever since the end of the great war India has never wholly been free from some form of external or internal menace. Neither of the difficulties which I have mentioned, however, have discouraged the Government from attacking the issue. And what I wish here to emphasise is that, while larger schemes have been maturing, definite measures have been taken to secure the grant of King's Commissions to individual Indians who are suitable and qualified. The first results of our efforts to secure suitable candidates for Sandhurst were not very encouraging. The number of Indian boys who came forward in itself was small and very few of them were found to have reached the standard of educational and physical fitness which are required to qualify a candidate for the first stage of a military career. It will probably interest the House to learn in some detail the steps which the Government have taken to overcome these difficulties. The story is one of steady and continuous progress. In the first instance, during the war and since, 371 Honorary King's Commissions have been granted mainly as war rewards to Indian Officers holding the Viceroy's Commission in the Indian Army. In addition to these, there are now some 66 Indian Officers holding the full King's Commission and serving in the Regular Indian Army, or doing the normal period of attachment with a British regiment, which is required of every officer, whether British or Indian, before he joins the Indian Army. Of these latter some were originally in the Imperial Cadet Corps and were commissioned from the Indian land forces. Others were commissioned from the Cadet College established during the war as a temporary measure at Indore; others were again promoted from Viceroy's Commissions and others have been commissioned after a regular course of training at Sandhurst. In addition to these, there are at present some 23 Indian Cadets under training in the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, who, if successful, will

shortly qualify for King's Commissions. But we have dug the foundations even deeper than this. In order to enable Indian boys who desire to enter the Army to acquire the qualifications for admission to Sandhurst we have, as this House is well aware, established the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. At the present moment there are 88 boys in residence in the College and by April 1928 I hope there will be 70 boys. The report on the first term's work of the Dehra Dun College was distributed to Members of the Legislature and I have only recently received a report on the working of the second term, the contents of which are most satisfactory. I should like to quote you a few passages from this Report. It says:

"The lines on which the cadets have been organised into sections and also into divisions for studies, have proved eminently satisfactory and will be continued. The Cadet Captain and Section Commander are with experience realising their responsibility, acquiring an aptitude for command and have carried out their duties in a manner which does them credit. The continuance of this system will, it is hoped, enhance their usefulness and lead to beneficial results in general."

And again it says:

"There has been an all-round improvement and many cadets, who had apparently played no games before they joined, show a wonderful change in their physique, manliness and agility. The Inspector of Physical Training inspected the Cadets in November and expressed himself fully satisfied with the results."

I myself recently inspected the College and found that the school has been admirably organised and is being well administered by an exceptionally efficient staff. Nothing more could have been done, beyond what has already been done to ensure its success, and—as the Honourable the Finance Member is not here I may perhaps refer to it—I am contemplating in the not very distant future an increase to this College by a considerable amount. I hope that, perhaps within twelve months it may be possible to double the numbers that are already there.

You are also aware that the Government contemplate the establishment of other military institutions which will provide an education, preliminary to the education to be obtained at the Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun. We are doing this because it has been realised that, if Indianization is to be given the fullest chance of success, it is essential that Indian boys, who desire an Army career, should have precisely the same opportunities and facilities in the matter of education, both physical and mental, as have always been enjoyed by English boys who are destined for a career in the Army.

Finally, in regard to this aspect of the case, I think the Legislature ought to know that, in order to remove the possible discouragement that might otherwise have existed, Government provide education at Dehra Dun at a cost to the parent below the cost to Government of maintenance of this institution.

The facts which I have just stated are sufficient to show without any further comment from me that, in anticipation of wider proposals for Indianization, Government have adopted a markedly progressive and thorough policy, for the purpose of securing qualified Indians as officers for the Indian Army, and the only further point to which I desire to draw particular attention is that, so far as human means can devise, the Indian cadet is being given every opportunity to make himself as efficient an officer as his British confrère.

I presume by the way that Honourable Members understand why we attach so much importance to the preliminary education of candidates for King's Commissions. In all modern countries good education, as

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the foundation of character, has always been regarded as essential for those who desire to take up the profession of arms in the capacity of officers. An officer is first and foremost a leader of men, and it is necessary for him at the outset to acquire the knowledge and the character which will not only enable him to face danger himself, but will give him the power to induce others to follow him when danger threatens, and to inspire them with trust and confidence in his ability to lead them to success. Initiative, resolution, coolness of judgment, and capacity to command, are the essential qualities of an officer, and the education of those who aspire to hold His Majesty's Commission, must from early boyhood be designed to develop these qualities to the fullest possible extent.

Again, the profession of arms has at all times had its scientific side, but this aspect has in recent years, and particularly since the great War, become very much accentuated. The education of an officer does not cease when he receives his first Commission, as some people are very liable to think. In reality it is then only beginning and it continues throughout his whole career. I am myself still learning every day from Honourable Members in this House, whose ideas are sometimes new and the expression of them forcible. In recruiting officers for the Army, we have to look for those who will not only be successful as combatants but will be successful also in the technical, administrative and Staff Department of an Army.. These considerations must, however, be familiar to all. I have laid some stress on the matter because it leads me to one of the specific objections which debar Government from accepting the Honourable Member's Resolution. To accelerate progress by the grant of King's Commissions on any considerable scale in the near future to officers who at present hold the Viceroy's Commission would not be a practicable scheme since the latter do not as a rule possess the educational qualifications or the capacity for educational betterment which are essential not only in the junior ranks of the army but also, and more particularly, in the senior ranks. The problem is not merely to get a sufficient number of Indian officers as such, but to obtain those with the character and educational qualifications which will enable them to rise to positions of trust and responsibility. To make an Army you require to have officers trained in combatant, technical and staff work capable of discharging the duties of the multifarious posts which are necessary for the successful administration of a modern Army. No one knows better than I do what a magnificent body of men are the Indian officers holding the Viceroy's Commission to-day and what superlative services they have rendered and are rendering to India and the Army. Many of them have received the King's Commission, largely as a reward for gallantry and distinguished service in the field and we shall continue to recognise such distinguished services by the grant of further King's Commissions to this class as time goes on. But you may take it from me as certain that it would be wholly impracticable to find the bulk, or even a large proportion of the officers required for the Indian Army from this source alone. There is also, as it appears to me, another obvious flaw in the proposal of the Mover of this Resolution. As I read his Resolution, he suggests that the recruitment of British officers should now wholly cease and that in future none but Indian officers should be recruited from the Indian Army. In the light of what I have said to you, in view of the paramount necessity of maintaining your capacity

for defence unimpaired throughout the transition stage, would it be wise or even practicable for Government to commit themselves to the wholesale Indianisation of the Indian Army before they had had an opportunity of proving either the success or failure of such a change by Indianising some portion of the Indian Army, and by testing a wholly Indianised unit not only in peace but also in war or in some form of frontier service. Perhaps the House will allow me to quote the observations on this point of a very distinguished Member of this House whose presence we miss here to-day but whose interest in this problem and whose knowledge of its intricacies is probably unequalled amongst Indians—I refer to my friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, who, writing in the *Nineteenth Century Review* not very long ago, said:

“No sane Indian politician advocates the filling up of the higher ranks of the Army with Indians without training or experience.”
and he adds:

“As a matter of fact, no one has asked that the commissioned ranks should be exclusively recruited from among Indians: we have been pressing only for the removal of the barriers against us and for the recruitment of Indians to the higher ranks on a liberal scale to start with progressive annual increments.”

I wish he was only here to-day to take part in this debate because he has studied the question to my knowledge with great care and very profoundly.

I think I have said enough to indicate a few of the difficulties with which this problem bristles. Some of the barriers have already been removed. The attitude which Government have so far adopted in regard to this matter, though it has been prudent, has also been reasonably liberal. I have mentioned that further changes are in contemplation. What form these will take I am not in a position at the present moment to reveal. But in reference to Mr. Yamin Khan's Resolution I would say to the House: “Don't try to go too fast. Don't try to run before you can walk. If you do, you will assuredly fall down.” In dealing with the Indianisation of the Army, India must proceed by degrees and by well-considered stages, if her advance towards the desired independence in other departments of the administration is to progress surely and safely without undue risk or danger to the community at large.

Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): In the first instance, Sir, I solicit your leave and the leave of the Assembly to move a few verbal amendments to the motion put before the House by Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan and if that leave is not allowed I shall speak to the Resolution itself. The amendments that I ask your leave, Sir, to move is to substitute the word “or” for the word “and” in the second line, to omit the word “all” in the third line, to omit the word “only” in the fourth line, and to omit the word “wholly” in the fifth line.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Read the whole after filling in the amendments.

Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary: I am going to. We have had many lectures from Dr. Gour, but that hint from him is hardly needed. The Resolution as I would amend it will stand like this:

“This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be pleased to get King's Commission for Indians by direct recruitment or by promotion from the rank of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in such number that vacancies in the Indian Regiments be in future filled by such Indian Officers till all Indian Regiments are Indianised.”

Have I your leave, Sir?

Mr. Deputy President: Yes.

Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary: Sir, the Commander-in-Chief is in a learning mood

Mr. R. W. Davies (Madras: Nominated Official): But the leave of the House has not been obtained. I object to the amendment.

Mr. Deputy President: I have allowed the Honourable Member to proceed with his speech. It is for the House to accept or to reject the amendment.

Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary: I have leave to move the amendments. That has been given. It is too late now to object to it. Well, Sir, the Commander-in-Chief is in a learning mood and he learns even in this Assembly. We are also in a learning mood now and ever. We have learnt much from what His Excellency has told us this afternoon. Much have we heard that heartens and encourages us for the future. We recognise the difficulties of the situation and the limitations of the position. While we do that, we are anxious to place before the Government and the public some substantive and substantial form in which we make our demand. We recognise the difficulties of the Government of India. It is not merely Whitehall, as Dr. Gour cried out in the course of the Commander-in-Chief's speech, that is interfering with us. Whitehall for this purpose is a mere post office between us and what the War Office stands for—the military organisation of England. Even when Whitehall is sympathetic, it will not be able to have its own way altogether. That, however, will not prevent our making our demand.

My first amendment has reference to what the Commander-in-Chief said regarding the present position, calibre, status, and education of the Viceroy's Commissioned officers, and it will not be possible, if we retain the word "and" to have recruitment according to the military authorities requirements from that body to any very considerable extent. My amendment, however, will not shut them out in suitable cases. The matter is left entirely to the military authorities to decide whether it can and shall be by recruitment or by promotion from the Commissioned ranks of the Viceroy's Officers. That gets rid to a certain extent of the objection that His Excellency has put forward with force that I recognise.

Sir, when Indian officers are going to take the place of British officers, even though it be in the Indian regiments, I do not for one moment want to countenance the position that they shall be inferior to the British officers in any way, by education, by training and character and various other things which are inseparable from a good soldier as well as a good citizen. He ought to be able to hold his own in the Army, as Mr. Rangachariar suggested this morning they ought to be able to hold their own in the Civil Service. Therefore, that is a *sine qua non* which nobody will want to do away with. We are entirely at one with Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer 5 P.M. reference to whose work we appreciate. Conceded that, the Army Authorities and the Government will find it difficult to resist our demand so far as that is concerned.

Then we recognise the difficulty of rushing things. Apart from considerations of expediency, where are the men to be had immediately to take all these places as vacancies occur? It would to a certain extent be a gain for the present if suitable men, like these

that gave such good account of themselves in the Bengal Ambulance Corps and the Calcutta University Corps—as they come along, are given promotions and this amended Resolution would secure this object. I do not think piling up of superlatives such as “all,” or “only,” or “wholly” will add to the force of the demand. Indianisation is Indianisation. It has a definite meaning. Whether Indian Regiments are to be wholly Indianised or largely Indianised or mainly Indianised will be determined by the exigencies or the circumstances for the time being. Our goal, our objective, our ideal, here as elsewhere, is that Indianisation shall proceed as far as possible and as fast as possible, without detriment to efficiency, without detriment to the high standard which we must maintain in our Army, as everywhere else. If all this is conceded, where comes the difficulty in accepting the substance of this Resolution? Government is busy corresponding, framing schemes; we have indications which show what the mind of the Commander-in-Chief and the Government here is. That is encouraging, but that does not go very far, for they are handicapped. We want definitely to say that this is the ideal that we aim at and we should like to know what there is to prevent that ideal being accepted and being given effect to cautiously, slowly, if you like, but steadily and without any detriment to the goal and objective in view. Sir, the Commander-in-Chief has himself said that this is a deeply important matter. We consider this to be vital. Everything else pales in importance where nation building is concerned. If the Reforms are to be a real success, we must have an abundant part in the national defences of the country and must be prepared for it apace, but certainly without detriment to efficiency again. That we are quite agreed about.

Sir, the Commander-in-Chief has said that it must be made quite clear that Indianisation applies only to Indian regiments. The motion before the House does not take us any further than that. But may we not some day hope that just as he wants the British officer to continue in the Indian regiments it may be possible for Indian officers to take their place alongside British officers in British regiments? What has happened in other walks of life, the civil service, commercial life, educational and medical including the Indian Medical Service, service in law, engineering, everywhere? The Indian who has been tried and found not wanting has had conceded his place above his British colleagues and the Britishers, be it said to their credit, have loyally served them. Are we not seeing this now in the Secretariat, in the Honourable Indian Members' Departments, in the High Courts, at the Bar, in commerce, in education, everywhere; wherever an Indian had his chance he has justified himself (*A Voice*: “and as soldiers”). And as soldiers. This was unthinkable only a few years ago and still it is so. A time may come,—who knows, why not soon—when India will have her own British regiments untrammelled by considerations of War Office Routine—of British regiments officered by British and Indian officers,—who knows that Indian officers will not be welcomed by British regiments themselves to take their place alongside British officers. Sir, that is not the objective of this amendment, but as the Commander-in-Chief has introduced the matter, I think we may be permitted to express the hope that a time may come, when by soldierly and citizenlike qualities an Indian soldier may be permitted to take his place alongside the British officer in British regiments as well. But that must be for another day.

Sir, the value of the Indian Army is recognised. Its gallant officers by war services have earned King's Commissions,—871 of them. Many more of them have given their lives and many more have fought gallantly.

[Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

Could not many more have been given Commissions? If the authorities had their scheme ready, if they are really sympathetic and fully prepared, they could and would have done what is or must be inevitable in the near future. Sir, I do not want to take up the time of the House too long. There must be many other Members who are anxious to speak but I think it is up to us in this Assembly clearly, definitely and strongly to say that we want something, definite, substantial and intelligible, on the lines of the amended Resolution. At one time I thought that one or other of the amendments might suit the circumstances of the case better, because one does recognise that one cannot decide in detail these things in an Assembly like this and in a hurry. But what we are proposing to-day, subject to the amendments that I move, is fairly definite but not aggressive or inadmissible so that the authorities may not have any option in the matter. They have to accept the principle and give effect to the spirit of the Resolution as soon and as well as they can. If this proposal is accepted they can do this in the near future and must.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): I move that the discussion be adjourned.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Halley (Home Member): It disturbs me to have to place before you a motion which is, for me, of an unusual nature. Usually such motions come from my friends on the opposite side. (*A Voice*: "Not always.") The fact however is that this evening we have a very important Executive Council meeting at 5-30 P.M. at which the presence of all Members of Council is necessary; it is therefore difficult for us to continue this discussion. I would, therefore, ask you, Sir, to adjourn.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 25th January, 1928.
