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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Friday, the 16th February 1923.

The Council assembled at Metcalfe House at Eleven of the Clock. The Honourable the President was in the Chair.

RESOLUTION *RE* INQUIRY INTO INDUSTRIAL FINANCE AND INDUSTRIAL BANKS.

The HONOURABLE MR. V. G. KALE (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan):
Sir, the Resolution which I have to move runs as follows:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he should be pleased to give effect, at as early a date as practicable, to the recommendation of the Indian Industrial Commission regarding an inquiry, at the hands of an expert committee, of the question of industrial finance and industrial banks."

Sir, I claim no originality for the suggestion which has been embodied in this Resolution. The proposed inquiry, if it is carried out, will fill an important gap in our knowledge regarding the subject of industrial finance and industrial banks in this country. I may, Sir, take it that it is the accepted policy of the Government of India to do everything that is practicable and in their power to encourage and support Indian industries consistently, of course, with the best interests of the country and the people at large. It was to find out in what way this policy could be given effect to in practice, it was to find out what should be the methods of helping industries, financially and otherwise, that the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916. That Commission went into the whole question of the present position and the difficulties of indigenous industries. It also considered the question of the prospects of Indian industries and made a number of very important recommendations in connection with the steps that can be and ought to be taken by Government to support and to encourage the development of industries in this country. One of the most important questions connected with industrial development in India is related to finance. Without a sufficient supply of capital it is not possible for any country to make rapid advance in the matter of the progress of its industries. The Industrial Commission inquired into the position of industrialists in Presidency towns and in the mufassal in this regard. From the evidence recorded by the Commission it came to the conclusion that so far as Presidency towns were concerned there was not much difficulty felt by industrialists in obtaining capital, but it was capital rather of commercial than of an industrial nature. However, in the mufassal and also in the Presidency towns there were serious difficulties experienced by industrialists in obtaining capital for starting and running their industries. The Commission could not come to any practical conclusion as to the particular methods by which this difficulty may be overcome. The Commission has, however, made various suggestions as to how Governments can go to the direct assistance of industrialists by means of scientific development, by means of research, by means of technical education and so forth—matters into which we need not go on the present occasion. In all these ways Government can, of course, directly assist indigenous industries;

[Mr. V. G. Kale.]

but in the matter of finance for these industries the Commission had to inquire into the methods which are pursued in other countries. They thus came to industrial banks. They found that in foreign countries, in particular in Germany and in Japan, special industrial banks have been started and they have been of the greatest assistance to the indigenous industries of those countries. It was also discovered that the Governments of those countries were supporting these banks directly or indirectly. I realise very well that banking in different countries of the world runs on different lines. You cannot adopt the same banking system in all countries whose conditions vary. Banking in England, for example, has assumed certain shape and proportions and has also had a certain stamp fixed upon it. Specialization is a peculiar feature of banking in England. English banking has been described as very conservative, but the conservatism of English banking has been very largely responsible for the steadiness, the stability and the success of the banks in that country. In other countries, however, the banks there could not rest content with ordinary commercial banking, and consequently they had to take up industrial banking as well. Many banks in Germany are industrial banks. They take up shares in industrial ventures and in other ways they are able to give help to new industries. The Industrial Commission has put it on record that similar banks exist in Japan and it is believed that the Japanese Government gives help to these industrial banks. You may therefore have purely industrial banks or purely commercial banks, or banking business may be done by a mixed method, where industrial banks carry on the ordinary commercial operations of banking as well. The Industrial Commission, however, had not sufficient evidence to enable it to record any specific recommendations as to the manner in which industrial banks might be started in this country and might be subsidised or assisted by the Government. They have indeed laid down certain conditions which must be satisfied by successful industrial banks; and undoubtedly it is only if those conditions are satisfied that industrial banks are likely to prove a success. At the same time, they made a specific recommendation to the Government that inasmuch as they were not in a position to make a recommendation themselves in that behalf, a small expert committee should be appointed in order that it may thresh out this question of industrial banking and industrial finance. A number of questions will have to be considered by that committee—whether the industrial banks shall be provincial or Imperial in character, and what should be the relations between provincial banking and Imperial banking. Some of these are very important matters and an expert committee alone can deal with those subjects. I am afraid it may be contended that since the Industrial Commission made its recommendation, conditions have changed and consequently it is not possible and also not desirable to carry out that particular recommendation of the Industrial Commission. I do not, however, see how this difficulty of the Reforms and also of economic and financial changes which have occurred in the meanwhile, can stand in the way of an inquiry such as was desired by the Industrial Commission itself. Consequently, in order that the Government and the public may know how the primary object that the Government has in view, *viz.*, of assisting industrial development in its financial aspect, may be given effect to, this inquiry is imperatively necessary. Let me make it quite clear that I do not want Government in any way to commit themselves to any financial policy or industrial policy. I do not want Government to take any particular measures forthwith for subsidising industries or assisting industries

in some other manner. I do not want to ask Government to encroach upon the liberties which have now been conferred upon provincial Governments. I am aware that some of the provincial Governments have taken up this question of advancing industries, and in Madras a piece of legislation has been recently enacted. In the United Provinces also, this question is being managed through a Committee or Board, and industries there are being financially assisted, so that provincial Governments and provincial Legislatures are assisting industries within their own jurisdiction. But that is not the question which I am raising. The question here is an all-India one. For example, the expert committee which the Industrial Commission recommended might come to the conclusion that there should be an Imperial Bank.

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK (Commerce Secretary): There is an Imperial Bank of India. It is in existence now.

The HONOURABLE MR. V. G. KALE: Of course, I mean an Imperial Industrial Bank. I thought Mr. Chadwick would understand, when I was speaking on an industrial question, that an Imperial bank referred to by me, was an Imperial bank started, assisted and conducted primarily with the object of assisting Indian industries. It might also be that that expert committee might ask the existing Imperial Bank to do something in the way of advancing indigenous industries. Then the relations between such an Imperial Bank and the work that the provincial Governments will be doing, will have to be determined. It is a matter, therefore, entirely one that the Government of India alone can perform, it cannot be delegated or relegated to the provinces and the Government of India cannot shirk its responsibilities. In this matter the work of the Industrial Commission will not have been carried to its logical conclusion if this gap is left, and therefore I do not believe that the Government of India will have any strong ground to stand upon if they do not accept my Resolution. I ask the House to realise the importance of industrial finance and industrial banking. We cannot dispose of that subject off-hand. If we do want that Government should directly or indirectly assist Indian industries, first of all we shall require facts to go upon. Who is to collect these facts and who is to draw conclusions from those facts? It is only an expert committee which can do it. Therefore, the appointment of this expert committee is essential for carrying out that very policy and those very principles to which Government is already committed. With these words, Sir, I commend this Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

The HONOURABLE RAJA SIR HARNAM SINGH (Nominated Indian Christian): Sir, the motion before us involves questions of great national importance, as it affects not only the well-being of the people, but indirectly the financial resources of the State.

The report of the Indian Industrial Commission was published some years ago; but I do not know what has been done since then to give effect to the recommendations.

So long as India produces only raw materials as she has been doing, I do not see any prospect of securing the economic safety of the country. This cannot be secured, as the Commission found, without the co-operation and stimulation of the Government.

One of the chief difficulties that have handicapped Indian Industries is the lack of financial facilities. The findings of the Commission are clear and convincing on this point. "The difficulties of obtaining loans and

[Raja Sir Harnam Singh.]

financial assistance which are felt," they said, "are experienced chiefly in the case of middle class industrialists." Indians suffer in a special degree from this deficiency as they find it difficult to get any assistance from European managed banks. The Tata Industrial Bank, which is at present the only one of its kind, cannot cope with the needs of the country.

Sir, I cannot exaggerate the importance of the question. It is only the development of the industries of the country that can save us from national bankruptcy.

It is needless for me to point out the great financial difficulties which the Government have to encounter year after year. The annual Budget shows a deficit which the most clever devices of taxation seem unable to meet. I believe that the chief way, if not the only way, to our financial solvency lies in increasing the wealth of the country by developing the local industries, big and small. An industrial advancement will not only raise the standard of life in this country, but produce more room for effective taxation and the increase of revenue.

The first step towards the end is an expert inquiry regarding the question of industrial finance and industrial banks. With these few words I would strongly support the motion.

The HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR IBRAHIM HAROON JAFFER (Bombay Presidency: Muhammadan): Sir, I have very great pleasure in supporting the Resolution just moved by my Honourable friend Professor Kale. If I may focus, in my own way, the points he sought to make out in the course of his interesting speech, I may say that he wants Government to complete the work of investigation which the Industrial Commission had to leave unfinished in one important particular. I am aware that several difficulties will be raised against the proposal of my Honourable friend. It will be said that conditions have changed since the Industrial Commission's recommendations were made, and it is no longer necessary or possible to give effect to the suggestions embodied in the Resolution before the House. It may be contended that Industrial banks to be started or assisted by Government are not a practical proposition, and that such things must be left entirely to private enterprise. Provincial autonomy may also be cited as an argument why the question of industrial banking and finance cannot be dealt with by the Central Government. I think, Sir, the Honourable Mover of the Resolution has already effectively anticipated these objections, and I am anxious to emphasise only one point and it is this. Whatever view one may hold as to the proper method of achieving the object, there is, I feel, general agreement that industries in India require the encouragement and support of the State in order to bring about the rapid economic development of the country, which every one has at heart. There can be no satisfactory industrial development without proper and adequate finance. And, how this finance is to be provided, cannot be decided without an expert inquiry, such as is proposed in the Resolution before the House. The Government and the public will be all the better for the light that will be thrown on the whole subject of industrial finance by the proposed inquiry, and I trust that the whole House will unanimously support the Resolution.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, generally when any Resolution comes up, it is asked that there should be a Committee to investigate into the matter. Perhaps

such a course may be necessary to achieve the object. But whenever a Committee is appointed it involves money, and I do not think that the Government of India have got much money in these days. All the same, I think this is a useful purpose and if funds are available there will be no harm in having such a Committee. Committees sometimes are very useful. Sometimes their work is shelved. But in this case I think it will be useful. For instance, take Germany and Japan. Whenever there is any industry, unless the whole money of the public and the Government supports it, the industry cannot be a success. I am very glad that such a Resolution has been brought forward. I do not oppose it, but give it my cordial support.

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK (Commerce Secretary): Sir, the Honourable Mover of this Resolution, Professor Kale, invites us to enter upon a very interesting line of economic inquiry. He says the Indian Industrial Commission was unable to examine this problem thoroughly and satisfactorily from the point of view of India. Certainly that Industrial Commission went into its subject as deeply, I suppose, as any Commission that ever sat. It examined nearly everybody that could help them in any way; it toured the country; it took two years over its work. I do not see what more advice could be got locally on this subject. They were, however, unable to visit Japan, Germany and Italy. If it is Professor Kale's intention that this new expert Committee should have a tour in every one of those countries, then I think every one of us would be a candidate to serve upon it. But, Sir, we in this House are not allowed to look at these points from our own individual likes and dislikes; we have to look at them from the condition of the country and the conditions in which we are living here. Now I gather from this chapter on Industrial Finance in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission that the two points that it brings forward, to which Professor Kale refers, are these. It says at the beginning that, "often the illiterate agriculturist views with considerable doubt the deposit side, of the bank's business." Professor Kale himself said that one of the difficulties in this country was in attracting money to banks for banking purposes, especially in the mofussil. Then the report goes on and envisages a particular kind of bank. It says: "What is then required is a bank which can keep in touch with small industrialists, is able to estimate the prospect of a fairly extensive range of industries, and possesses funds which it can afford to lock up for a time in securities not readily realisable."

Well, Sir, the two conditions mentioned there are, I think, to a great extent destructive of each other and that has been one of the difficulties of getting anything concrete out of this chapter on industrial finance. It is obvious that if we are to tempt the money that is lying in the villages and small towns into productive concerns, the first thing necessary is to inspire confidence; the first thing necessary is that those who possess those capital resources should be willing to deposit them in banks, with certainty of getting them back whenever desired. That means in effect they cannot be on long-term deposits. It then follows that the receiving bank must not invest heavily in securities not readily realisable. The first thing then—and I think everybody will agree with me—that the country needs is an extension of ordinary banking and an extension of our system of cheques. That will help to mobilize the private financial resources of our country either for industries or agricultural development or for commercial enterprises. It is impossible to think that by means of a bank which will not keep its assets as fluid as those of the present banks of this country,

[Mr. D. T. Chadwick.]

those savings could be tempted out. That is obviously impossible. Such a bank in extending in the mofussil, would have to compete with other money-lending associations, money-lenders and other banks. If that bank had a large capital, as is here suggested, and tied up its funds for indefinite periods, how could it give to its customers the same terms as other banks which keep their funds more fluid? Also, if a bank ties up its funds in this manner, it is running very much greater risks. I think we have been rather misled by the catch phrase "industrial bank". A business which is sound from a business point of view is sound, whatever be the name of the institution which undertakes it. It is no more sound because in the name of the institution which undertakes it the word 'industrial' occurs. Then we have also, to some extent, suffered from the glamour of what has been done in Germany, Italy and Japan. That is an interesting field for inquiry, but I would suggest to the House that, as far as Germany and Italy are concerned, which are the two chief examples, those are countries in which general banking and banking facilities have been developed from the very early times. Some of the earliest banks which were started were in Frankfort and Genoa. Those too are the countries in which co-operative credit societies have been so largely developed. In other words, those countries mobilised small credit of the small agriculturist, etc., by co-operative credit societies. They did not mobilise the resources of the small capitalist and the small agriculturist by means of industrial banks. An examination of industrial banks shows that they catered for a different kind of business. They did not act as fairly god-mothers to a wide and miscellaneous assortment of small industrial concerns. Most of them have specialised in the early stages of certain lines of industry. If you try to work out the ramifications of some of the German ones, you will find that some of those so-called industrial banks and held up to us as patterns, developed especially the electrical industry. They in fact hit upon an industry which had a future before it and this industry developed under their aegis as a trust: in other words, they were a fine financial syndicate. But that they relied on the deposits of the little agriculturist and other small resources and were prepared to finance small local works, glass works, etc., such was not the case. Similarly in Italy, one set of banks there took up and developed the hydro-electric systems. Italy is a country without coal and the hydro-electric system was just coming to the fore and under the aegis of those banks the hydro-electricity of railways, hydro-electric power schemes, etc., were introduced. Also one can see from Italy the danger which banks of this nature run. I am speaking from memory—I have not had the opportunity to look up to see if I am right. My facts are right; I am only doubtful about the name of the bank. Eighteen months or two years ago there was a severe financial crisis in Italy owing to the failure of a large Italian bank.

The HONOURABLE MR. E. M. COOK (Finance Secretary): The Banca Disconto?

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: I would rather not give the name; I may be maligning a sound bank, but it was one of the big banks of Italy. They, like other banks, had gone forward to develop a particular branch of industry. While others had been attracted by hydro-electricity, they had been largely interested in iron and steel. During the latter portion of the war there was an enormous development in iron and steel industry and they had advanced large sums of money to the

Ansolda Works. After the war there came a big slump in iron and steel and just like any other industrial syndicate, that bank went down. Whilst some of those banks heavily committed in industry have absolutely found themselves unable to continue, others which conduct pure banking business have been able to weather the serious depression. It is not going to encourage, it is not going to help us to mobilize the small savings of industrialists by tempting them to invest in a body which is definitely going to develop industries on terms and conditions at which no business man would look. That, Sir, is as far as we have seen at present, and I submit that whilst the practice of these countries forms a very fertile and interesting field of inquiry for our economists in this country it is for them to pursue their inquiries as individuals and shew that these banks can solve the proposition I have put before.

We have been asked, Sir, "what has the Government of India done?" The Government of India began to examine this chapter. On came the Reforms Schemes, and industries and the development of industries became a provincial transferred subject. As such, the Government of India are prevented under the Devolution Rules from devoting funds to that object; it is disallowed; there is no question, if a Committee be appointed, of their recommending that Government of India should subsidise such a financial institution. In fact we should not be able to do so, as the Government of India. Nearly every province examined this question of industrial banking in their own province. I will read what Bombay said; it has an advisory industrial Committee of which I believe my Honourable friend Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas was or is a Member

The HONOURABLE MR. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): I was a member.

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: I only wanted the value of his great support. This matter has been discussed by the Bombay Advisory Committee. They were of opinion, firstly, that the organization of industrial banks should be left to private enterprise, and, secondly, that in view of the depressed condition of industries, there is no possibility of arriving at a practical solution in the matter of industrial banks.

The HONOURABLE MR. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS: Will the Honourable Member tell me at what meetings they said so?

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: In 1921: and they recommended a scheme by which the Local Government should advance loans to particular small industries. The United Provinces Government have held their own expert inquiry, a different, an independent inquiry, and have come to the same conclusion, that the aid is not to be sought by ordinary banking or by a bank instituted with the support of Government, but by direct assistance. They have also come to the conclusion that the best way to mobilize the credits and funds in the mofussil which now lie idle, is by the banking with which we are now familiar. This is in fact a Provincial subject. Madras has already told us what they are doing, and in the face of this, Sir, I submit that my Honourable friend was perfectly right when he said that we ought to be careful upon what Committees we spend our funds. They have cost much in recent years. As this is a Provincial subject and Local Governments have not asked the Government of India to undertake any such inquiry; further as, so far as we can see, the industrial banks which are held up as models do not solve the problem that confronts us in India, I submit that we should not at this

[Mr. D. T. Chadwick.]

moment spend our funds in appointing a Committee of Inquiry. I do not want the House to think that the Government is unsympathetic. If our economists like Professor Kale from a study of conditions in Germany, and Italy, and Japan can bring forward important facts to show that these banks can help small industrial concerns, the proposition will not be looked at askance but we shall be very glad to be informed of it and to re-examine the question.

The HONOURABLE NAWAB MAJOR MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-official): The Resolution as it stands is a very moderate one. It simply asks for the appointment of an expert Committee to investigate into the desirability or otherwise of the establishment of an industrial bank in India. So far as the bank will constitute the depository of small savings of scattered communities, it will bring within the reach of the industrial world the capital that was lying idle in the coffers of several respective owners. The question arises as to which of the industries are most entitled to be assisted with capital through the industrial bank. So far as the manufacturing industries are concerned, they are already utilizing the enormous capital of innumerable private banks, but the agricultural industry has so far been neglected by the capitalist community. This industry forms the solid backbone of Indian society because it provides the most primary needs of human nature. It is not justifiable therefore that an industry which is essential for human existence should be so neglected without even an attempt to give adequate support. Therefore, if an industrial bank be established, agriculture should have the foremost claim upon its support. The industrial bank should help the co-operative credit societies by advancing to them sufficient capital at a low rate of interest and thus contribute materially towards the rapid development of agriculture on scientific lines. Moreover, some of the industrial magnates have already accumulated large capital and it is desirable that they should invest at least a part of it for the benefit of the agricultural industry. I am willing to support the Resolution provided ample assurances are given that the claims of agriculture will not be superseded by any of the industries that are of secondary importance as compared to agriculture.

The HONOURABLE MR. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS: Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. Banking is a subject of such wide importance to the development of India in the commercial, agricultural and industrial lines that I do not think this House can disagree with the very modest demand put forward by the Honourable Mover of the Resolution. I think it can very aptly be said without the slightest fear of being challenged that India has not too many facilities even in the field of commercial banking or of agricultural banking. Whilst no doubt we have a number of very important and rich Banks in India, I think it can be said without fear of contradiction that so far as commercial India and the Indian commercial community by itself is concerned, there is a good deal that still requires to be done. If any proof of this was required, I would only cite the undertaking that was taken from the Imperial Bank when it was started that it would start a certain number of Branches within a certain period all over the districts of India. While very much requires to be done in commercial banking, the question raised by my Honourable friend opposite regarding the necessity of banking facilities for agricultural India cannot also be overlooked. No doubt co-operative banking has done considerable work during

the last few years since it was started, but he will be a bold man who will say that it has covered anything like the field that is before it, open for further work, for more concentrated work, and, if I may say so, for work that will reach the humblest and perhaps, the most needy tiller of the soil. While these two questions therefore still call for all the consideration and all the sympathy that the Government can extend to them, the question of industrial banking may for the time being in the eyes of some pale into a bit of unimportance; but I do not think it is one which can be rejected by this House summarily. The aspirations of India in the direction of the industrial development of India are fairly well-known. In fact, the Industrial Commission, although it was started when the war was on, and the British Empire needed all the assistance that India could give it for the purpose of carrying on the war by being industrially developed, there is no doubt about it that there is such a good deal that requires to be carried out even of the recommendations of that Commission. But latterly, Sir, the appointment of the Fiscal Commission has perhaps increased the interest of the Indian public in this question, and if I may say so, the interest of England in this aspiration of India. In order that India may develop industrially on the right lines, Indians mainly, and many non-Indians also, feel that a very substantial measure of fiscal protection is necessary for India. The question is at present awaiting solution by the Government, based on the Report of the Fiscal Commission. Side by side with this, the Honourable Professor Kale has brought up this very interesting question, the question of financial help to industries.

I may very frankly say that the opposition to this Resolution by Government as put forward by the Honourable Mr. Chadwick has not at all surprised me. The traditions of England for the last century or half-century, whatever you like, are against any protection to industries. Whatever may have been the means employed by England at the early stages when she was at that stage of development in which India is to-day, whatever may have been the conditions then, I am quite prepared to understand the difficulty of this generation of Englishmen as far as industrial protection or State aid for industries is concerned.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: Sir, I made no statement at all upon protection or my views on it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS: I said both protection as well as financial aid by the State for industries. I know that the Honourable Member did not say a word about protection or fiscal policy. I am sorry if I said only one, but I think I also mentioned financial help for industries by the State. We are told that catch phrases and the examples of Japan and Germany should not mislead us. Whilst I fully understand the sincerity of the views of my English friends, both officials and non-officials, may I point out to them that it is equally necessary for them to bear in mind the example of some countries at any rate which may have achieved considerable progress in the realm of industrial development by methods perhaps fundamentally different from those which England has adopted, and which may have enabled her to build up her industries. I submit that the examples of Japan and Germany are not to be despised or rejected summarily. All that the Honourable Professor Kale wants is that an inquiry should be held. If *prima facie* there was no ground for an inquiry of this nature, why, the Industrial Commission itself would not have made any such recommendation. And that takes me on a little into the details of the difference between industrial banking and commercial banking. Industrial banking, such as Professor Kale may have in his

[Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

mind, appears to me to be different from commercial banking in this sense. In commercial banking the loans are for comparatively short periods, three months, six months, at the most a year. Industrial banking—I am now referring to industrial banking of the right sort only, capable of helping industries substantially—is possible only when industries can be given loans for a long period of years, two, three, five, and at times perhaps ten years. Then the loans have to be at a certain rate of interest so that the industries receiving the loans may be able to count on meeting fixed charges on their enterprises during that preliminary period. Now, any such banking and any such financial assistance can only be managed, in the present condition of India at any rate, by one party and one party alone, and that is the State. The Honourable Mr. Chadwick referred to a certain bank with which I had the honour to be connected till about six months back. That bank was started with the idea of helping Indian industries. It did do a fairly good bit in that direction during the first few years of its existence. Whilst I do not wish in the least to give away any of the secrets of that bank as far as its difficulties or its achievements in that direction are concerned, I think I am entitled to say that many on the Bank did come to the conclusion that any substantial measure of financial assistance for industries whilst they are being developed can be given only by the State; for, it is only the State that can find ways and means and resources up to a certain amount of money for a period of five or ten years. In the way that India is at present situated financially and commercially, nothing very substantial may be possible for the next few years. I am quite prepared to hear from my friend the Honourable Mr. Cook that the Government treasury at the moment is not in too affluent circumstances to undertake anything like that. But I am sure he will not be so bold as to say that conditions, as far as Government finances are concerned, may not change within the next five or seven years. And after all the Honourable Mover of the Resolution has not given any time limit within which this inquiry should be carried out and within which the report on the inquiry should be put into operation. That only shows the modesty of the Resolution and how non-committal it is as far as Government are concerned.

I feel, Sir, that examples of some countries where industrial banking has been introduced by the State, as quoted by the Honourable Mr. Chadwick, need not discourage us in undertaking an inquiry like this. It is rather the fashion lately to point to certain countries where certain policies failed or suffered bitter experiences, to point to certain countries where protection has led to the impoverishment of the masses; but after all, as far as the development of countries is concerned, in this world does not one country take a lesson from another, improve the method and then find out if that modification would not perhaps suit it? And after all, if the suggested Committee of experts say that industrial banking will not suit India, why, I think Professor Kale will himself be the first to say, "all right, let us not touch it." I do not think that these examples of the bitter experiences of countries here and there ought to discourage this House from recommending Government to undertake this inquiry, for I am sure the Industrial Commission themselves must have had information about these examples and the example of all other countries in the world which tried this and which may have in some cases found it unsuitable. The Honourable Mr. Chadwick referred to an opinion given by the Industries Committee of Bombay. I have been connected with the Industries Committee of Bombay Presidency ever

since it started, before the Industrial Commission was appointed, and when it was called the Indigenous Industries Committee. The particular meeting, the minutes of which I think the Honourable Member mentioned here, I was not in India for and therefore was not present at. But I can fully understand and explain to this House the recommendations of the Bombay Committee—I am now only putting my own construction on those recommendations: I do not want anybody to run away with the idea that I am telling the House what exactly was at the back of the minds of the Members of the Committee. The Committee in Bombay may have felt that in view of the fact which has been emphasised by the Honourable Mr. Chadwick before this House that industries is a provincial subject, perhaps asking for an industrial bank would be a cry in the wilderness. But the underlying principle is there. Even in the recommendation of the Bombay Committee they have said that contributions should be made by the provincial Government for the development of industries, and that is the underlying basis of the Resolution and the recommendation of Professor Kale. Even the Industrial Committee of Bombay said that in suitable cases the Government of Bombay should make certain contributions or give certain substantial help to the industries concerned, so that, after all, with all the compliments that the Honourable Mr. Chadwick paid to Bombay, even Bombay does not appear to favour the view of the Government of India. Even they feel that in these matters help by the State is necessary. The Honourable Mr. Chadwick referred to the difficulties which the State encounter in these matters. I fully realise the difficulties and I think it is a difficult task. But I think it is just because it is a difficult task that Government should help the public at large to explore the whole question and bring out all the prominent points about it and then put them before the public. And, it may be that Members like the Honourable Mr. Kale and my Honourable friends here who have spoken in favour of agricultural banking may say that before we take up industrial banking, we had best push on with agricultural and commercial banking. But I submit that the case for inquiry stands on strong grounds and I should be very very much disappointed if Government turn it down. And one of the reasons given for turning it down by my Honourable friend over there has been that these Committees and Commissions cost money. I should very much like the Honourable Member to have told the House what it is that the Government undertake that does not cost money. Why make so much about a lakh or even few lakhs that may be spent at the instance of popular demand in order to meet the popular wishes and spent for the purpose of examining certain problems which stare the country in the face in order that the country may be developed? While I stand for economy and any economy that you can make, I think this is rather being overdone, and I hope that any such plea against this Resolution will not appeal itself to this House. I was disappointed to see the Honourable Mr. Chadwick endorsing that, but I do think in matters like this that is the last point that should be brought up. Not that I am in favour of a multiplication of Committees and Commissions. In fact, I feel that there comes a certain stage when even the non-official world and the non-official element in the Councils get a bit tired of committees and commissions. But I do not, therefore, think that anybody is justified, least of all the Government, in saying to the House "Oh, it costs money," for I can point out a hundred other ways in which Government may, if they are so disposed, be able to make up for not only that loss of money which may be spent on such committees and commissions of inquiry but also perhaps benefit by the results.

[Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

And that brings me to the last important point that I would like to bring forward and submit to the House. When Committees and Commissions are appointed, do Government really follow up the recommendations of these Committees and Commissions? Do they fully go into these thoroughly and see whether they have done full justice to all the recommendations which any Committee or Commission may have taken so much pains to put before the public in all its aspects? Only if the Government of India will ask each department which had a Committee or Commission sitting to go into the subject with which it may be concerned, to put before Government a synopsis of the various recommendations—and I am now referring to the important recommendations of any such Committee or Commission and trying to find out how far the Government have followed up these—Government will find that the money spent on such Committees and Commissions has not been fully utilised by themselves. The fault is often not with the public which demands the appointment of the Committee or Commission or the Council which recommends it, but is perhaps with Government, for they do not examine and follow up all recommendations and say which of these recommendations could or could not be accepted. The Resolution that the Honourable Professor Kale has put before the House appears to be a very modest one. It may cost a little money, but I think it will pay in the end either by showing constructive method of industrial advance or by absolute satisfaction of the House and the public that that line of action is not feasible or desirable. Anyway, Sir, I submit that the House would not be justified in rejecting the Resolution.

The HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, after what my Honourable friend Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas has said in support of this Resolution, he has not left much for me to say. Why I support this Resolution depends upon the following grounds. At the present time the money market is very tight and even very sound and very first class commercial firms find difficulty to borrow money from banks to the full extent. The banks themselves, I am sorry to say, have for some time past been in such a position themselves that they have not been able to finance the industries liberally. Even the few banks that do finance the industries have not been able to give them full and material assistance. Agriculture and industry go hand in hand and one is interdependent on the other. If my information is correct, we know that a big company like Tatas and an Indian State like Patiala had to go to England to borrow money for their industries as they could not get money cheap enough here. My Honourable friend Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana said that appointment of these Commissions means money. I would only say a word in reply and that is that this expenditure of money is bound to bring in a return later on, and so it is not a waste of money, but an investment. During the war many small industries sprang up, but I am sorry to say that many of them have stopped owing to want of Government patronage and owing to want of financial facilities. At present Banks which do finance industries cannot finance them sufficiently, because they do not want, as the Honourable Mr. D. T. Chadwick said, to tie up big sums of money on long terms. Whether the industry is sound or unsound does not arise, because even very sound and very paying industrial companies find it very difficult to be financed. The Honourable Mr. Chadwick said that Industries is a provincial subject and so the Government of India is not justified in finding the money to meet the expenses of the Committee which is proposed by the Honourable

Mover. Only yesterday we were dealing among others with the Boiler Act, which, as far as I understood, was also a provincial subject. But when that provincial subject takes the importance and nature of an all-India subject, I think the Government of India is quite justified in meeting the expenses of committees, such as the one proposed by the Honourable Mr. Kale. When the Government of India appointed the Fiscal Commission, the idea underlying the appointment of such a Commission was that all the reasonable recommendations that the Commission made were to be considered. This Resolution only draws the attention of the Government of India to give its consideration and attention to this request. With these few words I give my hearty support to the Resolution.

The HONOURABLE MR. V. G. KALE: Sir, I do not think that I need take up the time of the House for any length because the Honourable Mr. Chadwick has been already answered by my Honourable friend Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas in a very able and convincing speech. All that the Honourable Mr. Chadwick said amounted to this, that there are a number of difficulties in the way; but that did not meet my position. He was not able to show why an inquiry should not be undertaken by Government. He tried to make out that I had belittled the importance of the work that the Industrial Commission had done. I never said that the Industrial Commission had not gone thoroughly into the whole question. What I meant to point out was that the Industrial Commission itself was not satisfied with the work it was able to do in one particular or satisfied with the evidence that was recorded before it in that connection; and it was for that reason that they left that particular aspect of the question to be threshed out by a special committee. To show that I was not drawing upon my imagination when I made my remark, I will quote to the House the very words of the Industrial Commission. The Commission said:

"We consider that the establishment of industrial banks, working on approved lines, is of sufficient national importance to justify Government assistance; but we do not feel that we have sufficient material before us to enable us to formulate a definite scheme for industrial banks, whether of Provincial or Imperial scope. We ask, therefore, for the appointment, at the earliest possible date, of an expert committee to consider what additional banking facilities are necessary for the initial and for the current finance of industries; what form of Government assistance or control will be required to secure their extension on sound lines as widely as possible throughout the country; and whether they should be of Provincial or Imperial scope, or whether both these forms may not be combined in a group of institutions working together."

Now, these words in the report of the Industrial Commission will leave no doubt in the minds of Honourable Members that the fact that the Provinces are alive to their duties and responsibilities as also to their newly acquired freedom, with respect to the development of industries and are actually taking certain steps to develop their own industries, does not stand in the way of the carrying out of the recommendation contained in this Resolution. On the contrary, there are several matters which the Government of India alone can investigate and these cannot be left to the Provincial Governments. My Honourable friend quoted certain observations of the Bombay Industries Committee. The Industrial Commission itself has referred to one of the recommendations of what they call the Bombay Advisory Committee, who positively stated: "We favour the establishment of an industrial bank"

The HONOURABLE MR. E. M. COOK: I rise to a point of order. I cannot hear the Honourable Member speaking.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. Members must not converse in an audible manner when the House is being addressed.

The HONOURABLE MR. V. G. KALE: I was quoting from the Industrial Commission's report certain suggestions made by the Bombay Advisory Committee showing how the Committee favoured "the establishment of a Central industrial bank or similar organisation with a large capital and numerous branches, designed to afford financial support to industries for longer periods and on less restricted security than is within the power or practice of existing banks." Now the facts that have been cited by the Honourable Mr. Chadwick do not in any way minimise the importance of this recommendation. He will pardon me if I say that no *obiter dicta* either from him or from me will be able to do the work which an expert committee was calculated to perform. He has given us examples of the failure of banks in Italy and in Germany. Now, the Industrial Commission itself had these examples before it, and the expert committee will certainly go into those examples. It is not for me or for any Honourable Member here to say that this is impossible and that that is impracticable. It is because I do not want anybody to say this that I want the expert committee. He was kind enough to ask private individuals to make inquiries into this question. We know what is the fate in store for inquiries made by private bodies or private individuals and what confidence is reposed by Government itself in such inquiries. Certainly private individuals would be quite willing to undertake such work provided Government facilitates those inquiries; but it is not right on the part of Government to leave the matter entirely to private enterprise. As a matter of fact, however, the Industries Commission has laid it down in clear terms that the Government should have such an inquiry made at the hands of experts. I do not think that any more remarks on my part are necessary, and I will appeal to the House to support me in this Resolution.

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: Sir, I think from my Honourable friends who have been opposing me I have received a great deal of support to my main contention. What I put before the Honourable Professor Kale was the conflict in the Report of the Industrial Commission between spreading the system of banking amongst small agriculturists and other small capitalists and the essentials of so-called industrial banking. These last were well explained by my Honourable friend Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas. I went on to say that this question of industrial banks was definitely placed before each Province, and what I quoted here was in reply to the definite conclusion of the local Committee on whether or not an "industrial" Bank was needed in Bombay. What I said to Professor Kale—I did not say that Government rejected this Resolution at all—what I said to him was merely this. I pointed out that difficulty, and said if he and other economists would give us more data to reconcile what seemed to be a contradiction, then undoubtedly the question would be examined again. Also my Honourable friend Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas clearly supported me. From his own personal experience with his own bank which tried this work, he, I understand, came to the conclusion that at present the only way to help many of these small industrial concerns was by a direct advance of funds from Government. That is not a bank. It has no connection with banking. It is solely a matter for a Local Government,—a loan by the Local Government. A reason too why we do not agree to appoint an expert Committee at this stage on this question, and why we ask for more information about it from those who are interested

in it, is that there is not the slightest doubt that, if Government appoints a Committee to examine any such questions like this, it raises immediately hopes—and possibly false hopes—throughout all the country. It raises the charge afterwards that nothing is done. And we have not before us, so far, enough evidence to convince us in any way that the solution of this problem, though we will examine it very carefully, can be devised on these lines. I would refer to the case of Italy. I did not merely point to a bank that was unfortunate. I admitted and said that many of those banks have succeeded, but all went out for big industries. What this Resolution is talking about is small industries: and if my Honourable friend can only help us in his researches to reconcile the two, I have not the slightest doubt that Government will be very ready to meet him, but we do not want to raise false hopes by an inquiry of this kind that Government will be able to put forward funds freely to start such banks or to give loans to industries; or to lead people to think that now they are going to get money cheap on terms no business man would consider. That is what I fear.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he should be pleased to give effect, at as early a date as practicable, to the recommendation of the Indian Industrial Commission regarding an inquiry, at the hands of an expert committee, of the question of industrial finance and industrial banks.”

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE THE ADOPTION OF A SYSTEM OF COMPULSORY NATIONAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, I ask the permission of the House to allow me to amend my Resolution in terms of the notice placed on the table . . .

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT (to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief): Any objection?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: No objection.

THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE SETHNA: My amendment is to add the words “ in any form suited to the condition of the country ” after the word “ service ” in the second line. My amended Resolution would read as follows:

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the system of compulsory national military training and service in any form suited to the condition of the country be introduced”

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Would it not be better to add those words after the word “ introduced ”?

THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE SETHNA: All right, Sir, it will then read:

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the system of compulsory national military training and service be introduced in any form suited to the condition of the country and that a Committee with a non-official majority be appointed to report as to the manner in which this object may be attained.”

[Mr. Phiroze Sethna.]

Sir, I own to a feeling of pride and satisfaction at being able to bring forward this Resolution, for I consider it to be of a vast and far-reaching importance. I feel it a privilege to be able to submit for the consideration of this House and of Government a question with which I believe is bound up the re-making of this land into a great and mighty nation fully capable of defending her frontiers against foreign aggression, however formidable, justifying her claim to complete self-government, and exercising her influence not only in the common councils of the great British Commonwealth but also on the steady and peaceful development of the whole world.

The military problem of India with its many aspects and phases is a problem which at the present moment is engaging as serious attention of the Indian public as is the problem of self-government itself. It has always aroused considerable interest, nay even considerable passion. If Honourable Members will turn to the debates in both Houses, they will find that Indian Members have always taken a keen interest in the question of the military policy of this country. The Report of the Army in India Committee was published in 1920. The reformed Councils came into existence early in 1921. In its very first Session a Resolution was brought forward in the Legislative Assembly that a Committee consisting of Members of that House be appointed for the purpose of considering the recommendations made by that Committee, popularly known as the Esher Committee. Be it said to the credit of Government that that Resolution was accepted without the least hesitation; a Committee was appointed to consider the recommendations and to formulate its proposals. These proposals then came up in a series of Resolutions before the Assembly in the same Session and were duly passed. They laid down very sound principles in regard to the Indian military policy and methods of military administration. Without hesitation and without exaggeration, I make bold to say that in these Resolutions, responsible Indian public opinion for the first time under British rule, voiced itself in clear and emphatic terms in regard to the proper military police and the methods of administration that should be followed by Government. Of these Resolutions I particularly request the attention of the House to two,—one, in which it was stated that in view of the need for the preparation of India to undertake the burden of self-defence and in the interests of economy, it was essential that a serious effort should be made to organize and encourage the formation of an adequate Territorial Force on attractive conditions and to introduce into the Indian Army a system of short colour service followed by a few years in the reserve. The other urged the appointment of a Committee for the purpose of examining and reporting upon *inter alia* the best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country for the attainment of full responsible Government which has been declared to be the goal of British policy. The first Resolution has already been given effect to. In regard to the other, I had sent in a question this Session, Question No. 136, to which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied only two days ago saying that the Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence have reported to His Majesty's Government, but that the Government of India however have not yet received a copy of the Sub-Committee's Report. I would like to assure His Excellency that this House and the country await with interest the publication of that Report as the country is anxious to know what recommendations the Committee have made in order to satisfy

the natural rights and aspirations of the people of this country to take upon themselves the burden of national self-defence. Sir, this will show that with the rising tide of the movement of self-Government, there is a genuine desire, a desire which is getting stronger and more insistent every day that the public must take part in the defence of the motherland.

In the very interesting and perhaps animated debate which took place in the September 1921 Session of the Assembly at Simla on the motion of Rai Bahadur Mazumdar on Indian autonomy, the then Home Member, the Honourable Sir William Vincent, made the following very suggestive and pregnant remarks. He said :

“ The other great test of a claim to Dominion self-Government in my opinion is the military strength of the country; that is, its power to defend its frontiers from invasion by a foreign country, to maintain internal tranquillity, and to resist various disintegrating forces within its own borders. And here I will ask Honourable Members a question. Is any Honourable Member here prepared to say that by 1926 or 1927 or by 1930 this country will have an Indian army officered by Indians which will be capable of defending the frontiers from external aggression and capable of preventing internal disorder? ”

He went on by saying :

“ If I had been a non-official Member of this Assembly

mark these words—

“ the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon Government would have been the development of an Indian army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country.”

Sir, I for one do not entirely agree with the late Home Member in the view he expressed that this country cannot have an Indian army within a very short time. I hold that where there is a will there is a way. If Government are determined that India *shall* have a national army officered by her own sons, fully equipped in every branch, thoroughly trained in the most up-to-date methods; and if Government go the right way about to do it, there is no reason why this country will not have a truly national army within a reasonably short time.

But the point which I desire to make from the speech of Sir William Vincent is that he was perfectly right when he insisted upon the Indian public to constantly agitate and to strenuously work for the evolution and the development of a truly national army, in order that the country may become self-reliant and self-sufficient militarily no less than politically and economically. India must depend upon herself to defend herself against foreign aggression as also maintain internal peace and tranquillity. Not only therefore is a national army necessary, but the people of this land of all classes and communities irrespective of race, caste, creed or colour must be made compulsorily to serve in the army and serve for a stated period. I venture to submit that the time has arrived for Government to take up this question in right earnest and to make a beginning and an adequate beginning.

I will now lay before the House some of the reasons why I contend that compulsory military training is absolutely necessary in the interests of India. My main reasons are three. In the first place, we have been told that until we are able to defend ourselves we will not get the right of complete responsible self-Government. This, Sir, is the most essential reason. In the second place, if compulsory military training is enforced, it will help to revive and foster a martial spirit in the land which did exist to a greater extent in the days gone by than it does today. And lastly, if the military strength of this country is enhanced and

[Mr. Phirose Sethna.]

improved, it will enable the Empire to draw upon the vast manpower of this country in the hour of need, in the hour of Imperial peril. Let me enlarge my arguments a little further.

We understand quite well that if we want to have full responsible self-Government we must at the same time undertake the responsibility of national self-defence, for the position would be anomalous and it would be radically unsound to expect to get self-Government and at the same time to expect the British to go on continuing to defend our frontiers as well as do the work of maintaining internal peace and tranquillity. As regards the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the country itself, the position is perhaps simple. Self-Government connotes the ability to prevent civil disorder as far as possible, and if in spite thereof there is disorder, to be able to put down such disorder. I say advisedly, as far as possible, because no country in the world can completely prevent civil disorder. In fact if that is to be the test of self-Government, perhaps no country on the face of the earth would be entitled to justify its claim to be called a self-governing nation. It would be a truism to say that a country is self-governing, or a free country if it cannot by means of its national forces suppress civil disorder which may disturb the even serenity and current of its life. But it assumes a somewhat different character when the question is one of repelling foreign invasion. It would then be too much to maintain that the responsibility of self-defence is the exclusive concern of that particular country which is threatened by foreign invasion. Membership of a great Empire such as the British Commonwealth would have no meaning, no value, if any one component part were threatened by foreign invasion and that component part did not receive help from the others, and for those others to sit quiet with their hands folded. Fortunately, the British Commonwealth has recognized the principle of coming to the aid of that part which may be threatened with invasion. India may therefore claim such help in the hour of need. But notwithstanding that, I say it is but right that not only India but every component part of the Empire must endeavour to be sufficiently self-reliant to take care of itself even against foreign invasion. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the people of India should be trained and prepared to undertake the work of self-defence and that as soon as possible.

In this matter, however, I find that we are moving somewhat in a vicious circle. When we ask that Swaraj be conceded—not Swaraj in its spiritual sense or that indefinable mystic or occult form of Government with which our friends the non-co-operators seem to be so much obsessed and the pursuit of which like the pursuit of a mirage has caused much misdirection of public spirit and energy and done such incalculable harm but when we ask that dominion status—government of the people, by the people and for the people—be conceded, we are told that we are not ripe enough for it because we cannot hold our own against foreign aggression. On the other hand when we demand the creation of a national army officered by our own sons we are told we cannot get this for a long time to come. It follows therefore that we are to continue in our present form of tutelage and as a dependency for an indefinite time. Heaven only knows when Government will consider that we are ripe enough to hold our own against foreign aggression, ripe enough to be given responsible self-Government and ripe enough to become equal partners in the

great British Commonwealth. If it is held that in order to obtain self-Government, it is necessary to have the power of national self-defence, then it is the bounden duty of Government to help us to evolve and develop that power to the fullest extent to enable us to take up the task of national self-defence as early as possible, and consequently to obtain responsible self-Government. A thoughtless policy of drift or the outworn policy of slow progress may have been good in days gone by. It may be very convenient, it may suit vested interests, but such a policy will complicate the Indian problem and embitter—perhaps embitter for good—the relations between India and England. I therefore hope that Government will adopt a bold and courageous policy, a policy based on complete trust in the people, a policy which will pay for itself by the results that will follow, and I appeal therefore to the House and the Government to recognise that the system of compulsory military training and service in some form or other will alone bring about this result.

My second reason is that compulsory military training will help to revive and foster a martial spirit in the land which existed to a greater extent in days gone by. We know there is now a division between the different races of this country of martial and non-martial races and enlistment in the regular Army is made almost exclusively from what we call the martial races. Now, we do not for one moment grudge this appellation which is given to certain races and which appellation they have earned by the prowess they have displayed on scores of battle-fields and by countless deeds of bravery and heroism. But, Sir, martial spirit is not the exclusive privilege, it is not the monopoly of the one race or the other, of this or that community, nor is it something that as it were falls from the heavens above and grows where it listeth. It is the natural product of national traditions, national habits, national opportunities and national training. Time was before the advent of the British when there was no such distinction as martial and non-martial races, when every grown up man—and aye some grown up women too—could wield the sword and fire a shot. Even the metaphysically-minded Brahmin, ordinarily intent on meditation or the riddle of existence or absorbed in the performance of his religious ceremonies, could prove the warrior in him when occasion arose, as witness the history of the Peshwas and the Brahmins of the Deccan. Sir, it is the policy of the British that first disarmed the Indian public and then subjected them to a slow but effective process of emasculation that is responsible for the artificial creation among them of the division of martial and non-martial races.

My third ground is, that if the military strength of this country is enhanced and improved, it will help the Empire in its hour of trial. Does anybody believe that the great war is the last word in the conflict of nations, that there will be no other great war in the future, that the security of the Empire is assured by the solidarity of the Allies and the League of Nations, that the avowed object of the great war, namely, to end war, has been fulfilled, that a new era of perpetual peace has dawned upon the human race or that the dream of the poet and the philosopher has come true that there is now going to be a universal reign of law and order? If there is anyone who thinks so, he lives in a fool's paradise. There is already such corroding suspicion, such profound distrust, such exasperating jealousy, such bitter sense of disappointed hopes and frustrated ambitions, of wrong cruelly inflicted and of advantage unjustly taken amongst the nations of the world, great and small, that unless the Gods themselves intervene and prevent it, we must be prepared to face another

[Mr. Phiroze Sethna.]

disastrous worldwide explosion. In fact even at the present moment, the situation is full of great anxiety and it is impossible to foresee what is in the womb of time. I hold, therefore, that those who consider that the great British Commonwealth is a great instrument of human progress and desire its integrity to be maintained at any cost, can best do so by enhancing, as I said, the military strength and improving the military strength of this great country; for, if they do so, they will enable India to defend itself; they will enable India to come to the help of the Empire when it needed it and above all it will indirectly help India very greatly to attain responsible self-Government at an earlier date than will otherwise be the case.

At this stage I think I ought to anticipate and perhaps endeavour to reply to a possible objection. It may be said that the Government are doing everything possible under the voluntary system to train the people to undertake the burden of national defence, and that they are keeping up the military strength at the highest pitch of efficiency in order to meet all eventualities. It may also be said that besides improving the Army on the lines laid down in the recommendations of the Esher Committee, Government have passed legislation constituting what is called the Indian Territorial Force. Now, Sir, I do not for a moment wish to run down the Indian Territorial Force. I acknowledge its value and importance as a factor in the military strength of this country. But it is my firm conviction that at the best it is but a half measure and nothing short of compulsory military training will adequately satisfy the military requirements of India and meet the situation which may be brought about as a result of the working of international forces over which, in spite of all our care, caution and foresight, we cannot possibly have any control.

I know but too well that even in England itself there is considerable diversity of opinion on the question of compulsory and voluntary methods of military training. No less a soldier than the late Lord Roberts was entirely in favour of compulsory training, whereas men like Lord Haldane and Sir Ian Hamilton, the then second Military Member of the Army Council, were entirely in favour of the voluntary system before the war. For several years before the war what is called the National Service League tried to impress upon Englishmen the very great advantage of compulsory military training. It was as a result of the strenuous propaganda carried on by this League that a Bill was introduced in the House of Lords in 1909 to compel, with some exceptions, every Britisher resident in the United Kingdom to serve in the territorial force compulsorily between the ages of 18 and 30. This Bill unfortunately did not pass, but the principle of the National Service League was fully vindicated and the inadequacy of the voluntary system painfully realised during the war and Parliament had perforce to resort to the principle of compulsion.

In the British Empire it will appear that it is only in England and in this country that compulsory military training does not exist. In other parts of the Empire they do recognise the value of compulsory military training and have accepted the principle. For example in the Commonwealth of Australia all male inhabitants who have resided there for six months and are British subjects are liable for training from age 12 to age 14 in the junior cadets, and from age 18 to 25 in the Citizen Force. Further, all male inhabitants between 15 and 60 years, after six months' residence, if British subjects, are also liable to service in the

case of war. In the same way in the Union of South Africa every citizen is liable between his 17th and 60th year to render, in time of war, personal service in defence of the Union, and he is also liable to undergo a course of peace training for military service and may be required to commence that training in his 21st year and to complete it not later than his 25th year. Similar regulations obtain also in Canada and in New Zealand. That being so, I ask why should not India follow the example of the rest of the British Empire and indeed preferably so, because, more than the other parts of the Empire, India is open to aggression from the North, and it should be in a position to defend itself against such aggression.

I see, Sir, that I have already exceeded my time, but before I resume my seat, I would like to emphasize one point and that is that I do not desire this House or the Government to commit themselves to any particular form of compulsory military training and service. In fact I thought that my Resolution, as originally drafted, was clear on the point, but notwithstanding in order to make it clearer still, I have to-day with the permission of the House added the words "in any form that may suit the condition of the country." I did so because I do not for one moment contemplate that the entire male population of fighting age in this country should immediately be given military training. I leave it to the Committee to consider and make recommendations. I do not for one moment say it should be universal military training. It may be conscription, it may be that every Province might be called upon to give its quota of men. All this I leave to the Committee. All I ask the House and the Government in my Resolution is to accept the principle which the Resolution embodies, namely, that, for the advantage of this country compulsory military training and service in some form or other is essentially necessary.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: I will not follow the Honourable Member into all the various points that he has raised, though in many respects I must confess that I have considerable sympathy with the aspirations he has put forward. He has taken a wide view of this question; he has pointed out how necessary it is that one day India shall be able to take care of herself, to defend her frontiers, and to maintain internal peace. He has gone further and he has described and examined some of the methods that are taken by other members of this great Commonwealth to fulfil the necessities of defence. I say I have considerable sympathy with the ideas that he has expressed, but I must ask him, apart from saying what is desirable, and what in the future may be deemed to be essential to India, to come down out of the clouds and for one moment consider the practical problem which he embodies in his Resolution because it is a very practical problem. He suggested towards the end of his speech, and I think he asked the question, as to why this compulsory service as it exists in some of the other members of the Dominions and as during the war it was established also in the British Isles, why it should not be applied to India to-day. The answer is perfectly simple, perfectly simple. What is the population of the British Isles? Some 45 millions. The population of the various dominions varies between 5 and 10 millions, but the population of India is 320 millions, and it was really to my mind almost grotesque to consider the application of compulsory military training and service to 320 millions of the human race. With these opening remarks I think I ought to take the House a little nearer to the problem itself and to consider really what it actually means, and I hope I shall be able to convince the House that the adoption in India of a system of compulsory

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military training and service is a measure both impractical and unnecessary. Before, however, I deal with the various aspects of the question in detail, there is a larger, and if I may say so, a higher consideration which I think I ought to place before this Council in the first instance. The consideration is one that arises out of the fact that India is a Member of the League of Nations. I would ask the House to reflect seriously whether it would be consistent with India's membership of that League and with the responsibilities and obligations which attach to such membership to adopt the proposal which my Honourable friend recommends. Members of this House

1 P.M. are all no doubt aware that in many quarters and for many years before the war conscription was held to be a menace to the peace of the world; and it is a strong conviction of many thinking people that conscription was one of the causes which led to the Great War. Now with the experience of that war behind us, it is held by many that the true path towards peace lies in the reduction of the size of the national armed forces of the world, and not in an increase of their capacity either for defence or for aggression. I do not wish to suggest that if we had universal compulsory military training in this country, there would be a practical danger of India following the example of Germany in the same or even in a different sphere, but it must be remembered that if the principle of compulsory military service and compulsory military training were to be applied to a country of the size of India, and if the policy were to meet with the success at which it would necessarily aim, India's potentialities would be enormous. I want the House to look at this larger aspect of the question which I put forward, and to say whether at this stage of the world's history, when the world is endeavouring to recover from the results of a devastating war, when the desire of all should be towards the maintenance of the general peace, whether, in these circumstances, it would be consistent with her international ideals for India to be contemplating a proposal of this nature, or even to appoint a Committee to discover whether a policy of this nature was feasible or not. I turn now to the more practical aspects of the question. From purely natural causes, a compulsory system cannot be absolutely universal. The system must in any circumstances and in all countries presuppose the creation of an elaborate machinery for the purpose of registering those liable to the obligation, of classifying them according to the degree of obligation which can be imposed upon them, of ensuring that each shall be called up and shall perform the quota of service or training assigned to it, of dealing with exemptions and other almost innumerable details which are indispensable in any system which envisages compulsion.* I will give the House some examples of what I am referring to, taken from the regulations which have been adopted by one of the countries in the world which have adopted this system, and I may say one of the smallest countries in the world. The country is subdivided into districts, recruiting is carried out under the supervision of a senior military officer, who is assisted as regards the examination of recruits by a Medical Board composed of three medical officers and by literary and gymnastic examiners. Each recruit undergoes three examinations,—a literary examination to test his educational standard, a gymnastic examination to test his physical strength and his agility, and a medical examination to ascertain if he possesses the necessary physical and mental qualities to serve in the Army. The recruits are then classified in various ways according to their age, their physical capacity and suitability for service

in the different arms. Claims to exemption are received and decided upon by the local tribunals, exemption being given temporarily or permanently as the case may be. Then there is a further distribution of the recruits among the various branches of the Army as different periods of training are prescribed varying in those different branches,—branches such as the infantry, the cavalry, the artillery, the fortress troops, the engineers, the medical and the supply Department and the transport services. Similarly an elaborate machinery is maintained for the purpose of training and instruction and also for the inspection, but I need not weary the House with further details. Imagine a system of this kind applied to a country like India, with a population of 320 millions composed of heterogeneous elements, with the added difficulty of distance and of the relatively deficient communications. It will be evident to the House that the purely mechanical difficulties of applying a compulsory military system to India places really the proposal of my Honourable friend beyond the range of practical politics; and even if the country were prepared to face the mechanical difficulties involved, the cost of the registration staff, the cost of the instructional and the training staff, the cost of the equipment which will be required for training purposes would render the proposal, I might almost say, grotesque. Supposing that we had proposed or that my Honourable friend had laid this matter before the Retrenchment Committee—for instance, I wonder what view they would have taken. However, it is quite unnecessary for me to go into further details in this respect. After all, in India it is unnecessary to adopt any system of compulsion for the purposes of the defence of the country. We can rely with confidence on the voluntary efforts of those who have a natural predilection for the profession of arms. Our experience in the last war, when the Indian Army had to be very largely expanded, was both encouraging and satisfactory; and if a further argument were needed, it is to be found in the ready response which has been recently made to the recruitment for the Territorial Force. My Honourable friend knows something of this himself, and I have recent evidence to show that in other parts of the country also besides Bombay the force may well develop into an effective second line of the Army. The Territorial Force furnishes an adequate opportunity for those anxious to enter the army: and a Territorial Force possesses an advantage which conscripted forces do not always possess, namely, that the Government of the day can control and regulate it. I presume the House will recognize that this is in itself a very important factor. But above all things, as the regular and the territorial forces are based on voluntary service. Provided that the voluntary principle is capable of producing the numbers we require, and provided also that it is on the whole the cheaper expedient, which it is, it is clearly the principle to which a country which has liberty as its ideal should rigorously adhere. The objections to compulsory service in India are so numerous and so strong that even if my Honourable friend's proposal was merely to the effect that a Committee should be instituted to examine the question, even then I say that the expenditure involved by the appointment of such a Committee would be wholly unjustified. Its inquiry could only be academic. The Committee itself would cost a sum of money which our revenue could at this moment ill-afford. It would not be a Committee sitting at headquarters and disposing of the question expeditiously; but it would have to tour all over India to examine conditions in the various provinces. It would have to study the idiosyncracies and the peculiarities of every class, caste and creed, and it would involve, as I have said, an expenditure which certainly at the present time we should not be justified in incurring. Any form of compulsory military training as

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applied to India would have to absorb Census Department. It would require a large and elaborate medical section; it would involve an immense machinery for registration, exemption and distribution, and would thus constitute a huge organization entailing large expenditure for which the State would receive no adequate return. For these reasons therefore I must oppose the Resolution.

The Honourable Mover has referred to the controversy that went on on this subject before the war in England under the guidance of Lord Roberts and Sir Ian Hamilton. But the problem then confronting us (for I was taking part in the movement myself) in the United Kingdom was absolutely different to the problem which is confronting us in India to-day; and it is for that reason that the views that I now hold in reference to India are not the same as those which I then held in reference to the United Kingdom.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN (West Punjab : Muhammadan): Sir, I would like to ask first if this Resolution is to be withdrawn. If so, I should not take the time of the House.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: If the Honourable Member wishes to speak he can do so. But he cannot ask a question.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Sir, I oppose this motion. Many people, inquisitive and otherwise, who know nothing of the army have been attacking its organization in one form or another. I am sorry that I was not present when Sir Dinshaw Wacha moved his Resolution the other day, and for that I ask the Chair for forgiveness.

The efficiency of the army has already been reduced by 50 per cent. by the reduction of the cavalry to one-half, and thus deprived of employment those who had been true to their salt and who for generation after generation had been the anchor of the army ship. In the infantry too one of our best classes of soldiers has been approached by agitators, but I am glad to say that as yet they are not very much affected. India is a country which can never form one nation. It is as big as Europe with Russia left out, and when the Germans, French and the English become one nation then perhaps we also will become one nation. But in Europe at least there is to a great extent one religion, while the conditions of the people are much more alike than they are in India. In India we have many religions and many castes, some martial and some not. When in some castes a person is taught not to kill an ant or other insect, how is he going to kill his enemy. In the army once we did try a non-martial class, and we all know the result. They proved a failure. An Arabic proverb goes that any man who makes an experiment which has already been made gets no new result. Public money is a trust for those who have to spend it in the best interests of the country and to spend it in a wrong manner will not be doing duty to the country. It is a well-known fact that the martial classes of India kept the Germans at bay in Flanders on a portion of the front at which the Germans were attempting a turning movement. After our troops were relieved, the troops of another European power came in their place, and the Germans got through them and we nearly lost the war. That splendid body of cavalry which under General Allenby made the first victorious move in the war has already been reduced. Public money is required for useful work and not for Utopian ideals. I hope the House will not allow it to be spent on runaways.

Then Sir, why do we want such a big army? Are we going to attack any other country? We are not going to do so. I think the army we have already got is quite sufficient for our purposes.

In India there are two classes of people, one who want trouble and one who want to keep the country quiet. If we take in everybody into the army, we will have to take also those men into the service who want to create trouble and they will do so in the country. I was on the Esher Committee, and I opposed this short service scheme very strongly. The fact is we are not a fighting nation; we have certain classes who have fighting traditions, and we fight as men. It has been proved that a youth has not the strength to fight as soldiers are required to do. For the training of such raw material, as His Excellency has already said, we have a territorial force. It has many different units in it; one is a University Corps, and we have found, Sir, that some of these young men in such a Corps are not able to do a route march of more than six or seven miles, and after all physical fitness is one of the essentials for a good soldier. There is no room for immature young men specially in the Indian army.

There is only one thing about which I should like to say a few words. We are very proud of having Indian officers attached to units, but I hope that instead of having only one Indian officer in a cavalry or infantry unit, where he is often ragged by the English officers, it may be possible to have one particular unit in which they can be kept together. But, at the same time, the difficulty is to educate a good officer, it requires money; and, unfortunately, the best fighting people have not got money. But if you go and get the sons of those who are very wealthy and make them officers, they will be

The HONOURABLE MR. LALUBHAI SAMALDAS (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to a point of order. Is it relevant to the discussion?

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member is really straying away from the main point, but I trust he will come back to it.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Sir, it has been said that we want Indian officers. I think, Sir, that I am speaking on what is relevant to the Resolution. If we want this ideal, I must say something about Indian officers. If we train these Indian officers (drawn from non-martial classes) and if we train them and make them in charge of the best soldiers, and if they get frightened and run away, the others also will run away. As regards the ideal of an Indian army, we have already seen that many times India has been invaded. Since the English have come in, we have been so organised that we have been able to withstand the attacks from outside. But, what is the cause? One of the causes is the British Army. The British Army is the nucleus, as I have seen myself, and that is the backbone of the army. Especially if we have trouble in the country, if we have got the English Army from England, if anything goes wrong, they will defend the country and keep it quiet. So, I do not think we can dispense with that element and we should not. I am not against the idea of the Honourable Mover, but there are certain things that I want to put before the House. No doubt, if this ideal is kept up to the extent that only martial classes are organised, I think it will be an asset, and will be useful for England also in case of future trouble. Everybody could not become a soldier. The reason why certain

[Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan.]

people, Suders and Waish, and others are classified as non-military classes is that they have been so from time immemorial. Then, Sir, in the past, nations from the North-West have come and invaded India; the reason is that when certain invading classes remain here for 25 or 50 years, they become degenerated. That is one of the reasons why I want fresh English blood from England to defend India always. It is just like this, Sir. All people know about horses. If you put a cart horse . . .

The HONOURABLE MR. LALUBHAI SAMALDAS: I rise to a point of order, Sir. Is this relevant to the Resolution before the House?

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think the Honourable Member is perfectly in order in referring to horses.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: The reason why I want to classify the best fighters and others separately is this. If a cart horse is put on the race, it would not do, and similarly if a race horse is put on to a cart, it cannot pull a cart. People in India are like that, especially in the North. If a boy is weak he is unable to stand the cold and dies; the theory of the survival of the fittest is correct. There are some places where there are people with limbs like our fingers. How on earth can they fight? With these few remarks, Sir, I very strongly oppose this Resolution.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think it will be convenient for the Council to adjourn now for lunch and meet again at a quarter to three.

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

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

THE MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY (AMENDMENT) BILL LAID ON THE TABLE.

The SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL: Sir, in accordance with Rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules I lay on the table a copy of a Bill further to amend the Married Women's Property Act, 1874, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 15th February, 1923.

RESOLUTION RE THE ADOPTION OF A SYSTEM OF COMPULSORY NATIONAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

The HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT RAO BAHADUR CHAUDHRI LAL CHAND (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the object underlying the Resolution is a very laudable one and it could not have been put better before this House by any other Member. The Honourable Member has put before us our ideals. He has drawn attention to our sense of self-respect and to our unfitness for self-Government if we do not organise a system of compulsory training to defend our frontiers. He has drawn attention to the remarks of the late Home Member and I congratulate him on his

eloquent and persuasive speech. He has put a new life into our deliberations, and it is with regret that I rise to oppose him.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief drew attention to the practical aspect of the question, and, in view of the difficulties pointed out by him, it is difficult to agree with the Honourable Mover. I propose to make only a few observations. The Resolution seeks to break the monopoly of the so-called martial classes and also to introduce compulsion in military service. The Honourable Mr. SETHNA said that there was a time in India when there was no distinction between martial and non-martial classes. Here I disagree with him. The time may have been before the Vedic era, before the times of Manu, or in pre-historic days; but, so far as we have been able to gather, the four classes among Hindus, namely, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, have existed from the Vedic times. If Vaishyas had been a martial race at some period of Indian history, there would have been a remnant of this element in some of our Indian States. We have got Jāt Maharajas, we have got Rajput Maharajas, but is there one Mahajan Maharaja in India? No, and why? Because the Mahajans or Vaishyas, and all other commercial communities, were never the martial races of India. The Honourable Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan has alluded to the religious sentiments. The non-martial races believe in *Ahimsa Paramo Dharma*, that is, not to destroy any life is the best Dharma. It is not the fine physique that makes a man fit for the Army but some other inherent qualities are needed. Here I am tempted to quote a story that appeared in the *Rajput Gazette* in September or October last. It was stated therein that one of the late Maharajas of Kashmir—I think it was Maharaja Sir Rangbir Singh—took it into his head or was advised to recruit a battalion of Kashmiris. Kashmiris have got a very fine physique and he thought they could very well fill the Army. He got together enough Kashmiris to form a battalion. Arrangements were made for their training and after a year they looked very fine and consequently a Durbar was held by the Maharaja. The General of that Army was called and the Maharaja addressed him saying, "You have now to take your battalion to the Gilgit frontier, to defend the frontier, and to relieve the Sikhs and Dogras who are there." The General saluted him in right military fashion and said, "Sir, I am prepared to obey your orders, but I want one thing. Let me have two Sikh sepoy to defend the armoury". Everybody laughed. The Maharaja was enraged and said "What do you mean?" The General said, "I do not lose anything if the whole army is looted; it is in your interests, Sir, that I am asking for the services of two sepoy to keep a guard on the barracks. Two sepoy will not cost you more than Rs. 60 per mensem and you should not grudge them." The Maharaja took the hint. He at once disbanded the battalion and there was an end of that fine show.

I am all for increasing the Indian element in the Military Department. Our Ranjit Singhs and Sivajis should not certainly stop at the post of Risaldar-Major or Subadar-Major. We should have a much larger element of Indian officers in the Indian Army, but that should be drawn from the martial classes.

Comparisons are odious, Sir, but we have to resort to them when measures like this are being discussed. The memories of the great war are fresh in our minds and it would be instructive to take stock of our doings during the war. The martial classes came forward with the best of their manhood; they shed their best blood for the defence of the Empire; they

[Lieut. Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Lal Chand.]

fought equally well both in the frozen fields of Flanders and in the burning sandy deserts of Mesopotamia. What did the non-martial classes do? I will not attempt a reply. I would only point to the poor response to the call for University double companies and for the Indian Defence Force. At first Government wanted to recruit men for the University Corps from among the non-martial classes, but, when they realised that no one was coming forward, they appealed to the martial classes and Honourable Members will be surprised to learn that the majority of the men who went into the Punjab University Corps came from the martial classes. The Territorial Force battalion tells the same tale; and, as the Delhi Territorial Force is at present undergoing a training in the New Cantonments, Honourable Members have only to go down to the New Cantonments to find out how many of the recruits belong to the martial classes and how many to the non-martial classes. Even among the martial classes it is not every district that can lay claim to military traditions. The lists of deserters during the war show that the new element could not be depended upon. The districts which did not furnish recruits to the Army before the war showed the largest percentage of deserters. But why multiply examples to show that it is the inherent qualities of martial races in India that fit them for service in the Army and that a change in the present policy on this point to-day will be committing national suicide. The fact is that all persons are neither fit for nor willing to join this service. People are neither willing nor fit for this service. The ideals set forth by the Honourable Mover are very high, but we should not ignore facts, as has already been pointed out by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

If this army is needed to do away with the present costly army without endangering the defence of our frontiers, then my reply is that this is impossible at the present moment. If it is a pastime for peacemakers, then we are too poor for such amusements. With these few words, Sir, I beg to differ from the Honourable Mover and would suggest to him to withdraw the Resolution.

The HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, to begin with, I must apologise that being unaware of the fact that such a Resolution was coming up for discussion, I did not bring my military books, and in the absence of these I tried to get the necessary references from the Military Department, but as their library is at Simla, I could not avail myself of it. The few observations that I am going to make are based upon my personal experience and the knowledge that I have gained during my military career.

The Resolution as it stands is objectionable on several grounds. First, it is objectionable on the ethical grounds in so far as the adoption of this Resolution means the violation of the ethical principle of establishing a world-wide peace. As India has recently joined the League of Nations, the training of her entire population will be considered a standing menace to the peace of the world.

The second objection is the economic objection. It, however, is the most serious one against the contemplated adoption of a compulsory national training and service. It is impossible to provide funds to impart adequate training to all the adult male population of such a vast country

as India. The next practical difficulty arising in this case is that a sufficient number of efficient instructors will not be available to train such innumerable heterogeneous mass. The impossibility of providing adequate equipment to all the men undergoing compulsory training is self-evident and needs no further elucidation. Those persons who have any practical experience of military work know fully well how difficult it is to train efficiently even a small number of recruits. Moreover, modern warfare being a highly technical and scientific subject, it takes a much longer time and trouble to bring up the recruits to an adequate standard of efficiency. Therefore, the difficulty that I am pointing out is not imaginary or based upon any theoretical consideration of the subject. I assert from personal experience that it is an insuperable difficulty and it will become almost formidable when the entire male population of the country will have to be trained.

There are three systems of military organization prevalent in the world :

(1) The universal compulsory military training as advocated by some of the eminent military authorities of Germany, such as Von Clausewitz and others of his school up to Von der Goltz. This system was firmly established in Germany after the Balkan War and it could only be practicable for a small country like Germany which had attained the highest pitch of discipline and the best military organization in the world before the war. But to introduce this system in such a huge country as India which is almost a Continent is absolutely impossible.

(2) The second system is conscription. Under this system any number of troops can be raised and the organized strength can always be maintained by fresh drafts of recruits through conscription every year, but pre-requisite is to definitely settle the specific number of troops necessary for the adequate defence of a country. The French Army furnished the most complete example of the working of this system before the Great War. Conscription has certain advantages over the universal service system—

(a) Under the former system, only those persons who are physically fit are selected for training, whereas under the latter even the unfit are included amongst those who receive training.

(b) Under conscription, only the requisite quota of recruits is taken up to make up the deficiency whilst under the universal service system the entire male population of military age is subjected to military discipline when the deficiency is only for a small number. But conditions in India do not seem to warrant the application of this system even.

(3) The third system is known as the voluntary, which may either be long service or short service. England adopted the short service system before the war. Another modified form of the short service system is known as the Militia, which is generally known in India by the name of Territorial Force. This form of organization is being tried in India as an experiment. I have some knowledge of this form of service as I am serving at present as the President of the Advisory Committee of the Territorial Force of the North-West Frontier Province. But this system of partial and periodical training is still in an experimental stage and its success or failure would therefore become evident in due course.

All these systems were resorted to in Europe to obviate the ever-recurring difficulty of the shortage of the Standing Army under the voluntary system, but here in India no difficulty has ever been experienced in getting

[Major Nawab Mohamed Akbar Khan.]

a sufficient number of recruits under the voluntary system which did not fail us, even during the Great War. I therefore fail to see the motive of the Resolution. If any shortage in the number of recruits voluntarily offering themselves for enlistment is feared, about which I do not know, I would suggest the introduction of conscription amongst the martial races of India, through which we can easily raise an Army of one million strength, and I think the military requirements of India have never exceeded this number.

Some of the disadvantages of compulsory national service have already been indicated. Under this system, as remarked before, some of the non-martial races that have no natural adaptability for a military service will unnecessarily be dragged to undergo this irksome training. The training of these non-military classes has before now been tried, but with extremely discouraging results. Maharaja Sahib Gulab Singh of Kashmir made an attempt to impart military training to the selected men of Kashmir under the most efficient instructors available. This regiment of artillery was very smart on the parade ground, but, as the tradition goes, it completely failed in action. Again during the recent war a few regiments were raised from amongst the non-military races and an enormous amount of money was wasted on their training and equipment, but in spite of the fact that the most efficient training was imparted to them, these regiments did not achieve even a tolerable success. During the Great War, I had the opportunity to serve with a highly efficient and well-drilled unit of the Indian Army at Aden, chiefly recruited from the most brilliant and respected high class of India, but on active service, owing to certain complicated arrangements of messing, they did not quite come up to the standard, and hence the composition of the regiment had to be changed. It is evident from these instances that compulsory military training to all the classes, irrespective of their natural adaptability, is useless and a sheer waste of money and energy. In these circumstances, the replacement of the voluntary system by any other system seems inadvisable.

Another thing that during the debate struck me was this, that voluntary system being a sort of contract, it gives the Government the option of selecting the very best material found suitable for the army. Well, why remove that option from the hands of Government, and force on them a material that will not be so advantageous to the country in case of a big war? I cannot understand the motive of some people because if a man wanted to employ an artificer he would rather try to find an efficient artificer and not an indifferent one for the salary he was prepared to give.

In these circumstances I have felt backward in supporting this Resolution, though I have a great regard for the Honourable Mover of the Resolution. I do not see my way to supporting him.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (Berar: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I wish to support the proposition. The position as it has developed in the course of the debate here appears to fall under four heads, more or less. I shall deal with them briefly. I may say that the important words that fell from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have been mostly amplified and paraphrased by the opposition speakers, or some of them at least. The first objection put forward is that India is a very large country with a population of 320 millions and therefore it is impracticable, and that word "impracticable" again has been further

translated into impossible. Well, I remember in my younger days reading that Napoleon said that "impossible" was not a word in his dictionary. Impracticable comes next door to it. I say that it is genius and the test of genius to make the impracticable practicable, to make the impossible possible. And if genius exists anywhere in India it has to devise means by which this large population can be trained. One of my friends said, why should it be trained? We have no need for a larger army; we have defeated the greatest enemy that ever existed and therefore what need is there for our having a larger army. In reply to that I say that there is a Latin proverb that if you wish to have peace always think of war. If we want to have peace and if we are never to be disturbed at all, we had better be ready at all points and for all contingencies and at all times. So that, from my point of view, that disposes of the question of impossibility, or inutility and impracticability.

The last time I was speaking about border races I made an observation which was looked upon as a joke and afterwards I was congratulated upon having made a joke. But that really was not a joke; I was stating a fact. I had better draw attention to the words of the Resolution. They are "national military training and service" in such a form as may be suitable to the conditions of the country. So that it will be seen that training comes first and service afterwards, and both these are to be given in a form which will be most suitable to the existing circumstances of India. Now these three things have not been quite clearly understood by those Honourable Members who have opposed the proposition. National does not mean universal. National means training given in continuation of the traditions of the nation and in such form as the nation will assimilate. It does not mean universal, for which I think it has been mistaken. That is why they said, there are 320 millions of people and how can you train 320 millions. That is not the question. Then comes the training; and training is what I suppose my Honourable friend who moved the Resolution lays the greatest stress upon. Military training has a great many virtues, the first being the realization of the sense of discipline. Another virtue which it inculcates is that of obedience; thirdly, you learn how to act in unison, and so large units of thousands act like one man. India at the present moment does require this training. Whoever has watched the present political situation knows that there is very little cohesion among us. We are like an army of which every member is a Commander-in-Chief with no soldiers behind him. That is not a desirable state of things. My friend therefore rightly desires national organization and training to inculcate obedience and foster the ability to command. All these things are acquired, not by sitting at home, not by reading books, but by going through the discipline and the evolutions of military service. If these things are introduced into the national life and carried out as they should be, then in all probability the present condition of something like chaos will disappear and order will come in its place. In order to refute this part of the case my friends have cited the four-fold division of the Hindus, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Then they say there is the question of heredity and a great deal has been made out about the martial races. I will deal with these points in turn. There is a four-fold division in the Hindu Shastras, but that is for times of peace; and if you read on further you will find that when there is trouble and revolution, when there is a foreign invasion, then it is laid down that the Brahmans should bear arms; much in the same way as the German Professors came out to command armies, so the Brahmans taught the people military arts and

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in times of revolution and foreign invasion took command of the army. It is further said that the Vaishyas, Sudras and even women ought to bear arms when there is a revolution or foreign invasion; and in the history of Rajputana will be found many instances of the honourable part which women have played, like Boadicea did and many others whom I might mention. Therefore it will be seen that this four-fold division of the Hindus does not operate against military training, and my friends who depended upon that have relied upon a broken reed. They did not know that even ladies took up arms in the last resort. (*A Voice*: "Ladies of the martial races took up arms, not others.") I did not like to bring up that matter, but since it has been brought up I will deal with it. What has made the martial classes? Were they born martial or is it their training which has made them martial classes? I have a great faith in heredity, but still I think that it is their training, their environment, the discipline to which they have been subjected, which have had more to do with it. If a man was brought up as a cowherd and sent into one of those hills where I have a village I suppose you would soon see him running away from a fox. Then again that argument goes against the whole theory underlying modern military organization. During the recruitment for the recent war was a man questioned as to whether he belonged to a martial class or not. Modern nations, western nations and our own Military Department in particular have a firm belief and faith in their own training in the matter of turning out good soldiers. They think they can lick any man into a soldier. They take him away; put him for three months in this branch, three months there and similar periods elsewhere, and they turn out a good soldier. So that training has a great deal to do with it. And though I have a great pride in heredity, I still think that heredity amounts to very little without the training. If the training was not given the martial qualities of the soldiers would not be so much in evidence. My friends have told a story of a Kashmiri, and I may be permitted, Sir, to tell one of a quaker. A quaker is a person who answers to our Jains in India, one who has a dread of taking the life even of an insect. A ship was starting on a long expedition in the days of good Queen Bess, a hazardous venture. A quaker desired and offered to go as well, but the crew said, 'What is the use of taking a quaker along with us on such an expedition as this? We want a man who can fight.' Ultimately the quaker concealed himself as a stowaway and went off in the ship. In the course of its voyage the ship was attacked by pirates; the quaker was also on deck and a pirate boarded the ship at the point where he was standing and the quaker said to him, "Stay brother; thou hast no business here," and he embraced the pirate and threw him into the sea. That is what the quaker did for him. Now, that goes to show if anybody is properly trained and brought up under good surroundings, he can do a soldier's duty very well. It all depends on the training and bringing up. There is no good saying that a particular people do not belong to the martial class. That does not count much.

Now, we take up the second question. That question is of economy. It was asked, where all this money was to come from? How is it to be spent? How is it to be done? To that my reply is, it may cost a little in the beginning, but ultimately it may mean great saving by establishing a large system of reserves so that you can curtail your standing army, you can curtail many of the expenses, and according as necessity arises, you may call up the reserves. You will see that the whole country will

come to your help. That would not be like going for recruiting when the war is actually on.* When the war was on, we were trying here to induce the agriculturists to drop their ploughs and take the sword and tried to march them. If you had a proper system of reserves in India, all that expense and trouble would have been reduced. After all, Army is the insurance against war; and if we could train up so many people, we shall become so strong that I suppose nobody on the face of the earth will think of fighting with the British Empire where Indian soldiers are to be taken in account. So, that question of economy, to my mind, takes a very secondary place.

The third argument that has been put forward and dealt with at very great length is how to give this training. How many teachers would be required? How many trainers would you require? How many servants would you require? There should be a large department. I quite agree that we should have a large department, but that will be a very useful department, and perhaps better than many others that exist now and on which money is spent. Only the other day I was reading a book written on Education, education in the Army, and it was found that soldiers sitting in the trenches had long evenings and they had to wait and they found it a very difficult thing to manage. You must not only take care of the physical strength of the soldier, but you have got to take care of his moral spirit or morale as it is called. How are his spirits to be kept up? They introduced small schools, they gave them lectures, they gave them little performances, and in that way there was a system of education developed. There is a book of 500 pages written by Lord Gorell. He shows how education is the necessary path to military training. He also shows how military training is enhanced and how a soldier is helped by being brought up in a school, with a little literary dash, with certain other stories told, and so on. Now, if this training is to take place and if it is carried out—as I have an idea that it should be—then there will be no difficulty. All our school-masters can be made teachers of military art; they can be given a little training which they can introduce in the schools, and in that way we can give military training to people in the whole of the country. You know, Sir, that every boy who reads a novel imagines himself to be a hero. I have often wished that I were Ivanhoe; children will easily take to it and learn it. Some of them have got a natural military instinct. But it is not the monopoly of the martial races alone. I said previously that the criminal tribes should be put on the Frontier; they will do very good work. These tribes are the very people who could be brought round by military training. They were so employed by former Kings. They will become good scouts. All this comes to the old argument which I adduced the other day. This will be quite suitable to the nation. There is division of labour during times of peace. For times of war, for the time being, ignore this division of labour and make everybody into a soldier. There will be full value in the end for the preliminary training which we may give them at this time. Now, there is no war on hand, and we can slowly improve. The school-master will gradually teach the boys. There are many retired officers who are seeking employment and I suppose they can be had cheap enough and they will give the training very well, just in the same way as other things are taught in the schools. Why should not the first elements of military training be given through schools? The Government itself has set an example by making University Corps and Territorial Forces. This will merely be extension of that system and it should be more persistently carried out. I do not see where all these

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objections that have been urged come in at all. There is a further point. It is said that

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the Honourable Member; but if he has taken the part of Ivanhoe, I must on this occasion take the part of the Templar and remind him that his time is approaching to a close and that he must bring his remarks to a conclusion as soon as convenient.

The HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: I will close with this remark that I have got to make. Unfortunately, during this argument, people who have great faith in heredity have omitted training, and people who have got faith in training have omitted heredity. If both are combined and genius—we are talking of military genius here—is brought to bear on this question, it will be found to be the most practicable of all practicable questions, and the learning, the training, the capacity to command and all these things will come in their due course. In the old Council I moved a proposition of this kind, but that was disposed of in the usual way by the rule of the majority. I am glad to see that that proposition has come in here again, and I heartily support it and I hope that our Council will carry it without division.

The HONOURABLE MR. V. G. KALE (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, after the lengthy debate which has taken place, I do not want to make more than two or three observations. Unfortunately, certain extraneous considerations have been imported into the debate about what I must regard as an artificial distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial races. A reference was made to Shivaji and it was said that he was able to perform great feats of valour because he belonged to a martial race. But if my Honourable friend opposite will read his Mahratta history more deeply, he will come to discover that this very Shivaji created commanders and armies out of people who were not regarded as Kshatriyas. Most of these people were "Shudras," and worse than "Shudras" and mere cultivators. If you go to their descendants to-day, you will see no signs of any possibilities of soldierly or martial qualities in them. It was out of this kind of material that Shivaji was able to make an efficient fighting machine.

The HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT RAO BAHADUR CHAUDHRI LAL CHAND: Shudras are not the same as cultivators. If a man cultivates land, he is not a Shudra.

The HONOURABLE MR. V. G. KALE: What I was pointing out was that they were not of our 'martial' races. And coming to the point urged by my Honourable friend about Brahmins, I find that he said they are given only to contemplation and are not useful for anything else. But I hope my friends living in Northern India and on the Frontier cannot have forgotten that it was a Brahmin leader from the Deccan who triumphantly led his horses as far as Attock. Brahmin soldiers and commanders fought in and led armies and helped to establish an Empire and to maintain that Empire against the invasions of the so-called 'martial' races. My Honourable friend Mr. Khaparde has put it quite rightly that it is the spirit that you arouse among the people, the national spirit and the spirit

of liberty and also the training that you give them, that makes a soldier out of a man. That is what is wanted in India at the present moment. I wish now to refer to the opportunities that there are in our colleges and universities in this regard. I should very much like that military training is made compulsory for a candidate who would pass his B.A. examination. I would certainly move in my University that such a rule should be made, provided we get an undertaking from the Military Department that assistance would be given in the matter of training students. And the reason why a larger number of these educated men and students are not coming forward to receive military training, is that they do not get the necessary encouragement and facilities that are needed. I have put a number of questions in this Council in this behalf. I have received complaints from those who are already members of the Indian Territorial forces, especially the University Training Corps, that they are not properly treated and do not know where they stand and what their prospects will be. Even this simple information is not vouchsafed to them. How are our young men in these circumstances to come forward to receive training? What is required is real encouragement. If that is given, certainly large numbers will eagerly come forward. I would have hesitated to support the Resolution of my Honourable friend had it stood as it was put down on the paper, but he has modified that Resolution and he has made it quite clear that he does not want that conscription should be made universal in this country. What he requires is a beginning; and the method by which that compulsory military training is to be carried out is to be left to a committee of inquiry to recommend. We are, therefore, not committed now, and are not going to commit ourselves to any amount of expenditure, and I do not know whether it will not be possible to cut down the present military expenditure in order to provide for the increase that will ensue if this policy is put into force. I do not want to ask my Honourable friend here (Honourable Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas) to give out any secrets, but perhaps he might throw some light upon the question whether it would be possible to spend any amount upon compulsory military training if a scheme were to be inaugurated, and at the same time to cut down the existing military expenditure. I heartily support this Resolution.

The HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. The request contained therein does not amount to conscription. The Honourable Mover simply wants that this experiment may be given a trial in any way suited to the conditions of the country. My friend the Honourable Sir Umar Hayat Khan and the Honourable Chaudhri Lal Chand have referred to a proverb "Don't kill even an ant"—"*Ahimsa Paramo Dharma*," I may remind my friends that the clan and the very people who advocated this maxim have had the first Emperor in India,—I refer to the King Asoka. Asoka belonged to Jains or Budhas, whose great verdict was "*Ahimsa Paramo Dharma*" My friend Chaudhri Lal Chand has said that among the Ruling Princes and the Maharajas we find only the martial classes, and not "Mahajans" and those martial classes he confines to Jats and Rajputs.

The HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT RAO BAHADUR CHAUDHRI LAL CHAND:
No.

The HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I may inform that we have Ruling Princes among Brahmins. His Highness the Maharaja

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

of Travancore and His Highness the Maharaja of Benares and the late Temal Naik among the Shudras may be cited as examples. My friend Nawab Major Mohamed Akbar Khan some time ago, when he was attached to the 1st Brahmins, told me that in the Great War he found that Brahmins were the best fighters.

The HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN: Yes, I admit it

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, if Members desire to allow explanations from any Member, they should sit down so that the Honourable Member may have an opportunity of rising. Two Members may not be on their feet together.

The HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I am glad that my friend has admitted what I have said regarding the gallantry of the Brahmins. As far as non-Brahmins are concerned, Sir, that do not belong to martial classes, I may mention the name of General Hari Singh Nalwa and General Todar Mal. Martial class, Sir, as far as I understand, in the olden days, as far back as the time of Manu, was confined to *Kshatriyas* only, and as my Honourable friend, a veteran of the House, Mr. Khaparde, has said, in time of war, difficulty or need, every other class has to come forward to fight, so I need not dwell much upon that subject. I can say, for instance, that even among very notorious dacoits we find the names of Jabru Barber in Punjab and Tantia Bhil in Maharashtra who did not belong to the martial classes. Of course dacoity also is a martial spirit misdirected. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief did observe that the present policy all over the world is to reduce arms and armaments. We know that Sir, but we do realise that during the time of the Great War man power was wanted and Britain had to depend mostly on India for its man power. In case the man power of India is trained in military tactics, it will be a great strength to the British Empire, and no power in the world will ever dream of taking arms against the British or the British Commonwealth. Before I conclude I want to say, Sir, that according to the Hindu *shastras*, even the Jats in those days did not form part of the martial classes. They were cultivators and as such were classed as *bunniahs* (Vaishyas) but the time has now come when they have developed themselves as a martial class. In the same way, Sir, times are now changed. In the old days every class was trained as a class, and now as that classification is not rigidly observed, I think every class is fit to be given military training. With these few words I support the Resolution.

The HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH (United Provinces Central: Non-Muhammadan): I cannot deny myself the pleasure of taking part in this interesting discussion. In my opinion the racial question that has been brought into this discussion is not quite proper. The Mover has simply asked the House to accept that a committee be appointed to go into this question and, if possible, to devise measures for national compulsory education. Well, in my opinion those who belong to the martial classes will be the first to take advantage of the Resolution when it is brought into effect. So there appears to be no need for feeling any grudge if the other classes, whom some people call non-martial classes, be also elevated to the same level. The question before the House is simply that

a committee be appointed to deliberate over this question and to come to certain conclusions. Long ago, it was pressed upon the Government by the public that free and compulsory education should be introduced into the country. After a long time, the Government acceded to the demand of the public. Even now, this free and compulsory education has not been introduced into all the towns and cities, not to say anything of the villages. But some steps have, however, been taken and, gradually, it is hoped that the measures that have been taken will be of benefit to the country. In the same way my friend the Honourable Mr. Sethna has asked for a Committee, and I think it would be quite proper for the Government to accept the Resolution and appoint a Committee to go into this question.

The HONOURABLE MR. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution before the House. Whether the Resolution meets with the approval of Government or not, whether it is passed by the House or rejected, I have not the slightest doubt that the aspirations that the Honourable Mr. Phiroze Sethna gave vent to in moving the Resolution are the aspirations of the country and of the Indian public unanimously. The most distressing feature of the discussion on the Resolution appeared to me to come forth from—and I will say that with all apologies to them—two at least of the three expert non-official Members intimate with the martial classes. As pointed out by the Honourable Raja, who just spoke before me, unfortunately two of these experts,—and I am sure one of them at least—the Honourable Lieutenant Lal Chand,—introduced the question of martial classes and non-martial classes. I have taken down a few of the words that he used. He said that “the Resolution aims at breaking down the monopoly of the martial classes.” I had still to learn, Sir, until to-day, when I heard it from him, that there was any question of a monopoly of the martial classes in this year of grace 1923. Indeed, I did not know that there was anybody in this House who sympathised with the Brahmin who still maintained that he would now allow the non-Brahmin to be on a level with him. I really wonder if my Honourable friend over there thinks that the non-Brahmin in trying to come up to the Brahmin is doing a wrong thing. He asked a pointed question whether there was a Mahajan Maharaja at all. May I ask him whether he would object to a Brahmin who acted as a merchant? Does he object to a Pariah or an untouchable Hindu coming up here and sitting on the same Bench with him or with me in this Council Chamber? And, if he does not do that, I really wonder if he has not been carried away, perhaps by justifiable pride for the services that he may have rendered to the British Government and to India during the last war in trying even to indicate—I am sure he could not have meant it—that he would oppose anything that would lift up the non-martial classes to the level of the martial classes. I maintain, Sir, that that cannot be the aim or the object of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I go further and say, that, if anything in that direction was at all seen, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India would be the first to say all classes should be on the same footing. I venture to say and I think it is very necessary that it should be clearly understood and stated in this House, and I say it with all deference, with the greatest respect, and with all acknowledgments of the services rendered by the martial races of India, whether in the last war or up till now, that this House would not tolerate any monopoly of any class, whether it be of Brahmins or non-Brahmins, of merchants or non-merchants, of vakils

[Mr. Purshōtamas Thakurdas.]

or non-*valis*, and, with all deference to my two friends over there, of martial classes or non-martial classes.

I would only refer to the unfortunate jeering remark that my Honourable Tiwana friend thought fit to make at the University Corps. There is no doubt about it that the University Corps have only recently started. If, in the opinion of my Honourable friend over there, the University Corps do not come up to anything like the efficiency that they ought to have, there is all the more reason that something on the lines of what my friend the Honourable Mr. Phiroze Sethna suggests should call for his sympathy and support. Instead of that the Honourable Member said: "Look at the University Corps. What do they do? They could not walk more than five miles." Does the Honourable Member think that in these days, with keen competition, when India has got to run the race with other countries, the issues are going to be decided in this way. We wish to associate ourselves and take our place side by side with the most powerful, the richest and the most advanced races or countries in the whole world. If that is his aim, as I have no doubt it must be the aim of all my three friends opposite, I do think that no measure that will bring the non-martial races to the standard of the martial races ought to be turned down on that score. I hope I have not misunderstood their meaning and their motives and that they cannot mean to keep back any measure that may raise the non-martial races to the level of the martial races and that they will give me and my children a helping hand in bringing us up to the level of the gallantry of these friends of mine opposite. I hope that they will realise that just as nobility has its own obligations in India, the martial races ought to have their own obligations towards the humble *mahajan* races, even if they deride us.

With these preliminary observations, Sir, regarding the lead which I thought our non-official martial races representatives were going to give us on this Resolution, I would just like to say a few words in connection with what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said on this Resolution. It was gratifying to hear that the Resolution, as moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Phiroze Sethna, had some sympathy from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. It has to be borne in mind, Sir, that, in spite of the eloquence that the Honourable Mr. Phiroze Sethna used, in spite of the study that he must have made of this proposition before he moved it here, he is, after all, if I may say so with deference to him, a mere layman. It is quite possible that there are certain defects in the draft Resolution as submitted by my Honourable friend to the House. I was looking forward to some hint from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief which, if accepted by my Honourable friend, might enable His Excellency to accept the Resolution. I do not know whether I may still hope that this Resolution, instead of meeting with, as my Honourable friend said, the usual fate in this House, would be accepted by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in some modified form or another. But there were one or two points which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief urged as to why this Resolution or the spirit of this Resolution could not be accepted by Government, and I would like to refer to those points briefly. His Excellency said that the League of Nations forbids the acceptance of a Resolution like this. The League of Nations has been useful in India in certain directions. It has

given India a seat in the Council Chamber where all the important nations of the world sit and, as far as I am aware, I am speaking subject to correction, that is about all the advantage we have derived. The next advantage that the League of Nations has offered us is what the late Sir William Meyer, the High Commissioner for India in London, said, that we have got to pay a very substantial sum to the League of Nations Secretariat in Geneva. Beyond that, I have still to hear and learn what further advantages the League of Nations has brought us. Not that I doubt that it is going to benefit us in the long run, but if the League of Nations has some fundamental rule which comes in the way of this very natural aspiration of India, I think the Government of India would find it very instructive to make an analysis and find out how many nations who have joined the League of Nations have observed every one of its regulations and how many have yet to do so. We have done a great deal, we have been carrying through all our labour legislation because it has been dictated by the League of Nations; in other matters we are keen to respect the League of Nations, but in this one point if the League of Nations comes in our way—I honestly believe, Sir, there is a way of getting round the difficulty if we put it correctly to the League of Nations, and then they may themselves perhaps say "It is high time that India should have some sort of military training for her children, as the rest of the world have been having."

The next question that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief mentioned was the question of cost,—prohibitive cost, he said. The Honourable Professor from Poona asked me pointedly whether I could throw any light. I suppose it was a question for the Retrenchment Committee, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said. I hope the House will not mind it if I say that, whatever the Retrenchment Committee may have to say in this connection, it will be known to them through the proper channel within a fortnight, and I do not think I can oblige my Honourable friend from Poona to-day regarding anything that the Retrenchment Committee may have to say on this score. But I cannot help feeling, Sir, that no Retrenchment Committee, in the light of the feeling in the country, in the light of the ultimate saving, as pointed out by my Honourable friend, Mr. Khaparde, that might result from the acceptance of a scheme like this, could say that a few lakhs that might be spent on this would be mis-spent or would be an extravagance. And again, as I pointed out this morning, I may say again that my Honourable friend's Resolution does not say that action should be taken within the next year or within the next six months; if Government accept the Resolution, whenever they can find the necessary funds, etc., Government may have an inquiry made.

I feel, Sir, that the right of moving Resolutions in an assembly like this is given to non-official Members—which
 4 P.M. the non-official Members value very highly—not because the non-official Members always command for the purpose of justifying their Resolutions the expert knowledge and the detailed information which enable an Honourable Member in charge of a Government Department to accept it outright. This right of moving Resolutions has been given to non-official Members with the view that they may be able to ventilate in the House and bring to the notice of Government the hopes, the aspirations and also the grievances of the public. If this is the underlying principle on which the non-official Members value this right of moving Resolutions here, I submit, Sir, that my Honourable friend on my right has done full justice to this Resolution and has

[Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

reflected the popular feeling in a most living, vivid manner; and it is now up to Government, as represented by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, equally to rise to the occasion; to point out to my Honourable friend if there are any defects in the Resolution which prevent him from accepting it and ultimately to accept the spirit underlying the Resolution. It does not matter if the funds necessary for it are found within six months or later. With these remarks, and repeating my great deference to all the martial races members, and hoping that they will not misunderstand me, I give my very cordial support to this Resolution.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think the Council did not quite understand the position as regards an Honourable Member desiring to offer an explanation. The rule is a perfectly simple one. If when an Honourable Member is speaking, another Member rises and wishes to make an explanation, then, if the Honourable Member who is speaking gives way, the explanation can be made. If the Member speaking does not give way, the other Member must wait till he has terminated his speech; and then he may rise and ask the Chair whether he may offer an explanation. The rule is a perfectly simple one and cannot cause hardship. Two Honourable Members cannot be speaking together.

The HONOURABLE SIR DINSHAW WACHA (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I heartily associate myself with the Honourable Mover; and I also agree with the many speakers who have so eloquently supported him with their reasoning. I am very gratified at this debate, for it has shown at least one feature that the debate is of more than the average order, which is sometimes noticed in the House of Commons, and I am even more gratified to see that this Council has shown what latent ability exists which reveals itself when crucial questions come before it. Having said so much, I am not going, Sir, to detain the Council very long. Practically, all that had to be said has been amply said. I shall not go over the old and exploded fallacy about martial and non-martial races. This distinction dates back ages and ages ago and, as you know, the ancient Spartans called themselves a martial race, and twitted the Athenians by calling them non-martial. And yet, you are well aware that the Athenians defeated the Persians at the battles of Marathon and Salonica, the Persians who were the masters of the ancient world before Alexander. That disparagement still goes on, Sir,—there is nothing however like martial and non-martial. It is all the spirit of a nation that makes it martial or non-martial. The distinction is illusory, but I am not going to discuss this ethnological question any further. I do say, however, this: that military training has been acknowledged by all the nations of the world as essential, namely, that they should defend themselves against their aggressive neighbours. Therefore, there ought to be some sort of military training. In civilized times we find different kinds of training. The military training may be a voluntary one, or it may be by conscription, or it may be by a combination of both. All these are varieties of the same fundamental object. The fundamental object is, whether a nation should be trained or not for purposes of self-defence. I do not think there is any nation in the world who would deny that they must have some kind of training for the purpose of defending themselves against their invaders or aggressors, whether they may be next-door neighbours or further away on the

borders. Well, that being the case, Sir, what is the proposition before the House? It is simply this: that a Committee should be formed which will go over the whole question in its various aspects and see how far military training can be given or not, and what methods may be deemed most suitable. He is willing that we should, of course, abide by the decision of that Committee. Practically, there is nothing at all excepting this. The Honourable Member says that military training is one of the aspirations of our people. He says: "I am putting this aspiration before you; will you kindly see whether this can be satisfied. Appoint a representative Committee and see what it says. If the Committee says, 'no,' that it is injurious, drop it; if it proposes certain suitable methods, why then not consider and adopt them." But, Sir, I find that what has happened in this assembly for some time past is this: whenever some non-official Member brings forward a reasonable Resolution, the official Bench on the opposite side, I may call it the Front Bench, adopt an attitude of *non possumus*. They all mechanically say: "we cannot accept it." Why not? They pose as if they are the greatest authorities in the world and that their refusal was the last word! Sir, it has been said that autocracy is at an end, we are now democratic; that we are going to be a self-governing nation, we are a rising democracy, and yet we must obey autocracy! Democracy is considered as a machine by these autocratic gentlemen who say, 'you may have your democracy, but we are the men in power, you must go thus far and no further.'" That is not the right way of a self-governing organization. That is not the spirit of self-Government, that is not the spirit in which the British Government has given us the Reforms. Nothing of the kind, Sir, and I am rather sorry to notice lately that every time that a non-official Member rises and puts forward a very simple proposition in a very simple and frank spirit, it is said on the other side "No, we cannot accept it" and forthwith they adopt an attitude of *non possumus*. Sir, Government have been saying that the non-co-operators are in reality "Nihilists," that is to say, to every proposal made to them they say 'no.' What are these Government members here doing? They sit on the front Benches and say "No, we cannot accept. No, we won't allow it." Is that a consistent or reasonable attitude to adopt? I hope not. The Commander-in-Chief is the greatest non-co-operationist in this respect and so also was my friend Mr. Chadwick yesterday. That won't do, Sir. Times are changing. This is a transition stage, and I think the front Bench will do well to understand that there is a democracy, that there is a public spirit which actuates it and that they should adapt themselves to these changed conditions; there should be adaptability on their part to the changes and to principles as well. There ought to be political sagacity and many other political instincts in order to carry on the Government fully with the consent and the co-operation of the people themselves. I do not see at present any co-operation here at all. For the last three days I have been seeing that there is none. The moment a non-official Member brings up a useful proposition the Government says, "No, we won't accept it." If that is the case, it would be better to shut down this Council altogether and let the Departments carry on their work as they used to do before. Let the Commander-in-Chief say, "Here I am, like President MacMahon, and here I mean to stand."

Sir, I heartily support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE SETHNA: Sir, I will begin my reply by tendering my cordial thanks to those Members of the Council who have

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supported me in this Resolution and supported me so warmly. I will next turn to the objections of my Honourable friends, and I will begin first with the three Indian Honourable Members of this Council who happen to be connected with the army for a series of years. My Honourable friend Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan took exception to the fact that I, a layman, should encroach upon his province, so to say, and speak upon a subject with which he is so closely identified. Let me assure him, that if I ever venture to bring forward a Resolution, or if I ever attempt to speak on any subject, I endeavour to do so after some little study, perhaps as much study as my Honourable friend devotes to the numberless subjects upon which he addresses this Council. In addition to Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, the Honourable Major Mohamed Akbar Khan and the Honourable Lieutenant Chaudhri Lal Chand have also wound up their speeches by opposing me. Sir, if you closely follow the tenour of their speeches you will see that they amount to an approval of the principle which I have laid down in my Resolution. They all agree that there ought to be a national army, that the existing framework should be strengthened and improved, and yet with an inconsistency that I cannot comprehend they say they oppose my Resolution. I therefore appeal to them that consistently with the speeches which they have made,—if they do not choose to support me, that they will at least withhold their votes, which is the least they can do.

Much was made by these three Honourable friends of mine of the fact that there are several communities in India, such as the Sudras and others, who cannot possibly attain a martial spirit; and one Honourable Member went on to say that the martial spirit must be the monopoly of the races inhabiting India in the north. My friend the Honourable Mr. Kale dwelt at some length on the class of men whom the great Shivaji converted into soldiers and the Honourable Chaudhri Lal Chand intervened by saying that cultivators are not Sudras. Will he tell me if the Ahirs of the United Provinces, if the Mahars, if the Bhils, if the Bhanjaras are not Sudras? Will he tell me if they have not rendered very efficient military service, perhaps as efficient as that rendered by soldiers of races to whom a martial spirit is credited. Then again, Sir, take the Mahrattas of the Bombay Presidency. I believe His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will bear me out when I say that it is the opinion of more than one military authority that the Mahrattas in the last great war rendered as efficient service as any other Indian soldiers from the north or elsewhere. The proposal of my three Honourable friends amounts to confining the martial races to the north. What then follows? When we are to have complete self-government, according to them we are to have martial anarchy, for it is only they who can take charge of the military and come down if they choose upon the southerners. It is to prevent that and to cultivate a martial spirit amongst all classes that I have brought forward my Resolution. In this connection I forgot to quote a very pertinent extract from the dissenting minute of Sir Krishna Gobind Gupta, Member of the Esher Committee. It will give a complete reply to my three Honourable friends. Sir Krishna Gupta said:

“ It has thrown an unusually heavy military burden upon one province, the Punjab, the evil effects of which are already becoming apparent. It has been the fold of recruitment outside the borders of British India, bringing into the Indian army men who are not British Indian subjects, such as the Pathans from the North-West

Frontiers and the Gurkhas from Nepal. The trans-frontier Pathans have been discredited and no longer form any appreciable part of the Indian army."

and he rightly goes on to say :

"The area of recruitment should be extended to all parts of India and everything should be done to stimulate a material and patriotic spirit which decades of discouragement have repressed but never wholly extinguished."

I now go on, Sir, to the objections made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. Some of them have already been dealt with and dealt with very pertinently by my Honourable friends who have spoken on behalf of the Resolution. I hope that I will not omit to reply to any one of the important objections which His Excellency Lord Rawlinson has advanced. Sir, in the first place I must thank him for two things, one for allowing me to amend my Resolution. That amendment will satisfy His Excellency Lord Rawlinson and the House that I did not pin it down to any particular form of compulsory military training and service. My amendment modifies "compulsory military training and service" by the addition of the words "in any form that may suit the condition of the country," and I am very glad that my Honourable friend on the left (Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas) has enlarged upon that point in the course of the speech he has just made and has appealed to His Excellency that if he chooses to modify it still further in any way and allow the country to have compulsory military training in any limited manner or degree we shall be only too willing and content to accept his amendment instead of my amended Resolution. The second thing for which I would tender my thanks to His Excellency is the remark which he made to the effect that he sympathises with me in the Resolution I have brought forward. I am afraid, Sir, I have got to be content with his verbal sympathy and nothing beyond that; for almost in the same breath His Excellency pronounced my Resolution as grotesque, impracticable and unnecessary. Now, Sir, he called it grotesque because he thought it was absurd to propose that 320 millions of people should be trained compulsorily and universal compulsory military training introduced. I made it absolutely clear in my opening speech and those who have supported me have done likewise, and I repeat again once more emphatically that we ask for nothing of the kind. I leave it to the Committee to make suggestions after duly considering all the *pros* and *cons*. Therefore, it cannot by any stretch of imagination be called grotesque. He further says it is impracticable and unnecessary, and the reason for that is our membership of the League of Nations. My friend the Honourable Mr. Purshotamdas has told us what is the value of the League of Nations to this country. It consists at the present moment of our being given a seat in that august body but better still of our having to pay and perhaps pay very substantially as our share of the cost because, so far as I remember, payments have to be made in accordance with the population of a particular country, and therefore India has the empty honor of doing next to nothing in the League of Nations, and paying for it very handsomely. But, if His Excellency says that being a Member of the League of Nations we must follow the rules laid down by the League of Nations, may I ask His Excellency if other nations do likewise? Was not France asked to restrict her military armaments? Did she do so? Further, did not President Harding of the United States of America when he invited different nations to the Washington Conference only last year to consider not only the naval reductions, but also military reductions, did he not press upon France to agree and did not France point blank refuse to decrease her military strength because of the situation in which she was placed? Does my Honourable friend

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find fault with France? (His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: 'Yes.') Moreover, the conditions in countries like France, Germany, Italy and other countries are quite different from ours. Not only are they Members of the League of Nations, but their neighbouring countries are also Members of the League of Nations. What is our position? We have Afghanistan, we have Bolshevist Russia, we have Turkey as our neighbours. Are they Members of the League of Nations? Is not that a good reason to bring forward my Resolution and will not my Honourable friend, His Excellency Lord Rawlinson, withdraw his objection on that particular ground?

Again, Sir, dwelling further upon this point, may I remind His Excellency that the Brussels Financial and Economic Conference which was held only two years ago under the aegis of this very League of Nations, to which he referred, laid down expressly that every country which is a Member of the League of Nations should not spend more than 20 per cent. of its total income on military expenditure. Does my Honourable friend, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, subscribe to that theory? Is he not spending more than 67 crores in India? Was not that the amount last year, and which was not 20 per cent. but 50 per cent. of the total revenues of the Central Government? If His Excellency desires us to conform to the conditions laid down by the League of Nations, I trust His Excellency will be the first to follow it religiously himself in that matter of the military expenditure of this country.

His Excellency next referred to conscription. I know very well, that conscription stinks in the nostrils of Britishers. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said that it was because of the system of conscription in the Continent of Europe which proved a menace to the world that we had the great war. I say emphatically 'No'. My point is that if England herself had conscription, we never would have had that great war. Germany would never have characterised the British Army as that "contemptible little Army," and, Sir, the history of the world from 1914 to this day and for many more years to come would have been, if England had conscription, very different altogether. The great war, which has set back the pace of civilization which was responsible for the great holocaust of men, money and everything else,—which has retarded the progress of the whole world not for the 4 years that the war lasted, but perhaps for a generation or two—that great war would have certainly been avoided if only England had conscription and in which case Germany would never have taken the rash step it did.

His Excellency next opposed my motion on the ground of economy. He called my Resolution impracticable on that ground. If I take credit for anything, I may say that as a business man I have never endeavoured to bring forward in this House or any other body to which I belong anything which I honestly consider impracticable. It is because I believe that the system which I advocate will in the long run prove economical,—and I hope the Committee will be able to satisfy themselves upon it, and if I am called before it I shall be able to prove that it will eventually prove economical and no mistake. I say, Sir, it is because I believe it is practicable, because it is economical, because you can reduce your strength of the regular army of 2½ to 3 lakhs and have larger reserves, I contend that it will cost the country certainly less than the 67 crores of rupees a year that it is now doing. I urge this House to accept my Resolution.

For it is neither grotesque, nor impracticable, nor unnecessary, as the Honourable the Commander-in-Chief has tried to make out.

The Commander-in-Chief also said that if the Resolution were adopted, the cost of the training staff and the registration staff would come to a very large amount. I say, he is proceeding on a wrong assumption. I do not want universal compulsory military training. Then, His Excellency dwelt on the Territorial Force. His Excellency will remember that during this Session I put a question which is numbered Question No. 143, in reply to which His Excellency himself, only two days ago in this House, said there were on 1st January 1928, 11,581 men in the Indian Territorial Force and 2,879 in the University Training Corps, between the two, a little over 14,000, which is a mere drop in the ocean; and I would ask His Excellency to consider if he is satisfied with this

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I must warn the Honourable Member that he is approaching his time limit.

The HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE SETHNA: Thank you, Sir. I have much to say but I must close if my time is up. I will end my reply with an earnest appeal to the Commander-in-Chief, in the terms of the appeal made by my two Honourable friends around me that if His Excellency has any objection to accept my Resolution in the manner in which it is worded in spite of the amendment which the House was good enough to allow, I for one, and I am sure all my supporters, will be only too glad to accept any reasonable proposal which may be put forward by him and which if he does, in the words of my veteran and Honourable friend, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, will mean that the Government are willing to co-operate and not to non-co-operate with us.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Sir, as I said when I addressed the House earlier in this Debate, there were certain aspirations, I described, in the speech which my Honourable friend had made, with which I was in sympathy. I may go further perhaps and say that in so far as his desire for the appointment of a Committee to examine this subject goes (though I am not prepared to accept it, at the same time I do see what he is aiming at), my feeling is—and I speak on behalf of my Honourable friends on these Benches—my feeling is that in so far as the question of a system of compulsory national military training and service is concerned—apart from anything that it may do, apart from any effect it may have on what is called the martial and non-martial classes, with which I am not concerned—in so far as that is concerned, we have a feeling of considerable sympathy. But, as a matter of practical politics, it seems to me,—and after all I have some knowledge of what this means, some knowledge of what machinery is actually required to carry out a system of this sort particularly if it is the one, and essential one which my Honourable friend has put in his Resolution, of compulsion—I say unhesitatingly that it is not a practical proposition. I have described it, as my Honourable friend has reminded me, as grotesque, impossible and unnecessary. I am afraid it is, and I am afraid it is because, in a huge country like this with the enormous difficulties both of transportation and communication, you will find that, even if such a scheme was devised for its institution, that it would give you in no way the objects that you apparently desire to attain. One of the speeches that appealed to me more than any other that I heard on this motion was that of my friend

[H. E. the Commander-in-Chief.]

Sir Dinshaw Wacha, because he insinuated, if he did not say so direct, that I myself was a non-co-operator. It is the last attitude that I wish to adopt, and I would be only too glad if I saw any practical use in this Committee, to meet my Honourable friends by agreeing to it, but it appears to me that the question that you are going to give them to examine, that the problem you are going to put before them, that the terms of reference you will have to give to that committee, will assign them a task impossible to carry out. Much as I would like to meet the suggestions of my Honourable friends opposite, I do not feel that I can acquiesce in this, because I am the person who is responsible for devising every possible economy in our military expenditure in this country, and the question that you would put before this committee is so impossible for them to solve, that I do not think you are justified in spending the money necessary to appoint that Committee, and for these reasons therefore I am afraid, much as I would wish to meet the wishes of my friends, I must oppose the Resolution.

The Council then divided as follows:

AYES—10.

Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. R.
Harnam Singh, Raja Sir.
Kale, Mr. V. G.
Khaparde, Mr. G. S.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr.

Rampal Singh, Raja Sir.
Ram Saran Das, Mr.
Ray, Raja P. N.
Sethna, Mr. P. C.
Wacha, Sir Dinshaw.

NOES—14.

Akbar Khan, Major Nawab.
Butler, Mr. M. S. D.
Chadwick, Mr. D. T.
Cook, Mr. E. M.
Crerar, Mr. J.
Forrest, Mr. H. T. S.
Lal Chand, Lieut.

MacWatt, Major-General R. C.
Miller, Sir Leslie.
Rawlinson, H. E. Lord.
Sarma, Mr. B. N.
Shafi, Dr. Mian Sir Muhammad.
Tek Chand, Mr.
Umar Hayat Khan, Col. Sir.

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* NECESSITY OF CENSUS OF PRODUCTS OF BRITISH INDIA.

The HONOURABLE SIR DINSHAW WACHA (Bombay: Nominated Non-official): Sir, I beg to move that:

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council the great importance, economically and financially, of taking a census of production of British India, every ten (10) years, classified according to the Provinces, showing particulars specified as under:—

1. Outturn of agricultural products from all sources, forest included.
2. Output of manufactures and industries worked by power other than manual.
3. Output of hand-looms and divers other handicrafts and industries so far as statistics are obtainable.
4. Output of minerals and mineral oils.
5. Outturn of salt, including rocksalt.
6. Outturn of opium.
7. Outturn of State-owned and private liquor distilleries.
8. Miscellaneous.”

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I would suggest to the Honourable Member that, as the hour is late, and as he has now moved his Resolution, it might be convenient to him and also to the Member who has to reply to the Resolution, for the debate to stand over till the next non-official day. We will give the Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha priority, if that is his wish.

The HONOURABLE SIR DINSHAW WACHA: I agree, Sir.

The HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: I quite agree.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: In these circumstances, therefore, the Council will now adjourn till Monday, the 19th February, 1923, at 11 o'clock.