

14th March 1927

THE  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES  
(Official Report)

Volume II

(22nd February to 14th March, 1927)

FIRST SESSION  
OF THE  
THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1927

Chamber No. 181X/23



DELHI  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS  
1927

# CONTENTS.

VOLUME II—22nd February to 14th March, 1927.

	PAGES.
<b>Tuesday, 22nd February, 1927—</b>	
Members Sworn ... ..	1123
Questions and Answers ... ..	1123-28
General Discussion of the Railway Budget ... ..	1129-1190
<b>Wednesday, 23rd February, 1927—</b>	
Members Sworn ... ..	1191
Questions and Answers ... ..	1191-93
The Railway Budget—	
List of Demands—	
Demand No. 1—Railway Board	1194-1225, 1226-48
Message from the Council of State	1225
<b>Thursday, 24th February, 1927—</b>	
Member Sworn ... ..	1249
Private Notice Question and Answer	1249-50
The Railway Budget— <i>contd.</i>	
List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	
Demand No. 1—Railway Board— <i>contd.</i>	
Strengthening the representative control by all interests concerned over Indian Railways ... ..	1251-55
Quinquennial Review of Capital Programme ... ..	1255-62
Policy followed in respect of the Purchase of Stores ... ..	1262-71
Separation of Railway from General Finance ... ..	1271-80
Form of Budget and Statistics ... ..	1280-83
Grievances of Subordinate Railway Employees ... ..	1283-1300
<b>Friday, 25th February, 1927—</b>	
Member Sworn ... ..	1301
Questions and Answers	1301-15
The Railway Budget— <i>contd.</i>	
List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	
Demand No. 1—Railway Board— <i>contd.</i>	
Grievances of Subordinate Railway Employees— <i>contd.</i> ...	1315-42
Railway communication between Gauhati and Shillong...	1343-46
Powers and Formation of Advisory Committees ... ..	1346-60
Railway rates of freights in relation to the Indian Manu- facturer ... ..	1360-68
General control and supervision, Indianisation, regula- tion of Capital Expenditure, etc. ... ..	1368-70
Reduction of freight on Petrol ... ..	1370-74
Demand No. 2—Inspection..	1374-80

CONTENTS—*contd.*

	PAGES.
<b>Saturday, 26th February, 1927—</b>	
Questions and Answers ...	1381-90
Unstarred Questions and Answers ...	1391-92
Statement of Business ...	1392-93
The Railway Budget— <i>contd.</i>	
List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	
Demand No. 3—Audit ...	1393
Demand No. 4—Working Expenses: Administration—	1393-1409
Appointment of Deputy Agents on the South Indian	
Railway ...	1409-11
Administration of the Stores Department, North West-	
ern Railway ...	1411-13
Arrangements for the Hardwar Kumbh Mela ...	1413-21
Reduction of Third Class Fares ...	1421-27
Inconveniences suffered by the Travelling Public ...	1427-31
Over-employment of Europeans in new posts created	
and vacancies filled ...	1431-38
Third and Intermediate Class Waiting Rooms for Indian	
Ladies at Moradabad ...	1438-40
Demand No. 5—Working Expenses: Repairs and Maintenance	
and Operation— ...	1440
Repairs and Maintenance charges of Rolling Stock ...	1440-50
Demand No. 6—Companies' and Indian States' Share of	
Surplus Profits and Net Earnings ...	1450
Demand No. 9—Appropriation to Depreciation Fund ...	1450
Demand No. 10—Appropriation from Depreciation Fund ...	1451
Demand No. 11—Miscellaneous ...	1451
Demand No. 12—Appropriation to the Reserve Fund	1451
Demand No. 14—Strategic Lines ...	1451
Demand No. 7—New Construction ...	1451
Demand No. 8—Open Line Works ...	1451
Demand No. 15—Strategic Lines ...	1452
<b>Monday, 28th February, 1927—</b>	
The Budget for 1927-28—Presented ...	1453-72
The Indian Finance Bill—Introduced ...	1472
<b>Tuesday, 1st March, 1927—</b>	
Members Sworn ...	1473
Questions and Answers ...	1473-1505
Unstarred Questions and Answers ...	1506-24
Demands for Supplementary Grants— <i>contd.</i>	
Aviation ...	1525-73
<b>Thursday, 3rd March, 1927—</b>	
Questions and Answers ...	1575-77
Message from the Council of State ...	1578
Petitions relating to the Currency Bill ...	1578
Statement of Business ...	1578-79
Appointment of the Committee on Public Petitions ...	1579
General Discussion of the Budget—Part II— <i>contd.</i> ...	1579-1643

CONTENTS--*contd.*

	PAGES.
<b>Friday, 4th March, 1927--</b>	
Questions and Answers ... ..	1643-1654
Short Notice Questions and Answers ... ..	1655-58
Unstarred Questions and Answers ... ..	1658-60
Motion for Adjournment--Riot in the District of Backergunj in Bengal--Not moved ... ..	1660
Petitions relating to the Currency Bill ... ..	1660-62
General Discussion of the Budget--Part II-- <i>concl'd.</i>	1661-1727
<b>Monday, 7th March, 1927--</b>	
Member Sworn ... ..	1729
Questions and Answers ... ..	1729-43
Unstarred Questions and Answers ... ..	1743-46
Petitions relating to the Currency Bill ... ..	1746-47
Report of the Committee on Petitions <i>re</i> Petitions relating to the Currency Bill--Laid on the table ... ..	1747
Order of the Debate on Demands for Grants ... ..	1747-48
The Currency Bill--Motion to consider adopted ... ..	1748-1815
<b>Tuesday, 8th March, 1927--</b>	
Questions and Answers ... ..	1817-35
The Currency Bill--Discussion adjourned	1835-95
<b>Wednesday, 9th March, 1927--</b>	
Questions and Answers	1897-1911
The General Budget-- List of Demands-- Demand No. 28--Executive Council-- <i>cont'd.</i> ... ..	1911-73
<b>Thursday, 10th March, 1927--</b>	
The General Budget-- <i>cont'd.</i> List of Demands-- <i>cont'd.</i> Demand No. 28--Executive Council-- <i>cont'd.</i> ... ..	1975
Demand No. 16--Customs ... ..	1975-2008
Paucity of Wharfingers in Karachi ... ..	1976-77
Duty on Cotton Piecegoods and abolition of the Export Duties on Tea and Raw Hides ... ..	1977-80
Revision of specific, <i>ad valorem</i> , and protective Duties-- Tax Administration ... ..	1980-86
Ruling as to assessment of Duty on Imported Paper... ..	1986-88
Invidious distinctions between Provinces in the scales of Pay of Clerks ... ..	1988-93
Export Duty on Jute ... ..	1993-99
Export Duty on Rice ... ..	1999-2002
Customs Policy--Land Frontiers ... ..	2002
Smuggling of Saccharine ... ..	2002-06
Demand No. 23--Indian Postal and Telegraph Depart- ment-- ... ..	2009-24
Dearth of Post Offices in the Chota Nagpur Division. ... ..	2013-15
Low Salaries of postal clerks, peons and subordinate services and inadequate pensions to retired subor- dinates ... ..	2015-34



CONTENTS—*contd.*

PAGES.

**Friday, 11th March, 1927—**

Questions and Answers ... ..	2035-52
Bills passed by the Council of State laid on the table	2052
Message from the Council of State	2052-53
Statement of Business ...	2053-54
The General Budget— <i>contd.</i>	
List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	
Demand No. 23—Indian Postal and Telegraph Department— <i>contd.</i> ... ..	2054-2101
Low Salaries of Postal Clerks, Peons and Subordinate Services and inadequate Pensions of Subordinate Retired Officers ... ..	2054-83
Division of Portfolios and non-appointment of a Member for Communication ... ..	2083-92
Telegraph Censorship ... ..	2092-97
Press Telephone Rates ... ..	2097-98
Cable and Inland Press Rates ... ..	2098-99
Posting of Telegrams ... ..	2099-2100
Indo Ceylon Cables ... ..	2100-01

**Saturday, 12th March, 1927—**

Questions and Answers ... ..	2103-08
Statement laid on the Table ... ..	2108
Withdrawal of Instructions to Select Committees to report on certain Bills within given date	2108-09
Petitions relating to the Currency Bill ... ..	2109
The Currency Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses adjourned ... ..	2109-00

**Monday, 14th March, 1927—**

Questions and Answers ... ..	2161-85 <sup>1</sup>
Unstarred Questions and Answers ... ..	2182-85
Report of the Committee on Petitions regarding petitions relating to the Currency Bill	2185
General Budget— <i>contd.</i>	
List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	
Demand No. 18—Salt— ... ..	2186-2202
Desirability of increasing the consumption of Salt in India and of making India self-supporting in the matter of Salt ... ..	2186-90
Manufacture of Salt in the Orissa Coast ... ..	2190-97
Grievances of the Miners of the Khewra Salt Mines	2197-2202
Demand No. 38—Army Department— ... ..	2202-40
Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee: University Training Corps	2203-14
General Policy and Expenditure	2214-40

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 14th March, 1927.

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

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### TONGA STAND IN PARLIAMENT STREET NEAR THE ENTRANCE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

888. \*Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: (a) Has the plot of land on the west of the Parliament Street near the Assembly entrance in New Delhi, where tongas stand, been leased? If so, to whom?

(b) Is it a fact that tongawallas standing on the plot of land are charged  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna each? If so, by whom?

(c) If the land has not been leased to anybody, do Government propose to put a stop to the charge of  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna?

(d) If the land has been leased do Government propose to set apart some other plot for a tonga stand?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The plot of land in question has been constituted a municipal tonga stand and it is under the control of the Imperial Delhi Municipal Committee.

(b) and (c). Government have no information.

(d) The plot in question was selected as being most convenient for a tonga stand and there appears to be no reason to move the stand elsewhere.

### ACCOMMODATION OF THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS OFFICES IN NEW DELHI.

889. \*Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: (a) Is it a fact that the Army Department Secretariat has been located this winter in the Imperial Secretariat in New Delhi, while the Army Headquarters offices are located in the Temporary Secretariat in Old Delhi? If so, why?

(b) Is it proposed to continue the above arrangement next year also?

(c) Will Government please state the approximate number of (1) officers and (2) clerical establishment of the Army Headquarters and connected offices at present working in the Temporary Secretariat in Old Delhi?

(d) Is it also proposed to shift the Army Department Secretariat and connected offices at present located in the Imperial Secretariat in New Delhi to Old Delhi from next year?

(e) Is it a fact that accommodation has been built for all these offices in the Imperial Secretariat Buildings in New Delhi? If so, why is it

proposed to locate them in Old Delhi and how is it proposed to utilize the accommodation in New Delhi?

(f) Are Government aware that sufficient office accommodation, and quite a good number of residential bungalows (specially officers') are lying vacant in New Delhi? If so, why have not the Army Headquarters and connected offices at present located in Old Delhi been accommodated in New Delhi?

(g) Have Government considered the possibility of finding deficient accommodation, if any, by shifting a portion of the temporary Public Works Department offices from the Imperial Secretariat Buildings in New Delhi to some other convenient buildings which are not in use at present?

(h) Will not the proposed location of Army Headquarters and connected offices in Old Delhi involve extra expense? If so, what is the justification for the same?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e). There is not sufficient residential or office accommodation in New Delhi for the number of officers and clerks in Army Headquarters who at present come down to Delhi for the winter. It has therefore been decided to accommodate the offices of Army Headquarters in Old Delhi during 1926-27 and 1927-28. The Army Department has been located in the new Secretariat buildings this year, and will probably remain there next year also. The total numbers of officers and clerks belonging to Army Headquarters at present working in the Old Secretariat are 82 and 230 respectively. In addition, there are 9 officers and 58 clerks belonging to the offices of the Financial Adviser, Military Finance.

(f) The answer is in the negative. The second part does not arise.

(g) The location of a portion of the Public Works Department offices in the Imperial Secretariat buildings is a temporary arrangement, no other accommodation being available at present.

(h) The extra expense, if any, is small.

#### ANNUAL COST OF THE SIMLA EXODUS FROM 1921 TO 1926.

890. **\*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Will Government kindly give the total cost of the Simla exodus, year by year, from 1921 to 1926?

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** The information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

#### SUBSTITUTION OF PROVIDENT FUND FOR PENSIONS IN THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

891. **\*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Will Government kindly state if any inquiries have been made in regard to the substitution of provident fund for pensions in different departments of the Government of India? And what result, if any, has been arrived at?

(b) Do Government propose to consult the wishes of Government employees, and give them the option to choose between the provident fund, and pension system?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the replies I gave on the 3rd February to Mr. Duraiswamy

Aiyangar's starred question No. 91 and on the 4th instant to Mr. Joshi's starred question No. 722.

(b) The point will be borne in mind if and when the scheme materialises.

APPOINTMENT OF AN AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN SOUTH AFRICA.

892. \*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will Government kindly state when they expect to appoint an Agent to the Governor General in South Africa, in terms of the settlement recently arrived at?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The matter is under consideration. I regret I am not yet in a position to make any definite statement.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is it to be hoped that Government will bear in mind that, as far as possible, an Indian should be appointed in that position?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I have no doubt that the Government will bear in mind all suggestions that have been made in connection with this appointment. Sir, before it is made.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I take it that this particular matter is before Government?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Yes, Sir, it is.

FORMATION OF A SEPARATE KANNADA PROVINCE.

893. \*Mr. D. V. Belvi: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have taken any action upon the Resolution moved by the Honourable Rao Sahib Dr. U. Rama Rau, in the Council of State on the 17th February, 1926, regarding the formation of a separate Kannada Province upon a linguistic basis?

(b) Have they consulted the Local Governments of Madras, Bombay and Coorg on the subject-matter of the said Resolution?

(c) If so, will they be pleased to lay the opinions of those Governments on the table?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state if they have received any representations or resolutions from any places in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay or Coorg in support of the said Resolution?

(e) If so, which places?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a), (b) and (c). The Resolution referred to was rejected by the Council of State and Government have therefore taken no action in the matter.

(d) and (e). Resolutions were received in May and June 1926 from the Presidents of the Uppinangady, Udipi and Kasargod Taluk Boards urging the establishment of a separate Karnataka University and province.

EXILE OF MAULANAS MOHAMMED ISHAQ AND MOHAMMED IRFAN FROM THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

894. \*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: (a) Are Government aware that Maulana Mohammed Ishaq of Mansehra and Maulana Mohammed Irfan

of Hazara have been exiled from the North-West Frontier Province and are not allowed to return to their homes?

(b) Will Government be pleased to inform the House when and for what offences the said gentlemen were exiled?

(c) Do the Government know that in the year 1920 both of them were kept for an indefinite period of time in U. P. jails without any trial?

(d) Have Government paid any allowance to those gentlemen during the long period of exile?

(e) Are Government aware that Mohammed Ishaq's house was searched at the time of his arrest and that nothing objectionable was found there?

(f) Are Government aware that at the time of Mohammed Ishaq's arrest his property worth about Rs. 10,000 was spoiled by officials and that it has not yet been compensated for?

(g) Do Government know that M. Mohammed Ishaq still lives at Rawalpindi and in spite of constant demands of the important persons of the North-West Frontier Province nothing is given to him to enable him to meet his daily expenditure?

(h) Are Government aware that in 1925, M. Mohammed Ishaq averted a pending riot at Rawalpindi and the Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi, recommended to the Punjab Government the cancellation of the banishment orders?

(i) Are Government prepared now to allow the said Maulanas to return to their native province? If not, are they prepared to grant allowances to them from the date of their exile?

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** (a) to (i). I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer given on behalf of Sir William Vincent on the 7th September 1922, to Munshi Mahadeo Prasad and to the answer that I gave to Mr. S. Sadiq Hasan on the 24th March last. I am making enquiries as to the other points raised by the Honourable Member, and will furnish him with any information that is available in due course.

#### EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RECRUITMENT FOR POST OFFICES IN CALCUTTA AND BOMBAY TO ADJACENT REVENUE DIVISIONS.

895. **\*Mr. Srish Chandra Datta:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to Part I of the Circular No. 29, dated the 2nd September, 1926, issued by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs?

(b) Will the Government state the principle on which recruitment for Post Offices in Calcutta and Bombay has been extended to adjacent Revenue Divisions?

(c) Is a similar restriction in force in any other department of Government service? If so, which? If not, why has the Postal Department been selected for such experiment?

**Sir Ganen Roy:** (a) Yes.

(b) Because many of the clerks working in Government and mercantile establishments in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay are drawn from the surrounding districts.

(c) Government are not aware of such restriction in any other department. The restriction was considered necessary in respect of the Postal

Department, because it has been found that a candidate enlisting in an office or Division far distant from his home is apt to put forward as a grievance that he is serving far away from his family and has to maintain two establishments, as a remedy for which he either wants higher pay or asks for a transfer to a place nearer his home.

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE POST AND TELEGRAPH ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT AND IN THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE.

†896. \*Mr. Abdul Haya: (a) Is it a fact that there is no Muslim Assistant Accounts officer in the Post and Telegraph Accounts Department and that out of 73 appointments in the Subordinate Accounts Service only two are held by Muslims?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, what steps are being taken by the Government to increase the representation of the Muslims in these services?

MUSLIMS IN THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE.

†897. \*Mr. Abdul Haya: (a) Is it a fact that some members of the Subordinate Accounts Service have been promoted from the Civil Accounts Offices to the posts of Assistant Accounts Officer, Senior Accountants and Accountants in the Post and Telegraph Accounts Department? If so, are there any Muslims among them?

(b) Is it a fact that some graduates have been appointed in this Department as direct probationers for the Subordinate Accounts Service and some clerks have been appointed in the Subordinate Accounts Service after being exempted from passing the prescribed Subordinate Accounts Service Examination, during the last four years, and that none of them is a Muslim? If so, why?

(c) Is it a fact that in this Department in the past, some vacancies in the Subordinate Accounts Service were not filled strictly according to the order of seniority in the list of Subordinate Accounts Service passed clerks, and that on several occasions junior men in the waiting list were appointed to the Subordinate Accounts Service in preference to senior men; if so, was such a concession ever extended to any Muslim Subordinate Accounts Service passed clerks? If not, why not?

MUSLIMS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

†898. \*Mr. Abdul Haya: Is it a fact that all posts of Superintendent Records (reserved for clerical staff) and establishment clerks in the office of the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs and its Branch offices are at present held by non-Muslims?

GRANT OF ADVANCE INCREMENTS TO CLERKS IN THE POST AND TELEGRAPH ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT.

†899. \*Mr. Abdul Haya: Is it a fact that 'advance increments' have recently been granted to several clerks in the clerical service of the Post and Telegraph Accounts Department? If so, have any Muslim clerks been granted such increments?

†For answer to this question, see answer below question No. 911.

**ADEQUATE REPRESENTATIONS OF MUSLIMS IN THE OFFICE OF THE  
ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.**

†900. \***Mr. Abdul Haya:** (a) Is it a fact that there is at present only one Muslim clerk in the upper division in the main office of the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs at Delhi out of a sanctioned strength of about 80 clerks? If so, what steps do Government propose to take to ensure the adequate representation of the Muslims in this office?

(b) Is it a fact that seven clerks in the upper division have been recruited in the office of the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, since its shifting to Delhi, and that not one of them is a Muslim? Will Government please state how many out of these seven clerks are Kayasths by caste?

**NON-APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS AS EXCAVATION ASSISTANTS IN THE  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.**

901. \***Mr. Abdul Haya:** (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that 3 new posts of Excavation Assistants (250—10—350 grade) were created in the Archæological Department of the Government of India last year?

(b) Is it a fact that all the three posts have been filled by non-Muslims?

(c) Will Government please state the date or dates on which these appointments were made?

(d) Is it a fact that before these appointments were made the attention of Government and the Director of Archæology was drawn to the paucity of Muslims in this Department by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Simla, and in reply thereto the Anjuman was told that due regard will be paid to the claims of the Muslim community?

(e) Is it a fact that these posts were not advertised and that they were filled without giving publicity to their existence?

(f) Will Government please state what was the procedure adopted in making these appointments?

(g) Is it a fact that one of these three posts has been given to a person who is a mere undergraduate and possesses no technical educational qualification, and that two or three months previous to this appointment, he was for the first time employed temporarily as a caretaker on Rs. 100 per month in one of the Archæological centres?

(h) Is it a fact that this gentleman's father was already employed in this Department?

**Mr. J. W. Bhore:** (a) and (b). Yes; but of 9 appointments made recently in the Archæological Department, 3 were filled by Muslims.

(c) The Director General of Archæology issued letters on the 17th September, 1926, appointing the three candidates selected by him on probation for one year with effect from the 1st October, 1926.

(d) The letters of the Anjuman-i-Islamia were received by the Director General of Archæology after he had issued the letters of appointment.

(e) Yes. The Director General of Archæology has however been asked to give the widest publicity when such posts are filled in future.

(f) Though the posts were not advertised applications were received and considered by the Director General of Archæology who appointed the three

†For answer to this question, see answer below question No. 911.

candidates he considered to be the most suitable for the work. Two of those appointed had had excavation experience under the personal supervision of the Director General of Archæology. The third was a member of the staff of the Archæological Department and had assisted the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, at a number of previous excavations.

(g) One of the candidates selected is an undergraduate, but as just stated he had experience of excavation work. Before his appointment he was doing the work usually undertaken by an Excavation Assistant during the hot weather season and not that of a mere caretaker.

(h) His father is not employed in the Archæological Department.

REVISION OF THE POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH CODES.

902. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Is it a fact that the Postal and Telegraph Codes are at present being revised under the orders of Government?

(b) Will Government please state the date on which it was originally decided that these Codes should be revised?

(c) To what establishment was this work entrusted, what is the name of the officer who is in charge of this work and what is his monthly salary?

(d) What is the monthly cost of the establishment which is engaged in this work of revision?

(e) On what date was the work taken in hand?

(f) What is the total cost which has been incurred by Government up till 28th February, 1927, on this work?

(g) Was any time limit originally fixed during which this work was to be completed?

(h) Have there been any extensions of the time since then? If so, how many and for what periods?

(i) What was the total number of the pages of these old Codes?

(j) Will Government please state what progress the work of revision has so far made and by what date it will be completed?

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** (a) Yes.

(b) July, 1923.

(c) The work was entrusted to a number of officers aided by a small clerical staff. The officers now in charge are: Mr. S. P. Varma, of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, whose pay is Rs. 1,350 per mensem; Mr. P. N. Mitra and Mr. B. B. Bhattacharji, both of the Postal and Telegraph Department, whose pay is respectively, Rs. 1,850 and Rs. 1,050 per mensem.

(d) The monthly cost of the establishment (additional to the figures just mentioned) is Rs. 2,170 per mensem.

(e) The work was commenced in May, 1924.

(f) Rs. 1,48,205, subject to the following remarks.

(g) No.

(h) Does not arise.

(i) Nearly 6,000 pages.



(j) Of the 27 Volumes to be printed one is complete, four are in the Press. The rest of the work is well advanced and it is hoped that it will be completed by the end of the coming financial year.

For the Honourable Member's information I would add that in addition to the revision of the Manuals it became necessary for the same staff to undertake a comprehensive revision of the statutory Telegraph Rules to bring these into consonance with the International Regulations in which considerable changes were made at the last International Telegraph Conference. A large part of the time of the officers employed on the revision had also to be devoted to the unification of the rules in the different branches of the department and, more particularly in the case of Mr. S. P. Varma, to the details of the reorganisation of the Postal and Telegraph accounts in the commercial form they now take and which was a necessary preliminary to the Code revision.

NUMBER OF MUSLIMS APPOINTED IN THE OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR GENERAL AND SUBORDINATE OFFICES THERETO.

†903. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Is it a fact that at present there is not a single Muslim employed in the Subordinate Accounts Service nor is there a single Muslim Assistant Accounts officer in the main offices of the Auditor General and Accountant General, Central Revenues?

(b) Is it a fact that several members of the Subordinate Accounts Service have been promoted from other Accounts offices to the posts of Assistant Accounts Officers and Senior Accountants and Accountants in the offices of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, but none of them is a Muslim? If so, will Government please state why no Muslims have been promoted?

(c) Will Government be pleased to furnish a statement showing the number of new appointments given to Muslims and non-Muslims respectively in the office of the Auditor General and each of the offices subordinate thereto during the year 1926?

PROPORTION OF MUSLIMS IN THE CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER, NORTHERN INDIA SALT REVENUE.

904. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that the Commissioner, Northern India Salt Revenue, Delhi, has been directed by the Government of India that in future recruitment 3/4ths of the appointments in the clerical establishment of his office should be given to non-Muslims on the ground that the Government believes there is a preponderance of Muslims in this office?

(b) Will Government please state what is the proportion of Muslims and non-Muslims in the ministerial and executive services of the Northern India Salt Revenue Department?

(c) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, are Government prepared to issue necessary instructions that in those offices and Departments under the Government of India where there is a preponderance of non-Muslims in future recruitment 3/4ths of the new appointments should be reserved for Muslims?

†For answer to this question, see answer below question No. 911.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) The information is as follows:

Gazetted officers.	10 Muslims and 22 non-Muslims.
Non-gazetted executive officers.	35 Muslims and 24 non-Muslims.
Ministerial officers.	77 Muslims and 100 non-Muslims.

(c) The question does not arise.

**MUSLIM REPRESENTATION IN THE OFFICES OF THE CONTROLLER OF PRINTING, STATIONERY AND STAMPS AND THE DEPUTY CONTROLLER, CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE.**

905. \***Mr. Abdul Hays:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state separately the number of Muslims and non-Muslims in the ministerial establishments employed at present in the Office of:

- (i) the Controller of Printing, Stationery and Stamps in India,
- (ii) the Deputy Controller, Central Printing Office?

(b) Will Government please state why the Muslims have not been given an increased share in the above offices, in spite of the fact that the attention of the Controller was drawn to the paucity of Muslims by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Simla?

(c) Is it a fact that on a reference made by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Simla, the Controller of Printing in December, 1926, replied that he had looked into the matter and found that the Muslim community had received every consideration and were well represented. If so, will Government be pleased to state with what mathematical precision the Muslim community is said to be well represented in the above-named offices?

(d) Are Government prepared to take steps to equalise the number of Muslims in the above offices when new vacancies are to be filled up in the near future?

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** (a)

	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
(i) . . . . .	Nil	6
(ii) . . . . .	4	15

(b) No fresh recruits have recently been appointed in the Controller's Office. In the Central Printing Office the proportion of Muslims employed is now 21 per cent.

(c) I believe that this is so, I am unable to understand the latter part of this question, the mathematical percentage has been given by me in answer to part (b).

(d) No. Government have never undertaken to make the Muslim representation in this office equal to that of all other communities. In recruiting the desirability of removing undue preponderance of any one class or community is kept in view.

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS,  
DELHI.

906. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Is it a fact that there are very few Muslims in the clerical service of the Government of India Press, Delhi, and that most of them are in the lower scale of pay?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, are Government prepared to take necessary steps to increase the representation of the Muslims?

(c) Is it a fact that the posts of the Head Clerk and Accountant are both held by non-Muslims?

(d) If the answer to (c) is in the affirmative, are Government prepared to appoint any Muhammadan capable to discharge those duties efficiently to the post of Accountant which is not at present permanently filled?

(e) Is it a fact that a non-Muhammadan has recently been temporarily appointed to the post of the Accountant including the cashier's in preference to several Muhammadan candidates possessing more experience?

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** (a) About 25 per cent. of the clerical posts are held by Muslims. They are graded according to their qualifications and service.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Yes.

(d) No.

(e) No. A non-Muslim was appointed as Accountant and Cashier because he had qualifications possessed by no other available candidate.

MUSLIM OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

907. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: Will Government please state what is the total number of officers in the Indian Stores Department and how many of them are Muslims?

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** The total number of officers at present in the Indian Stores Department is 53 of whom 1 is a Muslim.

NUMBER OF MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS IN THE CLERICAL SERVICE  
IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, ALIGARH.

\*908. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: Will Government be pleased to lay down a statement showing the number of Muslims and non-Muslims separately according to different scales of pay in the clerical service in the Government Press, Aligarh?

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** The statement asked for is placed on the table.

*Statement showing different scales of pay of the clerical staff held by the different communities in the Government of India Press, Aligarh.*

Scales of pay.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.
200—5—250	Nil.	1
125—5—175	}	Nil.
100—5—140		
80—4—120		
70—3—100		
35—2—75	39	6
30	Nil.	1
Total	46	8

APPOINTMENT OF MUHAMMADAN EXAMINERS FOR THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE EXAMINATION.

999. **\*Mr. Abdul Haya:** Is it a fact that no Muhammadan has been appointed as Examiner of any paper, other than local paper, in the Subordinate Accounts Service Examination during the last 5 years? If so, why?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to my reply to unstarred question No. 239 on 19th March, 1926.

MUSLIM CLERKS IN THE AUDIT OFFICE OF THE INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

†910. **\*Mr. Abdul Haya:** (a) Is it a fact that out of a total establishment of about 100 clerks in the Audit Office of the Indian Stores Department there is only one Muslim?

(b) Will Government please lay on the table a statement showing the exact number of Muslims and non-Muslims in this office?

MUSLIMS IN THE AUDIT OFFICE, NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY, DELHI DIVISION.

911. **\*Mr. Abdul Haya:** (a) Is it a fact that not a single Muslim is at present employed in the Audit Office, North Western Railway, Delhi Division?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the negative, will the Government please state the names of the Muslims employed, giving in each case their monthly salary?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** I propose to answer questions Nos. 896—900, 903, 910 and 911 together.

I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes on the 27th January 1927, to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub's unstarred question No. 3. That reply holds good in the case of the offices and departments referred to in these questions.

† For answer to this question, see answer below question No. 911.

### MUSLIM OFFICERS IN THE METEOROLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

912. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: Is it a fact that there is only one Muslim officer in the whole of the Meteorological Department? If so, what action do Government propose to take to increase the proportion of Muslims in this Department?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part of the question the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by me to part (b) of question No. 312 by Sardar Gulab Singh on the 7th February, 1927.

### MUSLIM CLERKS IN THE RAILWAY BOARD OFFICE.

913. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Will Government please state the total number of clerks employed in the Railway Board Office? How many of these are Muslims?

(b) Will Government please state how many clerks, both temporary and permanent, have been recruited during the last two years, and how many of them are Muslims?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The total number of clerks in the office of the Railway Board is 75 and out of these 14 are Muslims.

(b) In all 34 clerks, both temporary and permanent, were recruited during the last 2 years and out of these 11 were Muslims.

### INADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE HEAD AND DIVISIONAL OFFICES OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

914. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Is it a fact that Muslims are very poorly represented in the North Western Railway Head Offices as well as in Divisional Offices?

(b) Are Government prepared to take steps that in future more Muslims are recruited in these offices?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by the Honourable the Railway Member to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub's question No. 3 on the 27th January last. We have not got information about individual offices, but the Agent of the North Western Railway is very well aware of the policy of Government with regard to communal representation and I will send him a copy of the Honourable Member's question.

### EXILE OF MAULANAS MOHAMMED ISHAQ AND MOHAMMED IRFAN FROM THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

915. \*Mr. Abdul Hays: (a) Will Government please state when Maulana Mohammed Ishaq of Mansehra and Maulana Mohd. Irfan of Hazara were exiled from the North-West Frontier Province? Is it a fact that they are still subjected to the order of banishment and are not allowed to return to their homes in the North-West Frontier Province?

(b) Will Government please state under what law and for what offence these orders were passed against them?

(c) Is it a fact that in 1920 also these gentlemen were detained without a trial for a considerable period in the U. P. Jails?

(d) Is it a fact that at the time of his arrest the house of Maulana Mohammed Ishaq was also searched but nothing incriminating or objectionable was found?

(e) Will Government please state where these two gentlemen are detained at present? Are they free to live wherever they like outside the North-West Frontier Province?

(f) Are any allowances paid to them by the Government by way of maintenance? If not, why not?

(g) Is it a fact that the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi in 1925 recommended that the orders of banishment against Maulana Mohammed Ishaq be cancelled?

(h) Are Government now prepared to cancel the orders against these two gentlemen?

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer I have just given to a similar question by Raja Ghanzanfar Ali Khan.

**EMPLOYMENT OF AN AUSTRALIAN STAFF OFFICER AS AN INSTRUCTOR IN THE STAFF COLLEGE.**

916. **\*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) if they have asked for the loan of an Australian staff officer for a term of three years, to act as an instructor in the Staff College, and if so, why, and what would be his pay?

(b) how many other Australians are serving under the Government of India as military officers?

(c) the reasons for selecting Australians to be military officers in India?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** (a) The answer is in the affirmative. The reason is that the officer, who was a student at the Staff College, showed promise of becoming a very efficient instructor. His pay is the same as that of other instructors of the same grade, namely, married rate, Rs. 1,880 a month, and single rate Rs. 1,700 a month.

(b) 11; 10 with units, and 1 on the staff.

(c) The attachment of Dominion officers to units in India is in conformity with Imperial training policy. Owing to distance and other causes, Australian officers normally come to India for training, while officers of other Dominions go to the United Kingdom.

All charges on account of these officers are borne by the Commonwealth Government.

The officer attached to the staff is counterbalanced by an Indian Army officer who is similarly attached to the staff of the Australian Army.

SALE OF REVERSE COUNCIL BILLS IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER,  
1926.

917. \*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Will Government be pleased to state;

- (a) what was the amount of the Paper Currency Reserve which stood at the credit of India in the years 1913-14, 1917-18 and 1925-26, respectively?
- (b) whether they authorised the Imperial Bank of India to issue the Reverse Council Bills in November and December, 1926?
- (c) what was the extent of the demand and sale of the Reverse Council Bills during the said period?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** (a) The information asked for by the Honourable Member is given in the Report of the Controller of the Currency for 1925-26.

(b) and (c). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to my reply to starred question No. 154 by Kumar Ganganand Sinha on the 31st January 1927.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF THE INDIAN UNATTACHED LIST.

918. \*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that in the House of Commons in November last while replying to Rear Admiral Sueter Earl Winterton said that the Government of India had been asked to expedite the report placing departmental warrant officers of the Indian Unattached List exactly on the same footing as the British service warrant officers with regard to pay, leave allowances, etc.?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, what action have they taken on it?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** (a) I presume the Honourable Member is referring to the earlier question which was asked by Rear Admiral Sueter on the 12th July 1926 and Lord Winterton's reply. Government are not aware whether Lord Winterton subsequently in November said that he would ask the Government of India to expedite the report mentioned in his answer of the 12th July.

(b) As I stated in the reply which I gave on the 1st March to starred question No. 685, Government have been corresponding with the Secretary of State for some time regarding the conditions of service of the India Unattached List, and revised rates of pension have already been promulgated. A report was actually sent in November 1926.

CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO SEAMEN ADOPTED,  
BY THE 9TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR  
CONFERENCE.

919. \*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government please state what action they have taken to give effect to the Conventions and Recommendations passed at the 9th Session of the Geneva International Labour Conference to ameliorate the conditions of Indian seamen?

(b) If no action has as yet been taken, do they propose to take any in the near future? If so, when and what?

**The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:** The Conventions and Recommendations in question are being examined by the Government of India, but no decision has as yet been reached as to the action to be taken on them.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** A supplementary question, Sir. Do Government propose to expedite the matter of considering the Conventions and Recommendations and take speedy steps to give effect to them?

**The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:** We will expedite it as much as we can, Sir.

#### RELEASE OF BENGAL DETENUS.

920. **\*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** With reference to Earl Winterton's promise made in the House of Commons on 25th November, 1926, while replying to Mr. Thurtle, that he will make inquiry from the Government of India regarding the possibility of releasing the prisoners who have been detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Ordinance Act, will Government please state:

(a) if any such inquiry has been made?

(b) if made, what was the Government of India's reply to it?

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The Secretary of State has been informed of the views of the Government of India as stated in this House.

#### CONVERSION OF THE SUPER-TAX ON COMPANIES INTO A CORPORATION TAX.

921. **\*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that in the House of Commons in November last, the Under Secretary for India said that a copy of Mr. Bannet's question would be sent to the Government of India with regard to the conversion of the super-tax on companies into a corporation tax?

(b) Have the Government received Mr. Bannet's question? If so, what action, if any, have they taken in the matter?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The Government have not arrived at a final decision on the subject.

#### CREATION OF AN INDIAN NAVY.

922. **\*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state in detail the action hitherto taken and contemplated to be taken on the scheme of the creation of an Indian navy?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** It is impossible to give details of all the work that has been done during the past year and will be done this year, but I will furnish the Honourable Member with a statement of the more important items.



**APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES WITH INDIAN EXPERIENCE TO THE JUDICIAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.**

923. \*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: With reference to the Judicial Committee Bill, which passed the second reading in the House of Commons in December last and which provides for the appointment of two judges with Indian experience to sit on the Privy Council, will Government please state:

- (a) whether the appointments would be made on the recommendation of the Government of India?  
 (b) whether the words "Judges with Indian experience" would include an Indian?

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** (a) The Bill provides for appointments being made by His Majesty at whose pleasure it will be to consult the Government of India.

(b) I refer the Honourable Member to what I said in moving a Resolution in this House on the 3rd February 1926. It is intended to send the best men who have the qualification of Indian experience and without racial discrimination.

**GRANT OF PROTECTION TO THE MATCH INDUSTRY IN INDIA.**

924. \*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Will Government please state when they expect to receive the report of the Indian Tariff Board on the question of the grant of protection to the match industry in India?

**The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:** The question of the grant of protection to the match industry has not been referred to the Tariff Board, but the Tariff Board has been asked to investigate the whole position of the match industry in India. The enquiry is likely to be a long one and I am unable to say when we are likely to receive the Tariff Board's Report.

**Mr. H. G. Cocks:** A supplementary question, Sir. In the matter of an industry which has been inquired into by the Tariff Board, such as the match industry or the mill industry, would Government say whether they would be prepared in exceptional circumstances to take any steps on the report without waiting for this Assembly to meet again and pass legislation?

**The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:** I am not quite sure what the Honourable Member means, but our usual practice regarding the Tariff Board is to publish the report as soon as we have arrived at our own provisional conclusions.

**Mr. H. G. Cocks:** What I intended to ask was whether, in the event of Government considering action necessary on receiving one of these reports, they can take action on that report, or whether it would be essential to wait for this Assembly to pass legislation?

**The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:** That, Sir, would depend on the sort of action which the Honourable Member has in mind. In some cases we should certainly take action if we thought it necessary to do so.

**APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE DEPARTMENT OF THE  
DELHI PROVINCE.**

925. \*Khan Bahadur Makhdom Syed Rajan Baksh Shah: (a) Is it a fact that in Delhi Province the population of Hindus and Muhammadans

is practically equal, and that the distribution of the population in urban and rural areas is about 2:1?

(b) Is it a fact that the two Inspectors of Co-operative Societies in Delhi Province, 5 Sub-Inspectors, one Liquidator and two Camp Clerks are all Hindu Jats?

(c) Is it a fact that during the year 1925-26 only one Muslim Co-operative Society was registered by the then Muslim Sub-Inspector?

(d) Is it a fact that practically all existing Muslim Co-operative Societies were registered by the Muslim Sub-Inspector when there was a Muslim Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies in charge of the Delhi Co-operative movement?

(e) Is it a fact that the present 4 Co-operative Societies in the city were organised by the then Muslim Sub-Inspector?

(f) If the replies to the above questions are in the affirmative, do Government propose to consider the desirability of immediately appointing Muslims to the staff of the Co-operative Department of the Delhi Province?

REJECTION OF THE OFFER OF A RESPECTABLE GENTLEMAN OF THE DELHI PROVINCE TO WORK IN AN HONORARY CAPACITY IN THE CAUSE OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

926. \*Khan Bahadur Makhdum Syed Rajan Baksh Shah: Are Government aware that an offer to work in an honorary capacity to further the cause of co-operative societies by a respectable gentleman of the Delhi Province was rejected?

NUMBER OF HINDU AND MUSLIM CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES REGISTERED IN THE DELHI PROVINCE FROM THE 1ST AUGUST, 1926, TO THE 15TH JANUARY, 1927.

927. \*Khan Bahadur Makhdum Syed Rajan Baksh Shah: (a) Will Government please state how many applications of Muslims to register Co-operative Societies were rejected and how many similar applications from Hindu Societies were rejected during the year 1925-26?

(b) Will Government please state how many Muslim and how many Hindu Societies have been registered from 1st August, 1926, to 15th January, 1927, in the Delhi Province?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: With your permission, Sir, I should like to reply to questions Nos. 925, 926 and 927 together.

The information is being obtained and will be supplied to the Honourable Member.

NUMBER OF MUSSALMANS IN THE DELHI EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

928. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: In answer to certain questions of mine asked in March, 1926, about the number of Musalmans in the Delhi Educational Administration, I was told that out of 290 appointments only 27 were held by the Musalmans. Will the Government be pleased to state what steps, if any, were taken since then to remove this genuine grievance of the Musalmans? How many permanent appointments were made since then and how many of these permanent appointments were given to the Musalmans?

## GRANTS TO MUHAMMADAN SCHOOLS IN THE DELHI PROVINCE.

929. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) In reply to certain questions of mine I was informed in 1926 that the following were the figures of grant-in-aid given by the Educational administration at Delhi.

<i>Non-recurring grants.</i>		Rs.
Christian schools . . . . .		31,000
Hindu schools . . . . .		13,000
Muslim schools . . . . .		Nil
<i>Recurring grants.</i>		
Christian schools . . . . .		21.9 per cent.
Hindu schools . . . . .		64.6 per cent.
Muslim schools . . . . .		13.9 per cent.

Will Government be pleased to state what steps, if any, were taken since then to do justice to the Mussalmans in this matter?

(b) Will Government be pleased kindly to lay on the table a statement showing recurring and non-recurring grants paid to aided schools in the Delhi Province, arranged according to various communities, for the year 1926-27?

(c) If no non-recurring grants have been given to any Muhammadan school, will the Government be pleased to state reasons.

## EDUCATION OF MUHAMMADANS OF THE DELHI PROVINCE.

930. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will Government kindly state if it felt its responsibility towards the betterment of the education of Muhammadans constituting 40 per cent. of the population of the Delhi Province? If so, will Government very kindly state what policy it has adopted to achieve this end?

## EMPLOYMENT OF MUSSALMANS AS TEACHERS IN MUNICIPAL AND DISTRICT BOARD SCHOOLS IN THE DELHI PROVINCE.

931. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Will the Government kindly state how many teachers have been recommended by the Delhi Educational Office to the Municipal and District Boards during 1926 for employment in their schools, and how many of them are Musalmans?

(b) Will Government kindly state if according to the Code Rules of the Punjab, as followed by Delhi, such recommendations by the District Inspector of Schools were submitted to the Boards with the approval or through the Superintendent of Education, or were they sent direct by him to the Boards? If they were sent direct, will Government kindly state why Code Rules have not been observed in this case?

## APPOINTMENT OF MUHAMMADANS IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF THE DELHI PROVINCE.

932. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Is it a fact that during the year the following new appointments paid from Government revenues were

made either directly under the Superintendent of Education or under the Superintendent of Education as *ex-officio* Chairman?

Secretary, Board of Secondary Education . . . . .	Mr. H. H. L. Chablani . . . . .	Hindu.
Head Clerk of the Board . . . . .	Mr. Narain Das . . . . .	Hindu.
Second Clerk of the Board . . . . .	Mr. Anand Bihari . . . . .	Hindu.
Second Clerk of the Office of the Superintendent of Education . . . . .	Lala Bhim Sen . . . . .	Hindu.
Government New Cantonment School, Delhi Cantonment . . . . .	Lala Ram Sarup . . . . .	Hindu.
Government New Cantonment School, Delhi Cantonment . . . . .	Lala Devi Dayal . . . . .	Hindu.

(b) Is it a fact that not a single Muhammadan has been appointed during the year to a post paid from Government revenues?

(c) Will Government kindly state if in making these appointments, the assurance given by the Education Secretary in his answers to my questions as well as to the supplementary questions by Nawab Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qaiyum in clearest terms that "the Chief Commissioner has promised that these matters will receive his careful attention" has been duly respected? If it is not, do the Government propose to take any measures to get its assurance given on the floor of this House respected by the Departments under it?

APPOINTMENT OF A HINDU AS SECOND CLERK IN THE OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION, DELHI.

933. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Is it a fact that a post of second clerk fell vacant in the office of the Superintendent of Education, Delhi, owing to the termination of services of a Christian clerk, in the month of October 1926?

(b) Is it a fact that a deputation of the leading Muslim gentry waited upon the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of Delhi with their grievances and urged the appointment of a Muhammadan to the second clerkship then vacant?

(c) Is it a fact that the Chief Commissioner listened to the grievances of the Muhammadan deputation and promised to look into the matter?

(d) Is it a fact that this post of second clerkship was never advertised in any newspaper, whether English or Vernacular, and no other means to its publicity was resorted to?

(e) Is it a fact that notwithstanding any publicity about a dozen Muhammadans applied for it? Is it also a fact that one of them (Mahammed Masood) was a B.A. Honours, another (H. Mohammed Hussain) an Accountant with considerable experience of office work and submitted his testimonials to the effect? Is it a fact that all of the Muhammadan applicants belonged to Delhi city proper?

(f) Is it a fact that the post was not given to any Musalman but Lala Bhim Sen was imported from the North West Frontier Province for appointment as second clerk?

(g) Is it a fact that this Lala Bhim Sen was only a Matriculate? Is it also a fact that this Lala Bhim Sen was much above the age limit prescribed by Government (25 years) and this age limit was clearly controverted in his case?

(h) Are Government prepared to take any steps in regard to this appointment?

#### PAUCITY OF MUSLIM TEACHERS IN THE DELHI PROVINCE.

934. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) With reference to the reply given by Government on the 24th March, 1926, to my question No. 1387 (d) regarding the paucity of Muslim teachers that the reason was the want of suitable candidates, is it a fact that to obviate this reason the Anglo-Arabic College Committee passed a resolution to open J. V. classes and approached the Government to recognise the J. V. class for the training of teachers which they contemplated opening?

(b) Is it a fact that Government refused to accord recognition?

(c) Is it a fact that in the Punjab and elsewhere such local efforts were encouraged and at Lahore besides the Government Central Training College, there are training classes attached to the local Islamia and D. A. V. Colleges?

(d) Will Government state the reason for refusing to accord sanction to the recognition of the class to be attached to the Anglo-Arabic College?

#### SANCTION OF A GRANT FOR THE MOYYAD-UL-ISLAM ORPHANAGE AND MIDDLE SCHOOL, DELHI.

935. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Is it a fact that an organisation, Dalit Udhar Sabha, (or the Society for the Reclamation of the Depressed Classes) was lately organised at Delhi?

(b) Is it a fact that Government have sanctioned a building grant of Rs. 3,000 to this Society for a school started by the Society?

(c) Is it a fact that a Moyyad-ul-Islam Orphanage and Middle School applied for a building grant?

(d) Are Government cognizant of the fact that no non-recurring grant has been given to any Muhammadan school during the year?

(e) Do Government propose to sanction the grant to the above school?

#### NAMES OF CANDIDATES SENT TO THE CENTRAL DRAWING COLLEGE AND MEDICAL COLLEGE, LAHORE, FOR TRAINING.

936. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will Government kindly now give the names of candidates sent to the Central Drawing College and Medical College, Lahore, for training during the last five years?

#### AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS TO STUDENTS OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES IN THE DELHI PROVINCE.

937. \*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Is it a fact that the Government award scholarships to the students belonging to the depressed classes in the Delhi Province?

(b) Will the Government kindly lay a statement showing the award of these scholarships to various depressed classes giving the castes and creeds of the recipients for the last two years?

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF THE  
DELHI PROVINCE.

938. \***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Is it a fact that in reply to a question No. 1366 asked by me on the 22nd March, 1926, the Government stated that they were not aware of the issue of a letter to the educational authority regarding representation of Muslims in the Delhi Education Department?

(b) Is it a fact that a letter No. 3197-Edn., dated the 14th May, 1915, was issued to the Inspector of Schools, Ambala Division, the then educational authority for Delhi, with a copy of it sent to the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi?

(c) Is it a fact that according to this letter Muslims in the Delhi Educational Department then had a share of 17 per cent. of the appointments in the District and Municipal Boards against their then population of 31 per cent.?

(d) Is it a fact that the effect of such instruction of the Administrative and Executive Head of the Province has been that the percentage of Muhammadan employees in the Municipal and District Board schools under the Department has been further reduced from 17 per cent. to 12.7?

(e) Will Government kindly state if the above letter was afterwards cancelled? If not, will Government kindly state what were the reasons for the further reduction of the Muslim employees in the Department?

**Mr. J. W. Bhore:** Government are not in possession of information which would enable them to reply to these questions, but they have called for it and on receipt, replies will be sent to the Honourable Member.

**Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government be pleased to state for what purpose ten days are given to Government to make replies to questions?

**Mr. J. W. Bhore:** The Honourable Member will surely realise that the questions that he has put call for an enormous mass of detailed information. Directly the questions were received they were referred to the Local Administration. He must know that the Government of India cannot be in possession of detailed information regarding the matters he has raised, and a reply has not yet been received from the Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

EXTENSION OF THE TEXILA-HAVELLAN BRANCH OF THE NORTH WESTERN  
RAILWAY IN THE DIRECTION OF ABBOTTABAD, MANSERA, ETC.

939. \***Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they contemplate extending the Texila-Havelian branch of the North Western Railway in the direction of Abbottabad, Mansera and Gari-Habibullah, in the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province?

(b) Has the survey of the line been sanctioned, and if so, how far the scheme has advanced?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) and (b). Yes. It is proposed to carry out the survey during the next financial year.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE ROAD WHICH LINKS THE CIVIL AND MILITARY STATIONS IN THE GALLIS WITH MURREE.

940. \*Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: (a) Are Government aware that Murree, the summer Headquarters of the Northern Army Command and the largest Civil and Military hill station in the North Punjab, has no good road leading to it from the Abbottabad side passing through the Gallis and that the public is put to great inconvenience and expense on that account by having to employ pack animals and coolies for transport purposes for about 35 miles?

(b) Is it a fact that the present road, which links all the Civil and Military Stations in the Gallis with Murree, is liable to floods and landslips from the hill-side and that the traffic is not infrequently interrupted in the rainy season?

(c) Do Government propose to improve the road for wheeled traffic?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.

(c) No proposals have as yet been submitted to Government.

EXTENSION OF THE KOHAT-THAL RAILWAY TO PARACHINAR IN THE KURRUM VALLEY.

941. \*Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will Government be pleased to state if they propose to take up the project of the extension of the Kohat-Thal Railway to Parachinar in the Kurrum Valley; if so, how soon, and if not, why not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have had this extension under consideration for some time, but I am afraid I cannot say at present when it is likely to be taken up. For I understand that there are other projects which are both more promising and of greater importance to which precedence should be given.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Are Government aware that land was taken up for this project, a certain number of houses were built and a good deal of progress was made? May I know what has become of all that?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I believe it is the case that we took up some land, but I do not know what the present position is with regard to its utilisation.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will preference be given to this project on that account?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I will look into the matter. I am afraid I am not very well acquainted with the details of this project.

---

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REVISION OF THE ELECTORAL ROLL FOR THE MADRAS LANDHOLDERS' CONSTITUENCY OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

185. Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the action of the returning officer of the Madras Landholders' seat to the Assembly in issuing a Gazette revising the electoral roll of that constituency between the date of nomination and the date of scrutiny of nomination?

(b) Are Government aware that as a result of that revised roll after the final roll was published the nomination paper of a candidate was rejected?

(c) Do Government propose to make definite rules so that repetition of such revision may not occur?

**Mr. L. Graham:** (a) Any action taken by the Returning Officer in this connection was taken in pursuance of the action by the Government of India and the Government of Madras which I shall proceed to describe. On the 23rd September, 1926, the Government of India received a telegram from the Government of Madras informing them that an application had been made for the preparation, under sub-rule (6) of rule 9 of the Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, of a list of amendments to the electoral roll for the Madras Landholders' constituency of the Legislative Assembly. In supporting the application the Madras Government referred to the recent change in the qualifications for entry on the electoral roll for this constituency which, in view of the nature of the qualification specified in paragraph 8 of Part I of Schedule II to the Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, resulted from the amendment of Schedule II to the Madras Electoral rules by the omission of paragraph 20 thereof in consequence of the removal of the sex disqualification. It was obvious that so much of the electoral roll as related to the Malabar District registration area would inevitably be seriously incorrect if it were not revised in the light of this amendment of the qualifications and the Government of India considered that it was preferable to undertake the preparation of a list of amendments even at that late stage rather than to let the election proceed on a roll which would have been seriously incorrect. They accordingly issued the necessary direction under sub-rule (6) of rule 9 on the 24th September. The Madras Government in a notification of the same date fixed dates for the various stages in the preparation of the list of amendments, the last date for publication of the final list being the 5th October, while the dates for the nomination of candidates and the scrutiny of nominations were the 4th and 8th October, respectively.

(b) The Government of India have no information.

(c) The Government of India do not think that any amendment of the rules is required. The circumstances in this case were wholly exceptional, the necessity for preparation of the list of amendments having arisen from a very recent amendment of the Electoral Rules.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY FROM RAJBARI TO JESSORE *via* MAGURA.

186. **Dr. A. Suhrawardy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state:

(i) Whether it is a fact that a railway line was proposed to be constructed from Rajbari to Jessore *via* Magura (Bengal)?

(ii) Whether the initial survey of the line was made?

(iii) Whether the Railway Board is going to abandon the proposal?  
If so, what are the reasons for doing so?

(b) Are the Government aware that great inconvenience is felt for want of railway communication between the places mentioned above?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) (i). Yes.

(ii) A survey for a line of railway from Rajbari *via* Kamarkhali to Jessore has recently been sanctioned.



- (iii) The proposal will be considered on receipt of the report.  
 (b) Government have received no representations on the subject.

ASSISTANT INCOME-TAX OFFICERS IN THE PUNJAB.

187. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) Is it a fact that some posts of Assistant Income-tax Officers were sanctioned for the Punjab a few months ago? If so, how many?

(b) How many candidates have been taken in those posts up till now and what are their names and qualifications?

(c) How was the selection made?

(d) Are any posts still vacant? If so, how many?

(e) Did any B. Com. apply for the said posts? If so, how many?

(f) Has any B. Com. been taken? If not, why not?

(g) Do Government, in future, propose to give them preference?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blckett:** (a) Yes. Four.

(b) to (f). The Government do not think it necessary to take special steps to collect this information. I may remind the Honourable Member that the appointment of these purely temporary officers to permanent posts will be subject to the approval of the Local Government.

(g) I invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply that I gave on 16th September, 1924, to part (c) of his question No. 1995.

CLASS OF APPOINTMENTS PROVIDED FOR CANDIDATES WHO HAVE PASSED  
 IN BOTH THE LOWER AND UPPER DIVISION EXAMINATIONS OF THE  
 STAFF SELECTION BOARD.

188. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether a candidate who passes in both the lower and upper division examinations of the Staff Selection Board (as an outside candidate) and is first given a chance in the lower division, where he is made permanent, is not recommended by the Public Service Commission for the upper division in any other Department and he has to look to his Department for promotion in future?

(b) If so, do Government intend to alter this rule in future so as to allow the Public Service Commission to recommend a candidate to another Department even though he has been made permanent in the lower grade?

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** (a) The only upper division examination for outsiders, except the one that was held in November, 1926, and of which the results are not yet out, was held in 1920. The candidates who passed at that examination were asked to state whether they were willing to accept lower division vacancies. Those who accepted and were confirmed in the lower division were not offered appointments in the upper division of other offices, as vacancies which occur are mostly temporary and are usually of short duration and as it is impracticable to nominate for them men permanently employed in other departments.

(b) There is no rule preventing the Public Services Commission from recommending to an upper division vacancy a candidate who holds a permanent lower division post in another Department but for the reasons given any such recommendation would usually be ineffective.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE CLERICAL SERVICE AND AS PROBATIONERS IN THE  
SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE UNDER THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL,  
CENTRAL REVENUES.

189. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) Is it a fact that recently the Accountant General, Central Revenues, invited applications from graduates for appointments in clerical services and for probationers in the Subordinate Accounts Service?

(b) Is it a fact that it was stated that the candidates should be M.A.'s, M.Sc., and other graduates who have taken degrees with Honours of any University in the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Delhi Province?

(c) Is it not a fact that the advertisement in question excluded B. Coms. for applying for those appointments?

(d) Are Government aware that B. Coms. are specially trained in Accounting and Auditing?

(e) If the answer to (d) is in the affirmative, do the Government intend to allow B. Coms. to apply for those posts in future?

(f) Why was it inserted in the advertisement that the candidates should be graduates of any University in the Punjab, the United Provinces or the Delhi Province?

(g) Was it meant to restrict the number of applicants from other Provinces?

(h) If so, has this method ever been applied in case of the Staff Selection Board Examination? If not, why was it applied in case of the Accountant General, Central Revenues office?

(i) Are Government aware that there are many candidates belonging to these very Provinces (Punjab, the United Provinces, Delhi) who have got foreign qualifications or qualifications of other Universities than the above mentioned?

(j) If so, do Government intend to allow the residents of these Provinces, without any regard to the University from which they have passed, to apply for the said posts in future? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** The information is being collected and a reply will be sent to the Honourable Member in due course.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS REGARDING  
PETITIONS RELATING TO THE CURRENCY BILL.

**Maulvi Muhammad Yakub** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): I beg to present the Report of the Committee on Petitions. These petitions relate to the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, for certain purposes. The number of these petitions is 304. As all these petitions are identical we have decided to treat them as one petition and have directed that it be circulated in *extenso* as a paper to the Bill. Sir, I present the Report.

## SECOND STAGE—contd.

*Expenditure from Revenue—contd.*

## DEMAND No. 18—SALT.

**Mr. President:** The House will now proceed to consider Demand No. 18.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett** (Finance Member): I beg to move:—

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 87,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1923, in respect of ‘Salt’.”

*Desirability of increasing the Consumption of Salt in India and of making India self-supporting in the matter of Salt.*

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar** (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadian Rural): I have tabled a motion that the Demand under the head ‘Salt’ be reduced by Rs. 1,500.

In moving for a reduction of expenditure under this head I was obliged to do so because under the Government of India Act Rules and Standing Orders I cannot ask for an enhancement of the Demand. Strictly speaking, I would have been pleased if only I had been permitted to request the Government of India to enhance this Demand by Rs. 44,33,000, and I shall presently show what I mean by that enhancement. In the matter of nation-building, I should consider that a sufficient supply of salt for consumption by the population is one of the foremost things. On the other hand, the nation-building operations in this country are carried on by three processes. One is by reducing the consumption of salt as much as possible, the other is by distributing opium as freely as possible and the third is by advertising liquor on a large scale. The first two are done by the Government of India and the last has been transferred to the provinces as a transferred subject. I request this Government seriously to consider the value of enhancement of the consumption of salt as increasing the health of the population. To that end I will place before the House some figures about the growth of population. Comparing the census figures of 1911 and 1921 we find that the population in India has increased only plus 1·2, whereas in England and Wales it has developed by 5·03 per cent. In both countries there were in the interval the effects of war. Unless it be that from England and Wales a less number of people went to the War than from India, we cannot understand this difference or disparity in the increase of population except by the fact that in this country no steps are taken for improving the health of the people. To speak of Health Weeks, Baby Welcomes and other things—they are simply political shibboleths when really you are not caring for the health of the people and are not doing things which are calculated to improve the population. I therefore call the serious attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to this subject and ask him to make up his mind to spread the consumption of salt in various ways, of which one will come later on in the Finance Bill, namely, the reduction of the salt duty. But for the present I shall impress upon him the necessity for making arrangements for larger production of salt in this country than what has been done in the past. I have mentioned to you the figures of the development of population during the two census periods, 1911 and 1921. May I give you a few details

which will go to show how intermixed the consumption of salt and the growth of population are. We find from the figures collected by the Taxation Enquiry Committee that in the Punjab the consumption is 10.26 lbs. per head, in Sind 10.41, in Rajputana and Central India 10.59, Bihar and Orissa 10.97, in the United Provinces 10.98, in the Central Provinces and Berar 11.56, in Bombay 13.94, Bengal 15.24, Burma 18.54, and Madras 18.88. Comparing these figures with the growth of population in some of these centres you will find that in Sind while it is 10.41 lbs. consumption the population has gone down by minus 6.7, in Bihar and Orissa while it is 10.97 consumption minus 1.4 is the growth of population, in the United Provinces while it is 10.98 lbs. consumption the population has decreased by minus 3.1 per cent., in Bengal while it is a little more than 15 lbs. consumption the population is plus 1.5, in Burma where there is a little larger consumption, that is, 18.54, the population has increased by 9.1, and in Madras where it is 18.88 lbs. consumption the population has gone up by 2.2. Dr. Ratan who is considered an authority on salt describes 10 lbs. as the quantity required, evidently not to maintain the body in health, but to keep the body and soul together. We find that in England the consumption is 40 lbs. per head, and in Portugal 35 lbs. per head, and with all that there is no salt duty there and free consumption of salt takes place. Now, I ask Government to consider this problem seriously and to see whether it is not necessary for them also to promote more consumption of salt in this country than what they have been allowing the people to do in the past. Sir, I will take not the extreme 20 lbs. for which Mr. Gokhale pleaded before Government and which was based on the authority of the highest medical officers, but I will take it at 15 pounds. Even calculating at that rate roughly the consumption of salt in this country must be 6 crores of maunds every year. Putting alongside of it the salt that is necessary for cattle and horses, as agriculturists would rather forego their own salt than deny salt to the cattle which they want to keep in good health, I would say that 7 crores at the very least are necessary to make provision for human beings, for cattle and for industries and other purposes. Therefore, Sir, I put it as a rough estimate that 7 crores of maunds will be necessary for production in this country, and I calculate 4 annas as the highest amount that is necessary for the manufacture of one maund of salt because I am aware that this Government is trained in the school of extravagance and will not leave its habits all of a sudden. Strictly speaking, the real cost per maund for production cannot be more than 2 annas but I put it at 4 annas. This Government is purchasing salt at 3½ annas per maund. Therefore, putting 4 annas as the total cost for production of one maund, I put the total cost for 7 crores at 1½ crores and therefore it is that I said that this Government can be justified in asking for 44 and odd lakhs more under this Demand only if they will satisfy the two conditions of mine. The first is, stop the imported salt. We find year after year salt is being imported to a country like India which is surrounded on all sides by salt seas, which has got salt mines, salt lakes and so many other sources of supply. Still my Bengali friends are not ashamed to eat Liverpool salt, the salt imported into Bengal from a foreign country.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Who says that Bengalis eat foreign salt?

**Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar**: The Taxation Committee says that.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt**: The non-Bengali population of Bengal use it and not the people of Bengal.

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** Mr. Neogy and Sir Walter Willson contended that the imported salt is white salt but the Madras salt is brown salt.

**Mr. K. Ahmed** (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): The Madras salt is dirty salt, and the Liverpool salt is clean.

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** It cannot make him dirtier than he is.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** I protest against this remark, Sir, because my Honourable friend seems to have gone beyond the limit by levelling a personal attack on me which is unparliamentary and unjustified . . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The Honourable Member has invited this by his own remarks.

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** I consider it a great humiliation that this country should import salt from foreign countries when it can afford to produce all the salt that is necessary for consumption in this country and even export to other countries, if need be. My first suggestion is that the import of salt must be prohibited by a heavy import duty and the worst of it is that we find that in this country the duty on imported salt is the same as the excise duty on salt produced in India. Can anything be more shameful and more humiliating than this? There is a proverb in English which speaks about carrying coals to Newcastle. It is not so absurd as saying carrying salt to the Bay of Bengal. Sir, I invite this Government first to stop the importation of salt. If there be a man in this country who wishes not to eat the salt of this country, who does not want to be faithful to this country, I invite him to eat foreign salt with the higher imported duty than the duty levied on salt produced in this country.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** I am sorry for the dirty salt and its taste.

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** With all the attempts that we human beings are making to imitate the West, we have not become white. But I assure you that by a simple process the Madras salt can be made as white and fine as the imported salt.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is the Honourable Member entitled to make any remarks about the complexion of a particular Member?

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** Sir, I refer to my own colour. They must not levy additional charges and I am afraid even the amendment of the Madras Salt Act is a step towards the enhancing of the salt tax. If these two conditions are satisfied, I certainly think that the production of salt in this country can be enhanced. One other question that I would place alongside this is the problem of unemployment. We find salt factories are being closed year after year. You will find in the budget demand under Madras a deduction of 40 thousand rupees on account of the closing of the salt factories. 30 per cent. of the salt consumed in this country is imported. On the other hand I would ask Government to develop these industries, create an additional number of factories all along the coast line, give more room for the employment of Indians and solve

the problem of unemployment. I will quote a passage from page 143 of the Taxation Committee report:

"The first point is one that affects any proposal for concentration of manufacture and consists in the fact that, both in Madras and in Burma, the manufacture of salt is in a large measure a subsidiary industry to agriculture. Though many of the holdings of the licensees taken by themselves are uneconomic, the manufacture takes place in the hot weather and gives employment to agricultural labourers at a time when there is little work in the fields. The necessity for such subsidiary employment is constantly being insisted upon as one of the chief economic necessities of India, and the existence of an industry that supplies it is a matter to be taken seriously into consideration in any proposals for concentrating manufacture so as to be able to place it on a sounder footing from a purely commercial point of view."

I hope Government will take this seriously into consideration and see that more employment is also created for the agriculturists in the off seasons, that more salt is produced in this country and better health is safeguarded and developed by this benign, benevolent Government. (Mr. K. Ahmed: "By taking dirty salt?")

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** The Honourable Member who has moved this motion did not inform me or the House in advance what was the subject about which he proposed to speak. But I think he has raised two subjects. One is the desirability of increasing the consumption of salt in India and the second is the desirability of making India self-supporting in the matter of salt. His remedy on the first point, namely, to increase the consumption of salt is, I understand, to abolish the duty or to reduce the duty. I pointed out the other day that having regard to the present level of prices the salt tax at Rs. 1-4-0 a maund is at present less burdensome than the salt-tax at one rupee a maund before the War. Four annas of tax at the present moment means about a crore and a quarter of revenue. Having regard to the present position of the Government's Budget, I think it is obvious that we are not able to spare the revenue from salt at the present moment. We have a programme this year to get rid of the provincial contributions, and now that we know that 1s. 6d. is finally settled (Hear, hear.) (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: "Not yet"), the question of the provincial contributions may perhaps be again referred to without my being accused of having some ulterior motive in mind other than the very desirable motive of getting rid of the provincial contributions. The provincial contributions are a first charge this year, and the time has clearly not come when we can make big efforts to deal with our taxation in the direction of reduction. So much for the general question of a reduction of the duty on salt. I have no doubt that this is not the last opportunity that I shall have of speaking on his subject this year.

With regard to the second question, that of making India self-supporting in the matter of salt, I informed the House last year that in accordance with the recommendations of the Taxation Inquiry Committee, the Government intended to appoint a special officer to inquire into the whole case with a view to considering whether there was a case to go before the Tariff Board. The special officer has been on duty and has just recently submitted a report. That report is under the consideration of the Government. We have not had any time to consider it yet. If there is a *prima facie* case for the Tariff Board, the matter will be referred to them. At present I am not in a position to make any statement in regard to the probabilities in the matter. I would suggest that the Honourable Member should be satisfied with having raised this interesting point and should now agree to withdraw

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

his motion and let the House proceed to discuss the other points under consideration.

**Sir Purnshotamdas Thakurdas:** May I ask a question of the Honourable Member? Will the report of that special officer be published and circulated to Members of the Assembly when the Government have made up their mind about it?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** I am not sure in what form the report has been made, but certainly either the report itself or the contents will be made known to the Assembly.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That the Demand under the head ‘Salt’ be reduced by Rs. 1,500.”

The motion was negatived.

**Mr. President:** Mr. Jogiah and Mr. Nilakantha Das have a motion for a cut of Rs. 1,500 each on the paper. I do not know whether they intend to move it.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): I will move it, Sir.

*Manufacture of Salt on the Orissa Coast.*

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** Sir, I think my Honourable friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, has perhaps covered a spacious ground and has dealt with points regarding the salt tax and subjects in connection with the coming Madras Salt Act (Amendment) Bill, has criticised the administration of the Salt Department and has hinted at various other things. I know my friends on this side are also very anxious to go to Army, Income-tax and Opium very soon. I shall therefore very briefly speak on the manufacture of Orissa salt in moving this amendment. Sir, the year before last I proposed a cut on this Demand for this particular item and pressed on the Government the necessity of reviving the manufacture of salt on the Orissa coast. In reply, there was something like a pious desire expressed that if anybody was willing to take the lease for manufacturing salt on the Orissa coast, the Government would be ready to grant it. I do not know if this readiness was expressed publicly or whether it was at all advertised in the papers. “If someone comes forward to take the lease”—I know that someone in Orissa will perhaps never come forward. My object was to ask Government either to manufacture salt on a monopoly system or induce and assist some capitalist to undertake the manufacture on the excise system. My object was to give subsidiary employment, as the Taxation Inquiry Committee rightly pointed out, to a vast number of people in the coastal tracts of Orissa, where moreover it is not only a subsidiary occupation of the people; but where, the land being subject to floods and droughts, practically this is the only occupation open to them.

When to-day I am speaking on this subject in this House, I am reminded of those tracts where just at this time a famine is imminent. This year on the Chilka coast on account both of flood and drought there was no paddy crop, and I read in the papers only the other day that from the beginning of March those people had taken to living upon a kind of grass, a grass and its root called *kanaka*. It may seem strange to many of my friends in this House for they are not in touch with the conditions prevailing in those tracts in Orissa, but it is a fact that 7 or 8 years ago the grass which the people were living upon was shown in the pre-reform local

Council in the time of Sir Edward Gait, and the latter kindly went to those tracts on a visit, to see with his own eyes how the people were living upon this grass. He was convinced, and so far as that year was concerned, he gave some lakhs of rupees. But that was no permanent relief. The permanent relief would be to give them their hereditary occupation. The Government are very careful about their revenue and their monopoly, but revenue and monopoly should not be the primary consideration. The consideration of the happiness and well-being of the people should be the first and primary consideration of the Government. In the finances of the Provincial Government there is a Fund earmarked for Famine Insurance. We approach the Local Government there in Bihar and Orissa to come to the rescue of these unfortunate people, and that Government say "We cannot give any subsidy for the salt industry, for that is a concern of the India Government." When we come here, the India Government say, "Famine, flood, we do not know about that, we are not concerned with that, that is the duty of the Provincial Government." It is very good to say such things at the Geneva Conferences when the restricted production of opium comes to be adopted; there perhaps it lies in the mouth of the British Indian Delegation to say that it is a provincial transferred matter thereby somehow to avoid international obligation. But it is perhaps not doing full justice to take the same plea here. Here, we do not expect to be told that it is a provincial matter, and again when we go to the provinces, they direct us to this Assembly, to this Central Government—and in the meantime those people are dying on the sands of the sea beach. For surely either of the two courses are now open to them; they will either die in their homes of starvation, or they will, if they can afford it, migrate to some foreign place where they will either be street beggars, or may by a stroke of fortune happen to find some labour.

I should like some of the Honourable Members responsible for this state of affairs in the Orissa coast some day to visit Orissa only for this purpose and to be convinced how far they are themselves responsible in bringing about famine, scarcity and homelessness in those tracts where salt was not only a subsidiary occupation of the people, but from time immemorial it was practically the only means of livelihood of the people in those coastal tracts. I press again upon the Government that those unfortunate people there are passing through a time of imminent famine and I hope the Government will see their way to consult the Provincial Government, if need be, and at least as an insurance against famine, with the assistance of the Provincial Government, if possible and if need be—everything is possible for the Central Government, there is no question of possibility or impossibility here, to be sure—to allow those people to manufacture salt or at least to allow them to manufacture salt for home consumption as in 1919 Sir Edward Gait actually did.

I trust that the usual plea may not be taken that those were the days of salt scarcity and high prices after the War, which induced Sir Edward Gait to adopt an emergency measure. It was in fact a famine time of very acute suffering like this and many other years in those coastal tracts when Sir Edward Gait allowed the people to enjoy their paternal occupation as a measure of relief, or, if I may say, is a measure of making amends, by directing the local official accordingly in this matter. With these few words, Sir, I press the motion on the Government.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, in rising to support the motion moved by my friend Pandit Nilakantha Das, I am



[Mr. B. Das.]

encouraged to bring forward such a proposition before this House in view of the very conciliatory closing remarks of the Finance Member in his budget speech. So far budget speeches of Finance Members have been all devoted as to how best to administer the executive machinery of the Central Government, and how to maintain law and order. But in that concluding observation in his last budget speech the Honourable the Finance Member remarked about the romance of surplus money in the hands of Ministers and Provincial Governments and their capacity to do so much for the masses by the extra money in their hands. He also observed that the *promotion of human happiness* in the provinces was also a matter of consideration for the Finance Member of this Government. Therefore I was encouraged to put in a cut for the purpose for which my Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das also moved a motion just now. Sir, two years ago, on a similar cut this House discussed thoroughly the problem of the manufacture of salt in India; the Taxation Enquiry Committee which was then sitting, had not considered and worked out their scheme and yet we had an interesting debate to which Mr. Lloyd replied in this House. He said at the time that the Central Board of Revenue was considering various propositions about salt manufacture in India in order to make India self-supporting. A few minutes ago we heard from the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett that Government have not come to any definite conclusion about making India self-supporting in the matter of salt. But I understood he was going to refer the matter to the Tariff Board or some other body to consider the details of the scheme whether India can be self-supporting. But so far as I have understood the general recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, I think that the Committee was unanimous in its opinion that the Central Government should encourage salt manufacture not only by the monopoly system, which I find my Honourable friend Dr. Paranjpye has specially advocated, but also by giving licenses to petty manufacturers. In para. 179, page 146, they say :

“ In places where manufacture by petty licensees is inevitable, leases of Government pans should one renewal be given on condition of sale of the whole or part of the produce to Government . . . . . ”

The Taxation Enquiry Committee thought that salt should be manufactured on large basis and also in small quantities by petty licensees to suit local conditions in any part of the coastal area of India. The main argument of Mr. Lloyd in that debate two years ago in the Assembly was that the Central Government was trying to centralise the administration of salt manufacture and collection of salt revenue in India and at the same time the Central Board of Revenue was trying to do away with interprovincial rivalry in the different provinces, that is to say, to make Bombay and Madras not compete with each other and with other provinces in the matter of salt manufacture. In the old days Bengal used to pay a duty of Rs. 5 per maund, while Bombay paid annas 8 to 10 per maund of salt. It is time that the Central Government should consult Provincial Governments and try to evolve the manufacture of salt on all coastal areas in India.

Now, I will come particularly to the subject under reference, that of salt manufacture on the coast of Orissa. Sir, I am particularly grateful to my Honourable friend Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh for having referred to this matter in his budget speech last week. It was very kind of him to think of his neighbours, but Biharis often complain that the people of

Orissa have been a burden on the Biharis. (Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: "No, no.") I am glad to hear that it is not so. However, our complaint has been that the Government of Bihar and Orissa have taken very little interest in encouraging industries and in the economic prosperity of the people of Orissa. I find last week an interpellation was asked in the Bihar Council whether the Bihar Government was going to allow the manufacture of salt in the famine-stricken districts in Orissa and the Bihar Government replied that after 1919 to mitigate high prices due to War the Local Government of Bihar and Orissa obtained permission from the Central Government and allowed manufacture of salt free of duty for domestic consumption up to 1923 in the coastal districts of Orissa; in the year 1926 they obtained permission from the Central Government to permit manufacture of salt in certain parts of the Puri district where there was a famine and at present they are in correspondence with the Central Government as to whether, owing to the extreme condition of famine in Orissa, the Central Government would permit the manufacture of salt for domestic use in small quantities without duties on the Orissa coast up to the next rainy season. I do not know why the Bihar Government should at all ask for this charity from the Central Government. It is not a matter of charity. It is a matter of the existence of millions of human beings, if we are going to see that these people exist and they are not deprived of their means of livelihood by manufacturing salt that was one of their main industries and used to give a subsidiary income in summer seasons when the people had no other occupation. Although it was only manufactured in a very crude way, the *pungá* system, i.e., the system of boiling sea water and making salt out of it, yet the Central Government through the Bengal Government at one time used to derive

Rs. 20 lakhs as salt revenue from the Orissa coast. Supposing  
 12 Noon. my Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett to-day concedes to this demand and permits the manufacture of salt on the Orissa coast, and derives 20 lakhs of revenue for the Central Government, it may cost Rs. 5 lakhs for the collection of that revenue. Think what an amount of material benefit, what an amount of human good can be done to those who will be employed in the manufacture of this earth salt. The total amount of money earned may be 5 to 10 lakhs of rupees for those people who will be employed in the salt industry to manufacture salt on the Orissa coast and 5 to 10 lakhs is not a small sum where the people do not earn more than an *anna* a day. In a House consisting of big financiers and a Treasury Bench, who do not know what an *anna* is, who always think of gold bullion and rupees, an *anna* is *nothing*, but in Orissa I know families who have not an income of more than an *anna* per diem and owing to the bad system of irrigation, of railway embankments, and other causes, Orissa is a land of perpetual floods and famine. And why do these floods happen? Because the rivers are not trained. I congratulate the Burma Government on accepting whole-heartedly the recommendation of the Burma Flood Enquiry Committee. If the rivers were properly trained, there would be no flood. When last year I raised the question of prevention of floods on the floor of this House in a debate at the budget time the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra said that irrigation was in the hands of the Local Government and the Central Government are not responsible for the neglect of rivers and their beds nor for the causes of floods whether it is due to the barrage of rivers or railway embankments, canal embankments or roadways. Nobody is responsible for nature's highways. The water comes from the hills and flows

[Mr. B. Das.]

into the sea. To maintain the railways, Sir Charles Innes demands 60 crores of rupees for their renewal, and maintenance, but who is to train these natural highways wherein millions and millions of gallons of water flow into the sea during the monsoon? But what has been done? Man has dammed these rivers and the waterways are obstructed. The water cannot flow into the sea, and to-day if the surrounding villages, if the agricultural land is at a lower level than the river beds, and if during the floods the harvest is washed away, it is because the State takes no interest to train these rivers and their outlets to the sea.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** May I intervene and ask the Honourable Member whether he should not take the rivers with a grain of salt?

**Mr. B. Das:** Oh, yes! the grain of salt is necessary for these famine-stricken people as a result of the floods, because you are not looking after and properly training the rivers.

Now I come to the grain of salt which the people of Orissa need very much. I shall put before the House a tale of woe and distress of these poor people living on leaves and grass which is really heart-rending. I will refer to a case which happened only a month ago. It is the story of an old man and a young man who had their land washed away by floods; they had no grain to live upon. They had not eaten a full meal of rice for days and days. Leaves and roots from fields were their only food. They gathered some leaves and boiled them for their mid-day meal. They collected a little salt water out of which to make some salt so that they could make palatable this princely meal. What happened? Out comes the Excise Inspector and gets hold of these men, one an old man, sixty years old who was so weak and famished that he was incapable of moving about. These two men were fined by the merciful Sub-divisional Officer of Balasore, Rs. 10 for making salt out of sea water. Of course the Orissa Members of the local Council were very alert. They called upon the Local Government for an explanation and in reply to an interpellation the Local Government said that they had excused those two people the fines of Rs. 10. What noble administration of justice in that province! What a humane Government!

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** But they were making themselves rich by smuggling salt!

**Mr. B. Das:** Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed would not understand what it means to use a little sea water to make a little salt in order to make the leaves and grass palatable for human food. That is the condition in Orissa. There are floods all over Orissa, and scarcity and famine, and I appeal to the Members in the cause of human charity to permit these people to manufacture salt for domestic consumption free of duty only during the period of the summer season. They will have some sort of occupation. Why have you killed this national industry of the Orissa people? Bombay can manufacture salt in a bigger way, can produce lakhs of tons; but you have to understand the local situation, the local conditions of the people if you intend to contribute some human happiness to the distressed multitude in Orissa. There is no other subsidiary industry and other ways of income, unless it is spinning and weaving which has recently been introduced by Mahatma Gandhi. I am afraid spinning has not yet taken its old place

and it has not yet brought that additional income to every family budget that was anticipated. But the Government, which is responsible for killing this subsidiary industry that used to bring an income in the summer when people have no other sources of livelihood, ought to consider that the time has arrived when the economic distress of the people in different localities ought to be considered, and the tariff wall in regard to the manufacture of salt, and the excise wall should be removed, to enable these people to have some income to keep their body and soul together.

I hope the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett will tell us what reply he has given to the Bihar Government in regard to their correspondence concerning the manufacture of salt on the Orissa coast, especially for domestic consumption, without any duty, without any tariff. I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will tell me what he is going to do for the coastal people of Orissa, who for years, for centuries and centuries, evolved that process of manufacture of salt by the *pungd* system. It may not be a big income to the people, it is only a slight income but a very necessary earning during the summer season where famine and scarcity are the order of the day. I hope he will consider that the happiness of the people is as much primarily the duty of the Finance Member as that of the maintenance of the army or of law and order. With these few observations I move my cut of Rs. 100 with regard to the manufacture of salt on the Orissa coast.

**Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah** (Ganjam cum Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, my object in proposing the motion that stands in my name, namely:

“That the Demand under the head ‘Salt’ be reduced by Rs. 1,500”

is to speak about the policy of Government in not giving the people throughout India the means of obtaining salt at a very cheap rate. Salt, Sir, as has already been said, is one of the prime necessities of life . . .

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** On a point of order. Had we not better get rid of this particular cut first?

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member must know we are discussing the question of the manufacture of salt on the Orissa coast, and, unless that is disposed of, we cannot take up another matter which the Honourable Member desires to introduce.

**Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah:** I do not want to speak on that motion.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** Sir, I do not think the House desires me to enter into a long history of the manufacture of salt in Orissa. I said a few words when I spoke just now on the general question of the protection of salt in India. Of course the great difficulty is to know whether it is really an economic proposition that you should increase the price of salt in certain parts of India and produce inferior salt by excluding imported salt, thereby probably preventing certain people in other parts of India from producing for export, or whether it would be more economic for India to import salt than to produce salt in places where nature does not assist that process. In the case of Orissa the difficulty is even greater. The salt manufacture in Orissa has been killed by the opening of communications. The salt produced there cannot compete either with the salt produced in Madras or with the salt that comes in through Bengal . . .

**Mr. B. Das:** Not for domestic consumption?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** It cannot compete if it pays duty. The proposition really that is put before us by the two Mr. Dases is that we should protect the salt of Orissa against the salt from other parts of India. That is what the proposition really comes to. It comes to this, that you should put on a special protective duty for a particular part of India against salt from other parts. If there were no salt duty, the position would be the same. Salt produced in Orissa would not compete with salt brought in from outside . . .

**Mr. B. Das:** May I suggest . . .

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** The Honourable Member has made quite a long speech and I think the House really desires that we should come to an end of this particular discussion. The Government of India are perfectly prepared to consider any proposal for the production or manufacture of salt in Orissa which is economic, but that they should protect the production of salt in Orissa by a reduction of the duty, so that it is protected against other parts of India is a proposition which I submit has only to be put before this House for them to reject it. I think there is no desire in this House to start a system of provincial protection, protecting one province against another. Everybody must have felt sympathy with the really serious difficulties which the Government of Bihar and Orissa and the inhabitants of the Orissa province are suffering from at the present time, but I do submit that the way to remedy those is certainly not to start a system of an internal customs line between Orissa and the rest of India, which is really what this proposal comes to. I assure the Honourable Member that this matter has been considered by the Government of India with full sympathy, but they do think the time has come when economic facts, to use my Honourable friend Mr. B. Das's expression, should be considered, and the idea that you can help the people of Orissa by protecting their salt against the salt of Madras ought to be dropped and we ought to realise that that is not the way for the economic protection of India . . .

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran: Non-Muhammadan):** Why do you not allow the people of Orissa to manufacture salt on the sea coast for domestic use? That is the point.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** I have already answered that. If we allow them to manufacture salt, duty free, it would undoubtedly compete with duty-paid salt from elsewhere, but it is without any power to compete with salt that has paid equal duty from other parts of India.

**Pandit Wilakantha Das:** Will the Government of India be pleased to see their way to make salt manufacture on the Orissa coast a special case?

**Mr. B. Das:** May I just inquire . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Salt' be reduced by Rs. 1,500."

The motion was negatived.

**Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah:** As I have been submitting, Sir, salt is an important necessity of life. It is a commodity which cannot be dispensed with by men or cattle. It is necessary even for land. Medical men have given it as their considered opinion that the average amount of salt that is necessary for healthy human existence is 20 lbs. per head per annum. In England the average consumption of salt per head per annum is said to be 40 lbs., whereas, in India, it is stated to be 10 or 11 lbs. Even this average does not apply to the poor. It is the rich and the middle classes that purchase salt, even when it is a little higher in price; but, when you get to the poor you find the average consumption is as low as 7 or 8 lbs. This is certainly a very horrible state of affairs.

Political economists like the late Professor Fawcett have stated that a commodity like salt ought not to be taxed, except under very special circumstances, such as during war or when the Treasury is empty, but not at times when the budget shows surpluses. It is within our experience, Sir, that, whenever there is a reduction of the duty on salt the consumption of salt increases in this country, and *vice versa*.

It is indeed an irony of fate that in India, which has a large seaboard, people are not allowed to manufacture salt in quantities large enough to supply at least the average that is necessary for the poor to consume. The Government of India have said it is their policy to give the people of India the means of obtaining an unlimited supply of salt at a very cheap rate, but the Government of India has often admitted the necessity and the bare justice of reducing the duty on salt to its very lowest limits. Successive Secretaries of State and Finance Members have stated that the reduction of the duty . . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. What is the point that the Honourable Member wishes to raise?

**Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah:** That it is the policy of the Government to supply salt at a very reduced rate.

**Mr. President:** If the Honourable Member proposes that the rate of the salt tax should be reduced, he can do so more properly under the Finance Bill and not under Demands for Grants.

**Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah:** Then I shall reserve my remarks for the discussion of the Finance Bill.

*Grievances of the Miners of the Khewra Salt Mines.*

**Raja Gharanfar All Khan** (North Punjab: Muhammadan): I beg to move:

“That the Demand under the head ‘Salt’ be reduced by Rs. 10.”

Sir, though this subject is quite new to the House, I have been bringing it to the notice of the Honourable the Finance Member for the last two years, and, although he promised to make an enquiry and to redress the grievance, I am sorry to say that nothing has been done so far. I shall be very brief in giving an idea of the whole question to this House. I will shortly describe how the labourers employed in the Khewra Salt Mine, which, by the way, is probably one of the biggest mines in the world, are different from ordinary labourers. Their ancestors owned these mines before they were occupied by the British and these people have been doing this work for a very long time. In 1919 or 1920, there was a strike at Khewra as there were strikes all over the country. Although

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

that strike lasted for a very short time—only three or four days—yet the Manager, who was present there, thought that he should find out some means of getting rid of the possibility of having any strike at all. So he decided to introduce machinery, thus replacing the labourers by machinery. My contention is that the machinery costs more than the ordinary labourer, while it has unnecessarily thrown out of employment a number of miners who have been working there for a very long time.

The second thing that I want to place before this House is that in this Budget the Government ask for Rs. 25,000 to purchase conveyors, a sort of machine, to replace the female labour at Khewra. As far as I am aware there is a very strong desire at Khewra that female labour should not be stopped. On medical grounds I think the labour in those salt mines is not at all unhealthy in any respect. The way how those people work in the mines is that a small chamber in the mine is allotted to a family. The whole family, including small children, go inside the mines in the morning and work there very happily till evening. If only male members were to work then the wages which they get will be very small and it will be hardly possible for them to live upon them; since the work is at present done by all the members of the family, including females, they can just carry on. The present number of miners is 625 as compared with 728 in 1920. If female labour is stopped at Khewra the number will be reduced to 376 which will be a very great hardship for these poor people. Another point in this connection which I want to place before the House is that Khewra is a village where the only occupation of the villagers is the Salt Mines; there is no other occupation; so if the females are stopped from working, the result will be, that all the male members will go inside the mines and work there from morning till evening and the village will consist of only female members. This on many grounds—and I think the moral ground is one of them—the miners do not like. Therefore, so far as I know, even the officers on the spot at Khewra are opposed to the stopping of female labour.

The third point which I will bring to the notice of the Honourable the Finance Member in this connection is that during the last 3 years on account probably of careless working of the salt mines, a number of houses have collapsed suddenly; about 300 or say 200. Although fortunately no human life was lost, yet the property of the miners was sunk down, and so far no compensation has been given to any of those miners. They are very poor and I certainly think the House will agree with me that when they have suddenly lost all they had in their possession it is a great hardship for them to have to build new houses for themselves. The question of building new houses has been under the consideration of the Department for a considerable time. There are two alternative proposals, one of which is to construct the houses on the top of a hill at a considerable distance from the mines, and the other is to construct the houses on the plains near the railway station and near the mines where they have got other facilities such as being near a hospital, near the water-works and close to the school. The miners generally desire to have their houses in the plains but some official got into his head that these houses must be on the top of the hill, just in the interior of the hills, and so they are pressing the people to reconstruct their houses on the hill while the people strongly object to it.

Another point in this connection is that the Salt Department has acquired the whole area of land lying around these salt mines . . .

**Sir Walter Willson** (Associated Chamber of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): On a point of order, Sir. The Honourable Member has tabled a separate motion about that.

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member may take all the motions together if he so desires under one cut. The Chair has no objection.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** I do not wish to take all the motions now. I am not discussing the policy of land acquisition here but I am talking about the sites where these houses are being constructed.

**Mr. President:** If the Honourable Member wants to cut short the discussion, he may take all the points under one cut.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** Very well, Sir; with your permission I will finish all these cuts in one speech. I was talking just now about the reconstruction of the houses, for which the Government has acquired land in the area round the salt mines. The result is that wherever the miners may be asked to construct their houses, the Department wants them to give an agreement that the land will be owned by the Department and it will be at the sweet will of the officers to turn out those miners without giving them any notice at any time they please. I think this is a great hardship which neither this House nor any fair-minded person can agree to.

Another point in this connection is that a piece of land on those hills was allotted to some miners with a view to turn it into culturable land if they could do so. Now after spending an enormous amount of money in blowing up the stones from the land and making it culturable, the Department is pressing them to give an undertaking in writing that their position is that of mere tenants. This is very unfair.

Sir, then I come to the next point which I have got to make—the policy of land acquisition adopted by the Khewra Salt Mines. This Department acquired about 500 acres of land between the years 1920 and 1922; although my figure of 500 acres may not be correct and there may be some difference, yet roughly speaking it was a very big area. I do not know what was the object of the Department in acquiring that land, because they have so far not made any use whatsoever of it. On the other hand, my information is that there were stone quarries near the mines and whenever some miners were badly treated by the officers they would give up work in the mines and take to work in those stone quarries; and probably the Department thought that the best way to keep a hold on these miners was not to give them any opportunity of working in the stone quarries, and merely for this reason they acquired this big area of land. I would feel obliged if the Honourable the Finance Member would tell me why this land was acquired and why no use of this land has been made so far.

\* This brings me to my third point and that is about the working of these salt mines. Saltish water is pumped out from the mines and allowed to flow down into culturable lands in the plains, spoiling those lands and turning them into unculturable. This is a very serious trouble which villages near the Khewra Salt Mines are subjected to. Talking about my city itself, Pind Dadan Khan, thirty years back it was very famous for its gardens containing grapes and various other fruits. Now



[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

it can hardly produce even green grass. This is entirely due to the working of the mines. No attention has been paid by the Department to this thing, and the result now is that even the water in the wells is turning saltish and it is hardly possible for any human being to drink that water. I think it is the duty of the Department to go into the question very carefully and to help the inhabitants of Pind Dadan Khan city and other villages who have been adversely affected by the working of the salt mines. To deal with the water which they are pumping out of the mines, they should construct small channels, which will not cost them much, as the distance between the river Jhelum and the salt mines is only about three miles, and let the saltish water pass straight to the river without spreading on the culturable lands. That would save further damage.

In this connection I may bring to the notice of the Honourable the Finance Member that the Governor of the Punjab received representations from various people that it was impossible for any human being to live in the city of Pind Dadan Khan unless something was done to supply them with pure drinking water. His Excellency the Governor got an estimate prepared amounting to about Rs. 2,50,000 for a new water-works scheme. The Government of the Punjab have very kindly agreed to contribute half the amount towards this new work and the municipality has been asked to contribute the other half. The municipality is very poor—it has an income of about only Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000 a year, and it is impossible therefore for the municipality to pay anything from its income. I think it is the duty of the Government of India, who derive a very enormous amount of revenue from the Khewra Salt Mines, and who are, if not directly at least indirectly, responsible for turning this sweet water saltish to pay at least half the amount which the municipality has been asked to contribute.

The last point I want to make is this. The district board of Jhelum,—the district is not a canal district,—is poor and has a very small income. They proposed to levy a certain tax on the minerals. They have already levied a tax on incomes of over Rs. 200 a year; they wanted to levy a tax on the salt which is exported from Khewra because the main source of income of the Jhelum district is salt. I think the Honourable the Finance Member knows it because in his speech in the last Session at Simla, while speaking on the Taxation Inquiry Committee's Report, he made rather a slight reference to this proposal. He said that a case came to his notice recently in which the local authority proposed to put a heavy duty on goods exported from within its jurisdiction in an area in which the main export was salt. I do not find what objection he can possibly have if a local body taxes its exports, if they decide to do so. If there were any serious difficulties in the form that the Imperial Government feels that it will be encroaching upon its rights if the local body taxes salt, I am quite prepared to tell the Honourable the Finance Member on behalf of my district board, that they would be prepared to come to any reasonable terms if the Honourable the Finance Member would enter into correspondence with them through the Punjab Government. The presence of the Khewra Salt Range in the district is a natural phenomenon. The Honourable the Finance Member may say that the Department can hardly be responsible for the presence of the salt range there. But if the district suffers from the disadvantages which accrue from the presence

of the salt range there, I think they are equally entitled to take a share in the income or in the advantages which are derived by the Central Government from the salt mines. With these words, I trust that the Honourable the Finance Member will be kind enough to give his best attention to all these points which I have brought to his notice and if he is prepared to appoint a small committee—I leave the choice of the committee entirely to him,—whether it should be entirely a departmental committee or whether it should include one or two non-official Members or whether it is appointed after consultation with the Governor of the Punjab—I shall be satisfied: but nothing less than that will satisfy me.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** Sir, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan knows so much about the Khewra Salt Mines that any attempt in this House to give him a reply would, I think, develop into a rather longer argument than the House is at the present moment prepared for. I should like to acknowledge here the many obligations under which the Department stands to the Raja Sahib for the interest he has taken in this matter and in the interests of the salt miners at Khewra. He is a doughty champion in their behalf, and though in certain circumstances his interests and the Salt Department's interests seem to conflict, we have nothing but admiration for the courage with which he presses their case.

On the last point I think that his enthusiasm is carrying him a little too far. Is a district board in whose territory the Khewra Salt mines lie to be allowed to impose an export tax payable by the consumers of salt in other parts of India, presumably the only limit of the productivity of the tax being the amount of duty that the Central Government is prepared to lose in order that it may be paid to the district board of Jhelum? I should also dispute his point that the district board suffers from the presence of the Salt Department. There is a balance to be struck on both sides. There are very considerable services rendered by the Salt Department to the district board and *vice versa*; but I am not sure when you take into account the dispensary and the roads and so on that are maintained by the Salt Department that it would be found that the balance of advantage is really not on the side of the district board. However, that is only one point. The first point raised the question of female labour. I gather that a final decision has not been taken in that matter, but in accordance with the policy accepted by this House of the reduction and eventual abolition of the employment of female labour in mines there is obviously a difficulty in the Government of India in its interest as a salt manufacturer standing out and insisting that female labour shall be employed in a mine which is worked by the Government of India. At the same time I am prepared in regard to this case and in regard to all the points that have been raised by the Raja Sahib, in order to shorten discussion here, to make him an offer. I would suggest that as soon as we can possibly manage it he and I should get together with the Commissioner of the Northern India Salt Department and a member of the Central Board of Revenue and go into these points in detail and see if we can arrive at some agreement as to the steps to be taken. I do not want to hold out hopes that we shall be able to do some of the things that he suggests, because as I say, there are cases in which I think there is a clear divergence of interests; and while he is perfectly entitled to his opinions, as we are entitled to ours, we cannot be expected to accept all he has said. But I am most anxious that after the interest that he has taken in this matter, he

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

should feel that that interest is not wasted, and I will give him as much time as I possibly can in going into the whole question as soon as it is possible to arrange a meeting of the kind that I have suggested.

**Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan:** May I ask two questions Sir? Will the Honourable the Finance Member be prepared to include one official member of the Punjab Government? The second question is, does the Honourable Member know that the Department has already increased the price of salt by six pies, though it is temporary, and how it affects the consumer if the district board charges 6 pies per maund?

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** As regards the last point, I think the recent increase in the price of salt was the result of the commercial accounts which showed that we were not charging the full manufacturing price, that is to say, we were charging really something less than the duty.

As regards the former point, I will certainly take it into consideration, and if the Punjab Government have no objection, I think it might probably be arranged.

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

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** Before we proceed further, may I point out to you, Sir, that if you allow unlimited time to Honourable Members to speak, we shall not be able to deal with all the demands. That has been our experience. I therefore beg to suggest, Sir, that you should fix a time limit, say five minutes or even less than that. Last year, Sir, the same thing happened and before we could hardly finish half the number of Demands, the guillotine was applied, with the result that important matters could not be dealt with. I therefore wish to make the suggestion, Sir, for your consideration that you should fix a time limit.

**Mr. President:** The Chair has considerable sympathy with the suggestion made by the Honourable Member. It is no doubt a very valuable suggestion, and I would commend it to the Honourable Members of the House. The Chair is powerless in that matter.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 87,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Salt'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 98—ARMY DEPARTMENT.

**The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:** I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,89,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

**Mr. Chaman Lall** (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move that the Demand under the head Army Department be reduced by Rs. 5,89,000 . . . . .

**Mr. G. M. Young** (Army Secretary): On a point of order, Sir. The reduction which the Honourable Member is proposing is the exact amount of the Army Department Budget.

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member knows that his motion is practically for the total omission of the whole grant, and the Chair has already ruled that motions for total omissions of grants are out of order. The only course open to the Honourable Member under the circumstances is to oppose the whole Demand when it is put to the vote at the end.

**Mr. Chaman Lall:** May I point out, Sir, that the whole grant is much larger than Rs. 5,89,000.

**Mr. President:** Yes, if votable and non-votable parts are taken together, but no Demand has been made for the non-votable part. Sir Hari Singh Gour raised a similar question the other day.

**Sir Hari Singh Gour** (Central Provinces: Hindi Divisions): I was never heard on that point.

**Mr. Chaman Lall:** Am I entitled to oppose the whole grant now, Sir?

**Mr. President:** Not until all the cuts have been disposed of.

*Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee: University Training Corps.*

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru** (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move that the Demand under the head Army Department be reduced by Rs. 10,000.

(An Honourable Member: Rs. 1,000).

**Sir Hari Singh Gour:** There are two motions, and you can move them together.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** I cannot move them together.

**Sir Hari Singh Gour:** Yes, the Chair has so ruled.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Sir, I propose to confine this motion only to a discussion of the issues dealt with in the Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, and questions affecting the University Training Corps. The question of general policy and the non-publication of the Skeen Committee's Report I shall take up when I move my second motion.

Sir, the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee was appointed in consequence of a discussion in this House in 1924 to make suggestions for the improvement and expansion of the Indian Territorial Force and for the removal of all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India including the Auxiliary Forces. I will not go at length into the recommendations of this Committee, but I would point out that its most important recommendations were those which related to the formation of urban battalions and the form of commissions which should be issued to officers of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. These were the two main recommendations which, if carried out, would remove a great deal of the racial distinction existing at present between the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. In regard to the expansion of the Indian Territorial Force, the Committee had several suggestions to make. There were some which could be carried out immediately; there were others which could be carried out in the near future, and there were still others which were to be carried out a little later, the Committee hoping that it would be possible to carry out the recommendations in the last category within four years of the putting into effect of their recommendations as a whole.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Now, among those which could be carried out immediately were those relating to the formation of electrical and mechanical companies, mechanical transport sections and railway, medical and veterinary units. The recommendations which could be put into effect in the near future related to the formation of signal sections, pioneer companies, and army troops companies of sappers and miners. As the House is aware, Sir, Indian opinion attaches a great deal of importance to the formation of cavalry and artillery sections in the Indian Territorial Force. The Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, while not recommending an immediate beginning in this direction and proposing certain steps which would add to the efficiency of the Territorial Force were " sanguine enough to hope that, without departing from the conditions which we propose, a beginning may be made with a few squadrons of cavalry and a battery of artillery within the next four years." Now, this Report, Sir, was published, I believe in February 1925. If the recommendations had been carried out promptly, then within two years we might have seen the formation of cavalry and artillery sections in the Territorial Force. But so far, we do not even know whether any of the recommendations of the Committee have been approved by the higher authorities.

The principal recommendations of the Committee, however, related to the University Training Corps. To indicate to the House the value they set on the training given in the University Training Corps, I would briefly quote one or two passages from the Report of the Committee.

" We recommend "

—said the Committee :

" that the University Training Corps be viewed as the foundation stone of the National Army and that no artificial limit should be set to the expansion of these Corps, every encouragement being given for the formation and development on sound lines of fresh contingents in all Universities and Colleges where they do not already exist."

Later on, in the course of the same Report, we come across the following statement :

" We envisage the University Training Corps of the future not only as a school training the young idea in elementary military matters but as the recognised recruiting ground for officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Indian Territorial Force and later also as a potential source of supply of candidates for commissions in the regular Indian Army."

In order to strengthen the University Training Corps, the Committee suggested the establishment of Cadet Corps in all schools in India, though they know that this was a step which could not be given effect to all at once. Now, Sir, this being the importance of the University Training Corps, I would like to ask the Government what steps they have taken to encourage admission into these Corps, and to make University students feel that by receiving training there they would be qualifying themselves for responsible positions in the military administration of their country hereafter. The Committee suggested that, so far as possible, officers for the Territorial Forces should be selected from those who had received training in the University Corps, and further recommended that those who had completed the course for the University Training Corps should be entitled to a proportion of marks in the competitive examination for Sandhurst. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, I believe, pointed out in this House soon after the

publication of the Report that the recommendations relating to the University Training Corps could probably be given effect to without waiting for the sanction of the higher authorities, and as that statement was not contradicted, I thought that he stated the actual facts of the situation. But so far from these recommendations being carried out, we find that in practice the University Training Corps are discouraged in many ways. In the first place, Sir, although armouries have been constructed at Benares, Allahabad and other places, I understand that the Corps have not been supplied with real rifles. They have been given D. P. (i.e., Drill Practice) rifles but they have been warned that they are not to be used for firing. When the time for the annual firing comes, the Training Corps receives a loan of rifles from the Auxiliary Force and as soon as the course is over, the rifles have to be returned to the Auxiliary Force. There is an apprehension, I understand, in the minds of the members of the Corps that they will not receive rifles in future even for the purpose of the annual firing. I do not know to what extent this fear is justified, but I know that it is widespread and it is entertained even by the officers of the Corps.

Then, Sir, the rifle ammunition—I am speaking now of the .303-bore rifles which are supplied to the Corps—is very insufficient. Every man is expected to fire 30 rounds for his annual course, and yet an allowance of 50 rounds per head only is made, that is, only 20 rounds are allowed for practice. Then, Sir, there are the .22-bore rifles which are very small things but are useful for the purpose of preliminary instruction.

**Mr. P. B. Haigh** (Bombay: Nominated Official): Very.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru**: I am glad that I have at least one Member on the side of Government in my favour. I should have thought that the .22-bore ammunition, at any rate, would be supplied in adequate quantities, but even for the .22-bore rifle I understand only 20 rounds are allowed for practice. Now, surely, it is apparent that a great distinction is made—and a distinction which seems to be racial—between the Auxiliary Force and the University Training Corps. Why the University Corps should not be supplied with a rifle per head I do not see.

**Mr. K. Ahmed**: Because you may use them in the communal riots.

**Mr. Dharendra Kanta Lahiri Chaudhury** (Bengal: Landholders): Have you used them?

**Mr. K. Ahmed**: It is not the question of you and me.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru**: I may inform Mr. K. Ahmed (*Some Honourable Members*: "Don't take any notice of him.")—that these rifles will be kept in armouries and that they will not be easily available to the members of the University Training Corps. In the Auxiliary Force I understand that every member of the force has a rifle and that the Force, as a whole, has a certain excess of rifles over the number of men enlisted in it. I want to know why in this matter a distinction is made between the Auxiliary Force and the University Training Corps, and why it should not be removed at once?

Lastly, Sir, I have a suggestion to make, although I do not expect that it will commend itself to the military authorities. If the University Training Corps is really to be extended and the men in it are to receive higher training, I suggest—and it is the desire also of the more responsible members of the University Training Corps at any rate in these provinces—

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

that there should be a machine gun section attached to the Corps. I do not know whether there will be any technical difficulties in the way of carrying out this suggestion, but some of the officers of the Corps have assured me that it can be easily put into practice. Had the report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee been promptly given effect to, in all probability the suggestions that I have mentioned would have been carried out long ago. But while we are accused of impatience when we demand our rights, Government do not move readily even in such small matters as those which formed the subject of enquiry by the Committee whose report I am dealing with. No matter what the subject is that comes under their consideration it is kept hanging for so long a time that any improvements that are carried out lose all their grace and half their efficacy. I remember some years ago Sir Harcourt Butler said in a speech which he delivered in the United Provinces that the present system of administration had been designed when questions of time did not enter into the consideration of Government at all. Things have changed greatly since then. Nevertheless, the wheels of Government move as slowly as they did before.

**Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney** (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): They want oil.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru**: My Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, says that they do not move at all. I should be heartily inclined to agree with him there.

**Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: They want oil.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru**: It was suggested the other day that there was a great deal of pilfering in regard to oil going on in some of the Departments. So it does not seem to me that there is any lack of oil in the Government Departments. The question is one of the point of view from which the higher officers look at these things. They talk of their new angle of view, of the change in the angle of view, and yet even in comparatively unimportant matters they do not take action with the promptitude which we have a right to expect from them in much bigger matters.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje** (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): I rise to support the motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Kunzru. He has emphasised the racial differences in the treatment of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces from one point of view. I am dealing with the question from another point of view and emphasising much the same thing from a different standpoint. If we look at the numbers we find that a small community has been supplying an increasingly large number of people—33,000 and odd in 1924, 34,000 and odd in 1925-26, 36,000 in 1926-27 and 32,000 in 1927-28. The whole total amount on the Indian Territorial side comes to, hardly 19,000 men. I have asked certain questions to which if replies had been given to me to-day my information on these points would have been more accurate, but I hope that the figures that I am giving are tolerably correct. As regards the money spent upon it, we find that on the Auxiliary Force a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs and odd was spent in 1924-25, Rs. 77 lakhs and odd in 1925-26, Rs. 74 lakhs and odd in 1926-27, Rs. 68 lakhs and odd in 1927-28, as against Rs. 29 lakhs and odd in 1924-25, 23 lakhs and odd in 1925-26, and Rs. 20

lakhs in 1927-28, on the Indian Territorial Force. These are the two matters which clearly bring out the kind of treatment which is being meted out on the one side to the Auxiliary Force and on the other side to the Indian Territorial Force. The difference is there and we have to account for it. It is not an accident. It is intentional and the intention is to be seen from the motives with which these two forces have been started. As regards the Auxiliary Force, the motive is stated in the report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee to be this :

"The Auxiliary Force is an organisation of a peculiar nature based primarily upon the right of the European British subject residing in India to protect his life and property from possible attack and the principle is that it is better that that right should be exercised in a definite and organised manner having the sanction of law than as the wishes of private individuals may dictate."

Life and property to be attacked by whom? By the Indians. Is there not the British Government to protect the life and property of all of us? (*An Honourable Member*: "No.") If you say so, I think that it is the primary obligation by which the British Government justifies its existence in India to-day. If it is denied by the British Government then there are people who can take care of themselves. Now as regards the motive with which the Indian Territorial Force has been started I shall make a rather long quotation here. The then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Munro declared :

"Our object in creating the latter (i.e., the Indian Territorial Force) is to respond to the aspirations of those Indians who desire to see the formation of a second line to the Indian army."

The question here is not to protect the life and property of Indians from possible attack by other communities but to create a second line to the army which the British possess for keeping India under subjection. Sir Charles Munro further said that the object was to create a second line to the army to be used "in time of need", so that "the almost unlimited man power of India may be utilised to strengthen the military forces of the country on a scale commensurate with its vast population." He further on said :

"The publication of the Bill which I am now about to introduce will I hope serve to give the Government the means of judging whether there is any real desire for military service on the part of the classes which have hitherto not been recruited."

Whether there is a desire or not on the part of the people I propose to speak on it later on. He continued :

"and whether there is any reasonable prospect of creating a Territorial Force on popular lines, which, as a second line Army, would prove a real addition to the defensive power of India and make a new departure in the organisation of her armed forces."

The Report says: The first object is :

"an educational one, to create a national desire for patriotic military service and to afford opportunities for military training to a wide range of the manhood of India and so lay surely and solidly the foundation of a national army such as will be essential to India when in course of time she attains to full responsible government and takes upon her own shoulders the whole burden of her defence."

The second object is a military one :

"to provide a second line of defence to support the regular army in time of war. These two objects we have taken as the basis of our deliberations."

Now, these are the motives with which these two forces have been started. Now, what is the result that has been achieved? In the case of the



[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

Auxiliary Force, larger and larger sums of money are granted to them, larger and larger numbers of people are recruited in their force, and in the case of the Indian Territorial Force, only high-sounding words of philosophy, ethics, and national education are uttered, but in point of material help less and less assistance is given. Of course if it were a question that the expenditure upon the Army is to be reduced, that would be perhaps the only situation in which the Government attitude would deserve consideration with the Members on this side. But why was the Indian Territorial Force alone singled out for the purpose? I find that year after year the money spent upon the Indian Territorial Force has been going down and down, and in the last year it has come to only Rs. 20 lakhs. What can be the reason of all this? On the one side it is suggested that perhaps the Government distrust us and that the Government are not sure of the loyalty of the people. On the other side, and generally on the Government side, it is suggested that it is the incompetence of the people that is responsible, that there is a want of desire in the people to take part in any military operations and to take their due share in the defence of India. If it is really due to distrust on the part of the Government about the loyalty of the Indian people, well, from one point of view there is no reason for me to complain of that. That is an indication that India has not yet accepted defeat from the English people, that India has still the aspiration, and cherishes the aspiration, that the time may come when India will have Swaraj. If distrust means that, I have no reason to complain of it. But there is this thing to be said as regards the character of the Indian people, that so long as they continue to remain under the British Government, and so long as that time does not come when all hope of getting Swaraj from the British Government had vanished, on the lines of compromise, on the lines of peace and friendship, until that time comes, there is no reason why the British Government should be in a mood to distrust the loyalty of the Indian people. When the time comes, nobody would ask them to supply the arms, nobody would ask them to impart education, and they would themselves exert their own strength for the maintenance of their Raj and we shall exert our own for establishing our Swaraj. And the Swaraj then will be in the lap of the future. If, however, it is incompetence, as put down by the Government, well, I have to say that India is still not incompetent, has never been found in history to be incompetent to defend her country. Here I may quote a few instances about the relative incompetence of the British people and the Indian people. We may say that, incompetent as we are to-day, the British people also have had the same experience of incompetency, (*Mr. M. A. Jinnah* : "In the past we were competent.") and India has never been found in history to be incompetent in the past and even to-day. If you will just allow me, I am going to read out and compare the competence of the British people when they were under similar conditions as we are under to-day, and to find out as to who are more competent. . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The Honourable Member is straying away from the point. Let us confine this debate to the points raised by Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, namely, the Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee and the University Training Corps.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** With due deference to the Honourable President, I am just referring to the same thing—to the motives why there has been

such differential treatment as regards the Auxiliary Force and as regards the Territorial Force . . . .

**Mr. President:** I am afraid the Honourable Member cannot be allowed to go at length into the question of motives. He can refer to it in a general way as a reason. Unless we confine ourselves strictly to a discussion of the question before the House, it will not be possible for us to get through the business.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Honourable Sir, I have not been going into the larger question about the whole military policy of the British Government. I am only saying unless we go and probe into the motives with which the policy as regards the Indian Territorial Force and as regards the Indian Auxiliary Force, has been put into operation, we shall not be able to understand why sufficient money has not been spent and sufficient men have not been recruited; and therefore I am just going to show from this point of view that if there is an idea that Indian people are not competent and therefore they cannot be had in sufficient numbers to be recruited in the Territorial Force and the University Corps, that point is wrong; and therefore I am saying that in history India has never been found to be incompetent, and in the present circumstances when it is under subjection, even now it is not more incompetent than the British people were under similar conditions.

**Mr. President:** It is a big question and is hardly relevant on this motion. The Honourable Member should confine himself to the question raised by the motion.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** That was exactly my point, Sir, but since it has not been allowed, I am not going to touch it. Since it has been ruled that I am not to speak upon the general policy on this subject, my purpose has been served by bringing to the notice of the House the differential treatment that is accorded to the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force. The motive is there and perhaps I may have occasion to analyse the motive when the larger question of military policy comes up for discussion on the cut proposed by my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Sir, I rise to support the amendment of Pandit Hirdav Nath Kunzru, because nothing has been done about the Territorial Force in Bengal and very little has been done with respect to the Calcutta University Training Corps. We, Bengalees, are generally told that we lack in fighting qualities. Of course this remark comes from those people who with the help of General Kalu won the so-called battle of Plassey, little more than a century and a half ago. I am not going to discuss the battle of Plassey. But, Sir, we know that there are still materials in our province, the Chuars, Domes, Bagdis and Baumis, descendants of those from the ranks of which Clive drew his army. We are told that after 150 years, we have lost all our fighting qualities and are not fit to be . . . .

**Mr. President:** Which paragraph of the Territorial Force Committee's Report is the Honourable Member referring to? Does he know that we are concerned with the Report of the Territorial Force Committee?

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Nothing has been done to form a Territorial Force in Bengal. And as regards the University Corps, I beg to submit

[Mr. Amar Nath Dutt.]

that it has proved to be very efficient as may be seen from the Report of the Esher Committee in which it is said :

"The Calcutta University Corps is the strongest in numbers and most forward in training. It appears that even with an insufficiency of officers and instructors . . . the corps has made healthy progress; the men have improved much in physique under the training, are quick to learn from European instructors (whom they prefer to Indian non-commissioned officers) are steadily overcoming the caste difficulties . . ."

Then again, Sir, my friend Dr. Moonje was referring to motive; I shall not do it. I shall read only one line from the Esher Committee's Report which will at once disclose why we are not given sufficient scope with respect to this Territorial Force as also the University Corps. The Report of the Esher Committee says:

"Not only have we to bear in mind the risks that we run in organizing a force that may be used against us in one way or another, but we have to create or revive the necessary military qualities in a collection of different races, etc., etc."

Mark the words the risk they may run by the force being used against them, which has unconsciously come from the lips of some high officials who were examined by the commissioners. Here you will find the real reasons why nothing is being done. With these words I beg to support the amendment of the Honourable Member from Agra.

**Mr. G. M. Young:** Sir, I understand that the chief accusation which my friend Mr. Kunzru laid against us is the delay in giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee. He said that if Government . . .

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** May I ask the Honourable Member to speak up?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** I said that the chief accusation he made against us is the delay in giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee, and in commenting on that he said that if Government took so long over deciding a little thing and a comparatively unimportant thing, what would they do if they got to something really important. Let me read the first few lines of the summary of the main recommendations of the Committee:

"The University Training Corps and the Indian Territorial Force should be regarded as existing primarily for the purpose of supplying military training and inspiration to military service to the manhood of India, in order to lay a foundation upon which the national army can be built up. Such a national army can only be created by gradual stages and the steady progress of education extending over many years. This education should commence wherever possible in schools. It should be continued in the universities and colleges by means of Officers Training Corps and should be completed in the units of the Indian Territorial Force."

This is what my Honourable friend calls "a little and a comparatively unimportant thing."

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** May I ask the Honourable Member whether he realises that these recommendations were made in order to remove all racial distinctions between the Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force.

**Mr. M. Rethnaswamy** (Nominated: Indian Christians): May I put another question? May I ask what steps Government have taken to realise these recommendations of the Committee; to put these recommendations into practice during the past year?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** I am coming to all this. As Mr. Kunzru said, it was in January 1925 that the Committee reported. Their report was considered very carefully by the Government of India in consultation with Local Governments, and the final recommendations of the Government of India went home to the Secretary of State on the 24th June 1926. Mr. Kunzru thinks that this matter was so little and so unimportant that the recommendations should have gone home earlier. I cannot say that I agree. The decision of the Secretary of State has not yet reached us. (*Several Honourable Members:* "It will never reach you.") It will never reach us? The fact remains that until it does, we are not in a position to discuss at any great length the future policy in regard to the Territorial Force and the University Training Corps. But as regards what has happened so far, my Honourable friend enquired what steps we had taken to develop the University Training Corps. I think that the answer to that is that the University Training Corps are practically up to their full strength at this moment. That does not look as if we discouraged them. I shall be giving the House full particulars of the strength to-morrow in answer to a question by Dr. Moonje. (*An Honourable Member:* "There is no Corps in the Nagpur University.") I said that the existing Corps were up to strength.

My Honourable friend then went on to discuss the question of rifles and armament; and he informed us that at certain universities in the United Provinces the University Training Corps were practising with drill practice rifles. The University Training Corps in the United Provinces and the Patna Company of the University Training Corps and one other Company, a detachment at Lyallpur, are armed with drill practice rifles. All the other University Training Corps in India at this moment are armed with serviceable rifles. The question is simply one of safe custody and nothing else. Where we can get these weapons adequately guarded they are supplied to the University Training Corps, and if arrangements can be made at the Universities of the Province to which my Honourable friend belongs for adequate safe custody, there will be no objection whatever to the issue of service rifles to them.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** They have been made everywhere.

**Mr. G. M. Young:** I give that undertaking to my Honourable friend for what it is worth. There are far more of the personnel of the University Training Corps in India armed with serviceable rifles than with drill practice rifles. My Honourable friend also made a complaint about a shortage of ammunition. When I heard him, I looked back with envy to the days when I was serving in the Indian Defence Force. I did not get anything like the amount of ammunition he mentioned. All I got was just enough to fire my course, with one sighting shot at each range. But if there is a feeling that the University Corps wish to fire more rounds and if that feeling should make itself felt, there is no desire on the part of Government to prevent anything of that sort.

My Honourable friend and my Honourable friend Dr. Moonje drew parallels between the Auxiliary Force and the University Training Corps. They complained that one was being encouraged, the other was not. That is not the case, as I have shown. They complained that, while one was being armed with every variety of arm and encouraged to every kind of

[Mr. G. M. Young.]

military experience the other was not. Of course there is not a true parallel between the Auxiliary Force and the University Training Corps. The parallel lies between the Auxiliary Force and the Indian Territorial Force. The University Training Corps are students of immature age, and they are only members of those corps for a comparatively short time. There is no indication of distrust if you do not allow young men of about 20 to practise indiscriminately with machine guns, not that there would necessarily be difficulty in allowing machine gun practice . . . . .

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** May I say again that we cannot hear the Honourable Member?

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member is doing his best.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** What about the Indian Territorial Force?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** I am coming to the Indian Territorial Force, but I do maintain that no parallel exists between the University Training Corps and the Auxiliary Force. The University Training Corps are treated in almost exactly the same way as we treat our O. T. C. at the Universities in England . . . . .

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Is there any parallel between the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** As regards the Indian Territorial Force the accusation which my Honourable friend Dr. Moonje levelled at us seems to presuppose that the whole of the recommendations of this Committee have been decided upon. It is one thing to accuse us of delay. That is intelligible, though I think that he is impatient rather than that we are dilatory. But you cannot at once say "You are not issuing your decisions", and "those decisions are unjust", or, rather "the decisions of the Secretary of State and the Government of India are unjust". One of the things that my Honourable friend Dr. Moonje said was that we limited the Territorial Force and we did not limit the Auxiliary Force. Well, Sir, he has only got to look at the recommendations of the Committee to see that that matter is still under consideration, and that the only limits recommended are in accordance with the respective functions of the two Corps. The Auxiliary Force is the second line of British troops in this country, and the Indian Territorial Force is to be the second line to the Indian Army, and there is nothing more to be said about it than that. I can assure Honourable Members that there is no feeling of distrust underlying either what they consider to be the delay in giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee, or the existing policy in regard to the Indian Territorial Force and the University Training Corps.

(Mr. President rose to put the motion.)

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar Representative): Will the Honourable Member explain why . . . . .

**Mr. President:** I do not know whether the Honourable Member (Mr. Young) is prepared to answer questions at this stage.

(Mr. G. M. Young signified assent.)

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Will the Honourable Member explain why a University Training Corps was not constituted in the University of Nagpur? Has there been any correspondence between the Nagpur University and the Government of India on this point?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** Sir, I am afraid that I have the same difficulty in hearing Honourable Members in that corner of the House, as they appear to have in hearing me; but I understand that my Honourable friend asked me why there was no University Training Corps at Nagpur. The reason is that the limit of the Indian Territorial Force as then constituted, not as it may be constituted as the result of the recommendations of the Committee—that limit was reached before the University of Nagpur applied for a University Training Corps.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** But in the Report it is said there are to be no limits to the expansion of University Training Corps.

**Mr. G. M. Young:** Yes, Sir; that is the Report on which decisions have not yet been reached.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In the meantime should not facilities be given . . . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 10,000."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—63.

Abdul Haye, Mr.  
Abdullah Haji Kasim, Khan Bahadur  
Haji  
Acharya, Mr. M. K.  
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.  
Aney, Mr. M. S.  
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.  
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sesha.  
Belvi, Mr. D. V.  
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.  
Chaman Lall, Mr.  
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.  
Das, Mr. B.  
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.  
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.  
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.  
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
Goswami, Mr. T. C.  
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.  
Gulab Singh, Sardar.  
Ismail Khan, Mr.  
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.  
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.  
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.  
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.  
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.  
Joshi, Mr. N. M.  
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.  
Khin Mang, U.  
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.  
Kunru, Pandit Hirdav Nath.  
Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra  
Kanta.  
Lajpat Rai, Lala.

Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.  
Mehta, Mr. Jannadas M.  
Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.  
Moonje, Dr. B. S.  
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.  
Murtaza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi  
Sayyid.  
Naidu, Mr. B. P.  
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.  
Neogy, Mr. K. C.  
Prakasam, Mr. T.  
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.  
Rahimtulla, Mr. Fasal Ibrahim.  
Rananjaya Singh, Kumar.  
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.  
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.  
Rey, Mr. K. C.  
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.  
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.  
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan  
Bahadur.  
Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.  
Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.  
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.  
Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.  
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.  
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.  
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.  
Tok Kyi, U.  
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Yusuf Imam, Mr.  
Zulfqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

## NOES—44.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.  
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.  
 Ahmed, Mr. K.  
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince  
 A. M. M.  
 Allison, Mr. F. W.  
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.  
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur  
 Nawabzada Sayid.  
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.  
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha  
 Gopalaswami.  
 Bhole, Mr. J. W.  
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.  
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.  
 Coatman, Mr. J.  
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.  
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.  
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.  
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.  
 E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.  
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.  
 W. M. P.  
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.  
 Graham, Mr. L.  
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.  
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.

Healett, Mr. J.  
 Howell, Mr. E. B.  
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.  
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur  
 Sardar.  
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major  
 and Honorary Captain.  
 Keane, Mr. M.  
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.  
 Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.  
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra  
 Nath.  
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir  
 Alexander.  
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.  
 Paddison, Sir George.  
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.  
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.  
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.  
 Roy, Sir Ganen.  
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.  
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.  
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.  
 Willson, Sir Walter.  
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was adopted.

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

The Assembly reassembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

*General Policy and Expenditure.*

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Mr. President, I beg to move that the Demand under the head "Army Department" be reduced by Rs. 1,000.

Sir, the other day, in connection with the general discussion of the Budget, I had occasion to refer to the growth of military expenditure with special reference to the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the budget speech of the Honourable the Finance Member who in ominous terms warned us that "only the sternest economy and the strictest vigilance can prevent the military budget from showing a tendency to rise rather than to fall." And the warning contained in his words made us all the more uneasy as it came suddenly. I will not repeat all that I said in this House on an earlier occasion but I hope you will permit me, Sir, briefly to place the full facts before the House with regard to the growth of our military expenditure. Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, speaking in the budget debate in 1925, told the House that, after sending away the 3rd Cavalry Regiment and reducing the Aden garrison, it was impossible to reduce the combatant branches of the Army any more. But he said:

"I do not mean to say that in certain other directions I do not see that economies are possible. I have in mind several directions in which money can be saved."

And the established charges—not the net charges—the established charges for the Army in the budget estimate for 1925-26 amounted to about 55 crores. We therefore hoped that the expenditure would permanently be below 55 crores. Now, Sir, in March 1926 the expenditure was reduced to, I believe, about 54½ crores, and the Finance Member told us that we might expect further reductions in future. In particular, he told us that on account of the reductions in the pay of the British officer and soldier, there would be substantial economies beginning with a sum of 12 lakhs in 1927-28, and growing annually to a crore and a quarter in 1933-34. Nevertheless, in the year 1927-28, the established charges stand at 55½ crores, that is, nearly a crore more than was budgeted for in 1926-27. But, Sir, this is not the total extent of the increase. We have to remember, as the Memorandum of the Financial Secretary has told us, that we should in the ordinary course of things have saved about 30 lakhs on pay and pension charges. Then we have been told that the making over of the area round Aden municipality to the British Government would result in some saving in the military estimates. I hope I am therefore correct in saying that the increase is more in the neighbourhood of 1½ than in the neighbourhood of 1 crore. Now, the Honourable the Finance Member told us that about 80 lakhs of the increase was due to a greater expenditure on the purchase and manufacture of ordnance and other stores. A reference, Sir, to the military estimates for 1927-28 will show that the military stores at present are about 5 crores higher in value than what the Inchcape Committee believed them to be in 1922. In 1922 it was believed that the value of the stores amounted to about 22 crores. That was an under-estimate and it is stated in the Army estimates that the real value was 30 crores. This year the value of the stores is expected to amount to about 27 crores and the ordnance stock in particular is no less in value than what it was when the Inchcape Committee reported. The Inchcape Committee asked that the ordnance stores should be reduced from 14 to 8 crores, i.e., by about 50 per cent. We are informed that the military authorities, after considering the report of an expert committee on the subject, have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to give effect to the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee. That may be so, Sir. It may be unable to reduce the stores any further. But the explanation given in the estimates does not show why, the ordnance stock not being less now than what it was in 1922 and the total value of the military stores being higher than what the Inchcape Committee believed them to be, it should be necessary to increase the expenditure on stores permanently by 80 lakhs a year. I do hope that in the course of this debate we shall receive such explanation from the military authorities as will make the subject quite clear.

There is just another thing that I should refer to in connection with the Report of the Inchcape Committee. The Committee referred to the fact that the authorised establishment of Army Headquarters was examined by a Committee presided over by Sir Charles Innes. Its recommendations were partly accepted by the then Commander-in-Chief, but the Inchcape Committee was of opinion that all the recommendations should be accepted and that a substantial portion of them should be given effect to in the Budget for 1923-24. The other day Government circulated to us a statement showing the extent to which the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee had been carried out. I find it stated there that the reduction in Army Headquarters recommended for the year 1923-24 had been fully carried out. I have some little difficulty in this connection which I



[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

mentioned to the Army Secretary this morning. In the military estimate for 1923-24 I find that the officers belonging to Army Headquarters, Headquarters of Commands, and Districts and Brigades and those connected with Embarkation and Railway Transport amounted to 545 in 1922-23. I am sorry I cannot take the figures under these headings separately as they are not given separately in the estimates for 1923-24. If we consider the estimates for 1927-28 we find that the total number of officers under all these heads amounts to 540. How is it, then, that after giving effect to the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee the number of officers now is practically what it was in 1923-24? Is it that while reductions have been effected in the Army Headquarters, increases have taken place in connection with other Departments? If so, it is a matter on which the Assembly should be fully informed.

I could refer to other small matters also in which I find it somewhat difficult to reconcile the statements made in the statement that was circulated to us the other day with the actual facts. For instance, in regard to the Railway Transport and Embarkation Staff, it is stated here that the Inchcape Committee's recommendations have been accepted. That Committee recommended that the expenditure under these heads should be limited to about 3 lakhs, but in 1927-28 the expenditure will amount to well over 4½ lakhs. I could mention one or two other things which create some uneasiness in my mind as regards the extent to which the Inchcape Committee's recommendations have been carried out. I am sure that the military authorities with their fuller knowledge of the subject would be able to dispel all suspicion in this connection.

While on the subject of the growth of army expenditure, I hope I shall be allowed to refer to a subject which is one of considerable difficulty. Even in ordinary times it would have been a bold task to ask the military authorities to reduce the size of the army, and at present when His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has told us that no reductions whatever are possible, to refer to the subject is nothing short of absolute hardihood. Nevertheless, I venture to refer to this matter, for I wish to show that the opinions that Indians have entertained with regard to the size of the army are not the products of their heated imagination but are confirmed to a large extent by the opinions of responsible British statesmen themselves. There is a book dealing with the exploits of the Indian Army in France, called the "Indian Corps in France", published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India and jointly written by Colonel Merewether and Lord Birkenhead himself. In the introduction to this book Lord Curzon says:

"I have seen it frequently stated even by high authority in the course of the present war that the Indian Army is raised, trained and equipped for service in India alone or upon its frontiers and that the call to external warfare was therefore both novel and disconcerting. Such a claim would not only be indignantly repudiated by the Indian Army itself but it finds no foundation in history."

Later on he says:

"The Indian Army, in fact, has always possessed and has been proud of possessing a triple function—the preservation of internal peace in India itself, the defence of the Indian frontiers, and preparedness to embark at a moment's notice for Imperial service in other parts of the globe. In this third aspect India has for long been one of the most important units in the scheme of British Imperial defence providing the British Government with a striking force always ready, of admirable efficiency, and assured valour."

I hope that this statement will carry some weight with the military authorities. I am aware that this House passed a Resolution in 1921 laying down that the size of the army in India shall be determined by the needs of India and that the substance of that Resolution was accepted by Government. But there are a number of other Resolutions, particularly those dealing with the appointment of Indians to commissioned ranks and the establishment of a Sandhurst which, although passed with the concurrence of the Government of India, have not so far been given effect to—which have been rejected by the higher authorities. In view of this fact, it is permissible to doubt whether the object of the Resolution laying down the conditions which should govern the size of the Indian army has been fully accepted by His Majesty's Government. But whatever may

3 P.M. be said on this question, I have another point to put forward in this connection which seems to me to deserve better attention and that is the question of reserves. The Assembly recommended with the approval of the Government of India in 1921 that we should have a short service system followed by a few years in the reserve. The Inchcape Committee referring to this subject said:

"If this proposal is adopted we consider that the peace establishment of battalions should be gradually placed on a cadre basis which might ultimately be fixed at say 20 per cent. below the war establishment "

and they added that

"the proposal to increase the period of enlistment with the colours would also ultimately reduce the number of recruits required annually."

Mr. Burdon, the Army Secretary, speaking in this House in July 1923 with reference to this recommendation said:

"If it could be fulfilled it would undoubtedly enable important economies to be effected because the essence of this recommendation is that a portion of the reinforcements required in war should in peace time be held in reserve instead of on the active list."

Now, this system of reserves has been accepted by His Majesty's Government and is being given effect to. Perhaps the system has been for too short a period in operation to have led to economies. Or it may be that reserves are not large enough to enable Government to think of making any reductions in the peace establishment of the Indian battalions. But a clear enunciation of the policy of Government on this matter is one of far greater moment than any economies that might immediately be in sight. I should like to know whether in view of what Mr. Burdon said in this House the Government of India would, assuming that the size of the reserve or any other consideration relating to it permitted, seriously think of carrying out the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in this connection.

Lastly, Sir, in connection with the growth of expenditure I should like to make an inquiry with regard to capitation charges. We were told by Mr. Burdon that the Government of India was very keen on this matter and that it would leave no stone unturned to arrive at a settlement satisfactory to India. I do not know whether any settlement has been under discussion for a sufficiently long time. The House is therefore entitled to hope that the matter has by now been satisfactorily settled.

The next question that I should like to deal with is the appointment of Indians to commissioned ranks. We expected that the Report of the

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Skeen Committee which dealt with the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and selection of Indians for commissioned ranks would be available by now. It has however not been published, and we do not know when it will be published. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, who is particularly competent to deal with this subject, will I am sure speak on it. I will therefore not say anything about it myself. But I would ask your permission just to point out one or two considerations in this connection. The Government of India appointed a Committee known as the Military Requirements Committee in 1921 to consider various questions connected with the army; and if the reports in the newspapers speak truly, another Committee which was probably a sub-committee of the Executive Council and was presided over by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was appointed to consider the Indianization of the army. The reports of these Committees have not seen the light of day. But British newspapers some years ago published a summary of their recommendations. I do not know to what extent that summary was correct. But our past experience tells us that they seem to have special opportunities for having access to confidential information. It may therefore be that the reports that appeared in the British newspapers were true; and these reports told us that the above-mentioned Committees between themselves were not merely in favour of accepting the Resolutions passed by the Assembly in 1921 but approved of the idea of a substantial annual increment on the analogy of the increments in the civil services, with regard to the appointment of Indians to the commissioned ranks and of the Indianization of the army within a reasonable time. If it is so, Sir, then our demand gains considerable strength in view of the fact that both these Committees were presided over by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The authorities in England, had they observed the convention which was formulated by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1919, should certainly have given effect to the recommendations of 1921 as the Legislature and Government were of one mind. But so far from anything having been done in the matter, we find that we are as far as ever from being admitted to the commissioned ranks of the Royal Air Force, the Royal Artillery, the Royal Engineers and the Royal Tank Corps; and in response to our demand for 25 per cent. of the recruitment for commissioned ranks annually,—I understand that about 80 are being recruited through Sandhurst and about 12 through the universities—what we have been given is the scheme which proposes the Indianization of 8 units. Now I would respectfully point out to the military authorities that this scheme is wholly insufficient to satisfy the aspirations of India. Indeed it looks perilously like a scheme for the segregation of Indians in the commissioned ranks and must therefore be condemned.

Lastly, Sir, I would refer with great trepidation to the proportion of the British to the Indian Army in India. This too formed the subject of a Resolution passed by the Assembly with the approval of the Government of India in 1921. The Resolution recommended a gradual and prudent reduction in the ratio of British to Indian troops. Perhaps in comparison with the figures of 1921-22 when the number of British troops was very high in India some reduction has already taken place. I understand that the normal proportion of British to Indian troops is as 1 to 2.5; at present it is as 1 to 2.65. But the Indian point of view

naturally is that the valour of the Indian Army having been tested not only on Indian battle fields but on other battle fields, where conditions were greatly dissimilar to those prevailing in India, the Indian Army might be relied upon to a much greater extent than before for the protection of India against external invasion. The view that the Army Department holds, Sir, is that the Indian Army requires a certain proportion of British troops to stiffen it. I am sure they mean to cast no reflection on the Indian Army; but their view is scarcely likely to appeal to this House. One can well imagine that if the British flag flew over some countries, which are fortunately independent just now, it would be held that a certain proportion of British troops was necessary in the armies of those countries in order to have the best possible fighting machine. Sir, while I have no objection to due praise being given to British officers and soldiers for the work done by them, it seems hard that praise should be given to the British Army in such a way as to reflect on the valour of the Indian Army. If the Indian Army is trusted there should be no difficulty in allowing Indian troops to replace British troops.

Sir, the military question is one of far greater importance than the question of expenditure or the number of posts occupied by Indians. With its ultimate solution is bound up the solution of the question of self-Government in India. That is why, Sir, Mr. Montagu speaking on the Third Reading of the India Bill said:

“Don't deny India self-Government because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny to her people the opportunity of defending themselves.”

Yet I submit, Sir, this is the policy that is being pursued at present. It is a policy that has burnt itself into the soul of India. It is a policy that has created far more bitterness than any other policy. Although, Sir, a new Member of this Assembly, I venture to think that the House really regards the solution of this question, namely, the position of Indians in the Army, as one of even more vital importance than that of constitutional reforms (Hear, hear), and I do hope that it is from that point of view that Government will try to approach this matter.

**Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** Sir, I wish to state that I regret a few unhappy words used by me in reply to an interruption from my Honourable friend, Mr. K. Ahmed this morning. Sudden jocular interruptions in the course of a serious speech draw out sudden replies which adopt a word used by the interrupter himself. In this case I am happy for one reason that my Honourable friend Mr. Ahmed, between whom and myself there has been a very good feeling for the last three years, anticipated me and came to me to say that he took my remarks in the very spirit of good humour which I meant to convey. However, I wish to withdraw those words which I do not wish to repeat.

**Mr. President:** I am glad that the Honourable Member has accepted the suggestion of the Chair.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** I thank the Honourable Member from Madras. I always take everything in good humour. I have known the Honourable Member for the last three years and he has always been my good friend and I would never have thought that he would say anything unparliamentary to displease me. Anyhow I did not hear from a distance what he said just now, but I have the greatest satisfaction in knowing that something in the way of an apology has been expressed with which I am fully satisfied.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I think, Sir, it will save the time of this House if I speak on the motion of my Honourable friend, Pandit Kunzru. I had tabled a motion which ran as follows: "To discuss the Military Policy and Programme" while the words of his amendment are "General Policy and Expenditure". Therefore, Sir, I think I may take this opportunity of speaking on his motion and I shall not move the motion that stands in my name.

Now, Sir, dealing with this question, when the Commander-in-Chief spoke a few days ago on the general discussion of the Budget with regard to the military question, I certainly expected him to give us some kind of policy or some kind of programme which he is prepared to follow, or which he has thought out. Sir, the statutory position of the Commander-in-Chief in this House, if I may read it in the terms of the opinion of the Esher Committee, is that of a Minister in charge of the Army of India. The Esher Committee when they came to frame their recommendations were definitely and unhesitatingly of opinion that the Commander-in-Chief alone should have the right to offer military advice to the Government of India, and that he should have no military colleagues on the Executive Council. Sir, the Commander-in-Chief therefore is, so far as this House is concerned, a Minister in charge of the military affairs, like the Minister who sits in the House of Commons, who is responsible for the policy and programme so far as military questions are concerned. Taking that analogy for a moment, what did we get from the pronouncement of the Commander-in-Chief? Most of his speech in giving us an account of his tour trips for the whole of the year came to this. He said to us that the Incheape Committee had recommended a cut. That was a pious hope but it cannot be carried out. He said that he cannot do with a single man less in order to maintain the efficiency of the army necessary for the defence of this country. He said he cannot do with a single rupee less if he is to keep up the efficiency of the Army and if he is responsible for the defence of this country. Sir, I ask this question, is that the policy, is that the programme which His Excellency was pleased to place before this House as the result of his stewardship for the whole year? Is that all that ought to be said on this question? Is not the Commander-in-Chief aware of the Resolutions that have been passed in this House year after year? Has he given any thought to any of them? Has he considered the opinions of this House which have been expressed over and over again? Not a word. with regard to various matters regarding his Department was heard from him. Not a word is said. I must say that I was absolutely disappointed in his statement which was nothing but a bare assertion, an *ipse dixit* of the Commander-in-Chief, that everything was well with his Department and there was no great event to refer to—no reasons, no grounds, no policy, no programme. Now, is that to be expected from one who holds the position of the Minister in charge of the Army of this country from his annual pronouncement of his stewardship? Sir, you would naturally ask me, what is wrong with us, what are we complaining about? Sir, what is wrong with us and what we are complaining about is this, that the Government policy and programme with regard to the constitution and the organisation of the Army is still the same as they were in the days of the East India Company. Is the Indian Army to continue as a British garrison stationed here in India? Is the Indian Army to continue as an Imperial force, European and Indian, a body of troops

under the Crown? Is this Army not to be changed? It is one of the questions which I ask the Commander-in-Chief. Sir, if you maintain the fundamental principle which underlies the very constitution and the organisation of this Army, then the Commander-in-Chief may come here year after year and tell us that he cannot do with a single man less and a single rupee less. Now, Sir, I ask the Commander-in-Chief what progress or what efforts has he made with regard to what I will read from Mr. Burdon's book. This is what he says with regard to the Indian Territorial Force:

"The constitution of the Indian Territorial force under an Act passed in 1920 (and we are now in 1927), was primarily the outcome of new political conditions introduced into India by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Act of 1919. Self-government cannot be a complete reality without the capacity for self-defence. When the first phase of representative institutions was established, the political leaders of India naturally claimed that India should be given wider opportunities of training themselves to defend their own country. The Territorial Force is in fact one of several aspects of the Indianisation of the military services which has been previously mentioned as an important feature of the present day history of the Army in India. The Force is intended to cater, amongst other things, for the military aspirations of those classes of the population to whom military service has not hitherto been a hereditary profession. It is intended, at the same time, to be a second line to and a source of reinforcement for the regular Indian Army. Membership of the Force for this latter reason carries with it a liability for something more than purely local service or home defence. It may in certain circumstances involve service overseas. The force is the direct successor to the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force created during the War. It has been modelled on the old militia in England. The essence of the scheme and organisation consists in training men by means of annual embodiment for a short period in successive years. By this means the Indian Territorial Force units can be given sufficient preliminary training in peace to enable them, in a comparatively short period of intensive training, to take their place by the side of regular units in war."

Now, Sir, I ask the question what have you done? This was in 1920; we are in 1927; what have you done? Did the Commander-in-Chief, as our Minister in this House, tell us that these are the efforts we have made, that these are the steps we have taken, and that these are the results which we have achieved? Not a word. Did he give us any idea as to what progress has been made and is expected to be made?

Sir, that is only one aspect of the case. Let us take the second aspect of the case. I might say here by the bye that we heard my Honourable friend Mr. Young who really is in a very unfortunate position because he can only say "What can I do? The Secretary of State for India has not informed me about anything yet. That is all that I can say." We tell him, "Well, what have you done about the Auxiliary Force and Territorial Force Committee's recommendations—recommendations made as far back as January 1925, while we are in 1927?" Mr. Young nods his head. Of course he cannot help it; he is not in a position to do anything because he has not yet received any orders from his master. What can he do? He says: "The Government of India at least made up their mind as quickly as they could consistently with the importance of the subject"—not a little matter, says he, but a very important matter—"the Government of India made up their mind". When? I think he gave us the date, the 24th June 1926. Well, the Government of India are to be congratulated, Sir, that after 18 months at least they made up their mind and they have made recommendations to the Secretary of State. After 18 months. Sir, it is trifling with the House to get hold of this word "little". Of course it is not a little thing. What my Honourable friend Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru meant by this was that it is little compared to many other things. It is a relative term, a comparative word. And what is the

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

good of getting hold of that word and saying it is not a little thing. Of course it is not a little thing in one sense. But I say the Government of India took 18 months before they despatched their opinion. I have known the Government of India, Sir, to take action within a few weeks after the recommendations of a Royal Commission. I have known the Government of India to be very quick when they like—not when they do not like and the matter then, it is said, is so big, so complicated and delayed. You yourselves initiated this policy in 1920 and a Committee was appointed by this House. It made recommendations in January 1925, and you are so incompetent that you take 18 months to make up your mind with regard to the recommendations of the Committee. And then you taunt us and say "What is the good of your saying this is a little matter". But thank heavens, the Government of India did make up their mind. What they have said or done I do not know. That still is in the secret chambers of the offices either across the road here or with the Secretary of State for India. But then we are told that the Secretary of State for India has not made up his mind yet.

Now, Sir, that is so far as the Territorial Force is concerned. Do you think that you will ever be able to reduce your expenditure unless the Army is nationalised or unless your policy to nationalise the Army is honestly enforced? How can you reduce your expenditure? You may be able to reduce your expenditure by a few crores. It may be that you may make a cut here or a cut there. But even if you are able to satisfy the Inchcape Committee and reduce the military expenditure to 50 crores, what about the fifty crores of rupees which this country will have to pay for the purpose of keeping this Army? Even if you agree to the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee and if you cut down the expense to the minimum recommended by the Inchcape Committee, I say, how will you get rid of this burden of fifty crores? I say, Sir, not until you nationalise this Army. You may ask me what I mean by nationalisation of the Army. I say that our Army to-day—and I am sure that the Commander-in-Chief will agree with me at least on this point—is based on an old old principle which has long ago been exploded, and it is this: you have found in the past and you will find it in future, that if your standing army is annihilated at any moment you will not be able to get a second line of defence because India is not given an opportunity to get itself ready for the second line of defence. You must prepare the nation to stand behind. No country to-day is so backward, no country to-day can possibly recognise the foolish policy which is pursued by our Government. What is your policy? Your policy is this: that the citizens are absolutely denied real access to any kind of militia or citizen army or any kind of any other scheme. Mr. Young is shaking his head. I know of your little limited Territorial Force of a few thousands. Go to America and see what they have done. Let me tell you that the American standing army is only 125,000. And yet I believe America can put into the field within two months one million men who have received a great deal of military training.

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member):** How long did they take to do it in the War?

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** My Honourable friend the Home Member is only sitting in Delhi. He knows nothing of what has taken place since the



war. Let me tell you, Sir, that this is since the War. America realised during the War—that is exactly the point—America realised that they were not organised. But see what they have done after the War. If you go and compare, as I have had the privilege and the opportunity of seeing it on the spot recently and examining their military history and records, I assure you the American army of to-day is a different story to what it was before the War. I tell you that it was after the War that they have revolutionized their entire military organization and I believe that within two or three months they can put one million men in the field. How many men can you put? What have you done? You have made no effort except that you passed in 1920, the Territorial Forces Act and you are still fooling with this scheme (*An Honourable Member*: "Eye-wash"); and when this House pressed the Government when the question came up about the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, then as usual the Government thought the best thing to do to switch off this attack was to appoint a Committee. The Committee was appointed; the Committee made its report very promptly, I must say; and the Government of India is sitting on it now—I beg your pardon, I mean the Secretary of State. I say, therefore, that so long as you adhere to this old exploded policy of yours, so long as you pursue that policy, you still maintain the fundamental principles of the East India Company forces; they are merely forces of the Crown. It is an extraordinary thing, but there it is. Who is responsible for the Army here? Is the Commander-in-Chief responsible for it? Can he do anything? He cannot do anything at all. He can only advise the Government of India at the most. What can the Government of India do? Under the Government of India Act the army administration is vested in my Honourable friend the Leader of the House who represents the Government of India. What can he do? He can only send a petition to the Secretary of State for India—see section 30 of the Government of India Act. And we had the other day quoted to us section 22 of the Government of India Act which gives you the power to take away troops from India to any part of the world to be employed there. We have got no say in the matter. Therefore, I say, Sir, that you will never be able to reduce this horrible burden upon the people of India so long as you maintain the fundamental principles underlying your policy, your organization and the present constitution of your army. We shall never under this vicious system be able at any time to say "Take away the British garrison from this country". We are told very solemnly, very seriously, by no less an authority than Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, that there never has been a serious proposal from any responsible quarters in India that the British garrison was dispensable. How can it be? How can any responsible person tell you to take away the British garrison? What is there to take its place? You will not allow anything to take its place, and then you ask us what will happen if the British garrison is taken away. My indictment against the Government is that unless you change the fundamental principles of your policy any organization and constitution of our Army, you will never be able either to make India ready to defend her hearths and homes nor would India be able to reduce this grinding burden for which the people of India have to pay year after year and suffer. That is what I have to say so far as these two general propositions are concerned.

Now, let me get to something more in detail. We were told that the years 1920 and 1921 were fortunate years for India. We had almost



[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

Sandhurst at our door. We had the Royal Commission accelerated; we had promises that all repressive laws and measures would disappear; that India would be a country where real freedom and liberty would prevail, and that India was on the high road to achieve Swaraj or self-government, to which the British Government were irretrievably committed and pledged. We were also told that it was the considered and definite policy of the Government of India to Indianise the Army, that already 10 commissions, or rather 10 admissions were given at Sandhurst. And when I pressed the Commander-in-Chief Lord Rawlinson in 1924, I said, "Yes, you have given us 10 admissions at Sandhurst,—there cannot be any doubt about that", but (and some Honourable Members who were then present in the House might remember) I pointed out that at this rate, what can we achieve. If we were only to have ten admissions, there were bound to be some failures out of the ten admissions and we may get, as we are getting, 5 or 6 or 7 out of those that are admitted. At this rate, I went through a little feat of mathematical performance and I pointed out that at this rate, it will take centuries. If you are going to Indianise the Indian Army proper, leave the British garrison on one side, the Indian Army proper requires in the combatant forces 3,600 officers, which gives you on an average—and I do not think this figure can be challenged—on an average a wastage of 190 or 200 per year, and if you are going to get 5 or 6 Indians as commissioned officers, how many years will it take to Indianise the Army so far as the officers are concerned? I think various Members gave their answers in the House at that time and it came to several centuries. Well, then, at that time, Lord Rawlinson, for whom I had a very great admiration and a very great respect, because I felt in my private conversations with him that he was determined to help us and I pay my tribute to his memory, very rightly then got up and said: "Why does the Honourable Member there take it for granted that the ten admissions are going to be permanent"? A very good answer. Then I naturally said: "When are you going to increase this number"? To that, of course, he was not able to give an answer because there is always the Secretary of State for India and therefore he was not able to answer that question. In 1925, we came back to the blood. That debate was over, and Sir, it was in 1925 that again Government, at any rate the Government of India, realised that it was impossible to resist these attacks and my Honourable friend the Home Member—who had the honour and he will live in the military history of India—made a pronouncement. Now, what was the pronouncement? The pronouncement was—I am giving you the substance, not the words—that the time had come when a Committee should be appointed. (Laughter.) (Lala Lajpat Rai: "In place of the Army.") Sir, beggars cannot be choosers and even on this side of the House we said: Very well, even that is some sort of a beginning: let us have a Committee. And so we had a Committee, and that Committee, Sir, is known as the Sandhurst Committee and I think some Honourable Members here must have heard of it. (An Honourable Member: "The Sken Committee"). No, no, the Sandhurst Committee. I think the Honourable the Home Member agrees with me. It was called the Sandhurst Committee because we hoped that at any rate through this Committee Sandhurst might come to India. Well, the Committee worked, and the Committee is gone, the Committee is dispersed and dissolved, and Sandhurst is still far far away. It is still at Sandhurst and

not in India. (*An Honourable Member*: "Across the ocean.") Now, Sir, what do we find? Of course, my mouth is closed to a certain extent. They have locked my mouth by giving this Committee and putting me on it as a member. (*An Honourable Member*: "Why should it be closed?") Because the convention and the Official Secrets Act apply to me although I am a non-official member. (*An Honourable Member*: "You are muzzled.") Yes, I am muzzled, to that extent. But, Sir, what do we find? The members of the Sandhurst Committee were appointed, and the Committee commenced its sittings on the 1st August 1925. It has worked and it has made its report. Sir, the report was made and signed on the 4th of November.

**Mr. G. M. Young**: May I interrupt the Honourable Member for a moment? It is perfectly true that the Honourable Member himself signed the report on the 4th of November, but it was not signed then by some other members, for reasons known only to themselves: and it was not presented to Government till the beginning of December.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I put my signature to it on the 4th of November. I put it on that day and I remember the date. I stand corrected by the Honourable Member there. It is quite possible that some of the members did not sign because they were not in Bombay at the time. I did not know that it took such a long time to obtain the signatures of the others, but I will stand corrected. I will take my date as the 1st of December instead of the 4th of November. I will make a present of the remaining days of November to my Honourable friend Mr. Young.

**Sir Victor Sassoon** (Bombay Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): Make it the 4th of December.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: I will make it the 4th of December. What do we find? We were told by Mr. Young that this report was sent to the Secretary of State for India in January, 1927. When I asked a question what was the answer? The answer was, "We have not yet heard anything from the Secretary of State for India," and they had not even the power to publish this report, leave alone taking any action on the recommendations contained in it. Sir, the Committee was appointed by the Government of India, and the Government of India is so thoroughly impotent that it cannot even publish the report of a Committee that it has appointed. I ask the Honourable Member, "What is the difficulty?" I do not ask you to commit yourself to anything, if you are so helpless. But why don't you publish this report?

**Mr. M. B. Jayakar** (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): It is a subordinate branch of administration.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah**: What do we find, Sir? Reading Reuter's telegrams what do we find? Questions were put in the House of Commons and what is the answer of the Secretary of State for India? What does Lord Winterton, the Under Secretary of State for India, say? He throws the blame on the Government of India. He says this: "Replying to Mr. Walter Baker Earl Winterton said Lord Birkenhead had seen a copy of the report of the Sandhurst Committee"—how wonderful—"but he had not yet received the Government of India's views on it." Sir, this is dated the 7th of March.

**Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya**: Is that correct?

**Lala Lajpat Rai:** It must be.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Perhaps my Honourable friend Mr. Young will tell us he knows nothing about it. Sir, another question was put before that; on the 14th of February Mr. Pethick-Lawrence asked this question:

"Whether the Under Secretary of State for India was aware that the Sandhurst Committee concluded their labours and signed their Report on 4th November, 1925, when it is proposed to publish the Report; whether the Government have considered it, and, if so, what action they propose to take in the matter?"

The answer given was this:

"The answer to the first part is yes; to the second and third parts, that my Noble Friend is not aware when it will be published by the Government, whose views on it he has not yet received. The fourth part, therefore, does not arise."

I ask the Honourable Member over there, the Army Secretary, why he has not sent his views.

**Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** He is still too young to form any views.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** This is how the question stands with regard to the appointment of the Sandhurst Committee and not publishing the report of that Committee. Leave alone those glorious days of 1920 and 1921 when this Assembly had I am told competent and responsible representatives. (*An Honourable Member:* "Hear, hear.") Says an Honourable Member "Hear, hear." I think we ought to be ashamed of ourselves that we sit here to be trifled with by the Government who are sitting there tight. In 1924 the debate is raised. In 1925 the Government's hands are forced to appoint a Committee, and we are in 1927 and what do we find? We find that the Government declines even to publish this report. No wonder, because I say and I say it deliberately that they have no intention, they have no real desire to meet the universal public demand backed by the entire public opinion and by the Members of this House. I say remember that this is being very carefully watched by a large body of people outside. Here let me refer to the methods which we are advised to follow with a view to getting the Government to move or to do certain things for us. We had a formula which issued from a very high authority, the Secretary of State for India. That formula was that if the responsible leaders will co-operate the British Government will not be niggardly; they are not slaves of dates—of course, they are free men—they will be generous. That was the formula which came in 1925, when that debate took place on the report of what is known as another committee which stands equally condemned by the Secretary of State for India—the Muddiman Committee. Later on, we got another amendment or addition to that formula, and of course, our Government changes as it suits it. We were told a little further that the responsible leaders should not only make up their minds to co-operate but also that they should engage themselves in settling the communal differences. This amended formula held the field for a considerable time. What do we find now? We had another formula a few days ago emanating from no less a person than the Finance Member. And what is that? Hope, charity, faith—hope, faith, charity (*An Honourable Member:* "Love.") Yes; and love—occasionally love, he added. (Laughter.)

I wonder to myself—is there any hope? (*Honourable Members:* "None.") Can you have any faith? (*Honourable Members:* "No.") Is there any room for charity? As to love (Laughter) what do you find? Even if that wise advice of the lady friend of Mr. Jáyakar could not move the Home

Member, is there any hope left after that? We do not stop there... We had a new formula from the Home Member who spoke a few hours after the Finance Minister. He showed us the method and he advised as to how we can get something out of this wicked and Satanic Government. What was that formula? He said, "If you live by the ford you must make friends with the crocodile." Where is the ford and where is the crocodile I ask, Sir. He did not stop there. He said, "You must try and persuade the Government." To make friends is one thing and persuading is another thing altogether. He did not yet stop there. He said, "You must treat Government kindly." I know what his ambition is. The other day he told us that he would rather be a director of a tramway company. I am prepared to make him one, if he will consider it "kindly treatment". (*The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman*: "I accept it.") If he cannot do better than what he has been doing let him become a director of a tramway company. Like cinema films, these formulas are changing and moving in front of us but we get nothing out of them. I ask the Honourable Member seriously whether this is the way to treat this House or to justify the assertion that your policy and your military programme are really in the interests of India and that you want to help India. There can be only one verdict—that it is not so. In the meantime we find that we pay £80,000 to Sandhurst as a contribution. We pay £30,000 to Woolwich where even to-day an Indian is not admitted. We make a contribution to Chatham of £15,000 where Indians are not admitted. We have got a Royal Air Force a portion of which has landed on India. It is not an Indian force but you have to make provision in the Budget and pay for it. What is the total number of that Force? The total establishment is 227 officers, 1,777 British other ranks, 202 personnel of Indian technical section, 130 Indian clerks, 3 schoolmasters, 8 regimental munshis and 713 followers. There is not one Indian holding the position of an officer in that force and we are making a contribution year after year to this. This really is the short history of your policy and your programme. The Commander-in-Chief came here the other day and made a pronouncement. He might not even have taken the trouble of coming here and wasting his time. He might have remained in his palatial house in the enjoyment of all his comforts and luxuries and drawing a big salary from the revenues of India. Sir, the only answer that he was pleased to give us was to the criticism of Colonel Crawford, and that is the only note of regret which he struck; I will read it in his own words. He said:

4 P.M. "My Honourable friend, Colonel Crawford, has referred to the very difficult subject of the supply of British officers to the Indian Army. At the present moment we are not in effect recruiting many officers, partly owing to the fact that we have been reducing regiments from time to time. Whenever a unit returns from Mesopotamia or from other service across the seas without relief we are able to utilize the officers of that unit for general use in the Indian Army, and have so far been able to keep up the strength. We have not been getting boys from Sandhurst in the numbers we want."

"We are not getting the boys from Sandhurst we want." Why not? Why not? I will tell you why not. It is from your own countryman that this interruption came, it is your own countrymen who have been poisoning the minds of the British youths. That is why—that is why you are not getting British boys; and now I have told you why not. That is exactly why I want that my Honourable friends will agree with me, will support me—that is why, I want, Sir, that this report should be published; and I am very happy to

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

say that this is a report which is almost a unanimous report in a practical sense of the word. It bears the signature of a great soldier, Sir Andrew Skeen, to whom I openly on the floor of this House express my thanks for the way in which he presided over the Committee, and for the ability, the skill, the sympathy that he brought to bear upon this great question which we were investigating. (Applause). Sir, I therefore, say that the Government stand to-day absolutely condemned; and I say this in all earnestness, and I say this, that at least you should publish this report without delay. Now, Sir, I have got nothing more to say—and I shall wait—and I shall wait although I do not know which formula I should follow. I do not think, Sir, it is possible to follow any formula, but I shall wait; and I hope that even to-day, even to-day, the Commander-in-Chief will give us some ray of hope.

**Risaldar-Major and Honorary Captain Kabul Singh Bahadur (Punjab : Nominated Non-Official):** Sir, as I am not an orator nor a politician, I hope the House will be kind enough to overlook my shortcomings. I wish just to say a few words, Sir, with regard to the action of the Government in starting taking Indian officers for the King's commissioned ranks. At present suitable youths, with the necessary education and good physique, are not readily forthcoming, but I hope the number will go on increasing. I have often heard Honourable Members saying that they wish to see Indians filling all the ranks of officers which are at present filled by British, but I think they do not know that when in 1923 Government named certain regiments and issued orders for all Indian King's Commissioned officers to be transferred to those units, most of the young Indian officers expressed their intention of staying with their former regiments, remarking that they would be able to learn their work much better if they remained and worked with British comrades. To help Indian commissioned officers in attaining to the King's commissioned rank, the Government started a cadet school at Indore and thus enabled about a dozen Indian officers to get King's commissions and a couple of dozen straightaway from the regiment were promoted to the British ranks and in addition granted Honorary King's commissions with full pay to about 200 Indian officers. Then after a short time Government took advantage of the Indian Educational Corps in training and educating Indian officers and ranks, so that selected persons from these ranks could work up for the King's commission. I have heard some Honourable Members asking the Government to stop recruiting British officers from England for the Indian Army. Do they know, Sir, that a considerable percentage of the young Indian King's Commission holders resign their commission after one or two years' service, which means waste of energy, money and time. I ask Honourable Members to use all their influence in making Indian youths stick to their jobs and work up to field ranks. The question of a military college in India is the subject considered by the recent Skeen Committee and I cannot speak on it further. But I should like to submit that it will be a very good thing if sons of the British officers of the Indian Army are granted commissions and allowances in the same way as is granted to sons of Indian officers at Sandhurst, so as to encourage British youths to come to India and join the Indian Sandhurst and to mix with their Indian comrades and create that spirit of fellowship which is so necessary for the successful performance of military duty.

Then, Sir, some Honourable Members wish that the strength of British troops in India should be cut down. Can they imagine, Sir, what will be the state of affairs if in case of a big war maritime transport is rendered impossible and we do not have British reinforcement which we would require to make up for the casualties which inevitably occur in warfare? Besides the existence of British troops in India is very necessary to keep up the training of the Indian Army on a proper level with Continental armies, because the working of Indian and British troops together makes it possible for both elements to know each other and to make up each other's shortcomings. Lastly, Sir, the demand that the Army Budget should be reduced is not opportune, because a war of the great magnitude which we had necessitates the reshuffling and reorganization and careful training of new formations, supply of new weapons of warfare, which means money. Therefore I shall ask them not to press this demand; moreover, a great amount of money is spent to pay Indian soldiers who come from rural classes and improve their health, physic and character.

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** Sir, it was not my intention to have intervened in this debate, but listening as I did to my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, I thought I would like to say a few words on the question before the House, not of a detailed character, not endeavouring to make a case in that way, which I leave to the competent and able hands of the Army Secretary. The House will pardon me if I make a few general observations on Mr. Jinnah's speech while it is still fresh in the memory of the House.

The first observation is that in mentioning the three formulæ at his disposal there is no question which formula Mr. Jinnah has adopted. A more persuasive speech has never been listened to, and if the Government is not melted by it, I feel they would be very difficult to melt.

If I understood him correctly, and I think the date which he quoted was correct, he said that I announced to this House the appointment of a Committee. He made a certain amount of play about that Committee as though I ought to have done more. That Committee was duly convened and apparently spent up to December, 1926, in their deliberations which I am sure, when published, will be of the utmost value to the Government of India. Considerable time therefore was spent in preparing that report, and it apparently reached the hands of Government in 1926 and was transmitted home within a month. That does not seem an excessive amount of time to take in the transmission of a report.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** It takes only a fortnight.

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** Still you must allow for official delays that occurred in transit. It probably had to be printed and it is not a wonder if a considerable number of copies had to be printed; therefore there was no particular delay there. We are now in March. Mr. Jinnah is naturally anxious to see his report. He was rather inclined to laugh at me for suggesting that the appointment of the Committee was valuable, but I gather from his remarks, and particularly his closing remark that he regarded this report as really a distinctly important step; therefore the announcement of the Committee was not the small thing that he apparently in portions of his speech was inclined to consider it to be. We have it on his authority—and I am prepared to accept it—that it is a most valuable report; therefore we have done a considerable amount in the direction which he has so much at heart. And here, not speaking in any official capacity, I do sympathise with him in his desire for a national

[Sir Alexander Muddiman.]

army. If this country is ever to progress on the lines he hopes it to progress, that must be one of the steps that must be taken. He was inclined, however, to exaggerate the economy that would result from a national army. If, as I understand him, the Americans really are in a position to put a million men into the field in two months, which I understand is what he wishes for India, and in a country with these vast frontiers and vast commitments a national army of this size would possibly not be too small without the British Navy. I will leave that for military opinion. But if this country is to be ready to put a million men in the field in two months, that will involve an expenditure which will certainly not be less than the expenditure this House has to meet on the existing arrangements. I should like, if there is any military authority prepared to give an estimate of that, to hear what would be the cost of merely arming troops with modern weapons in these numbers, and whether really America is in a position to do that, and whether any country in the world is in a position to put a million men in the field in two months. Then, Sir, he complained, and I must leave the answer on that point to authorities more competent than I am to meet the charge, that Indianisation has been very slow. Speaking for myself, one has the feeling that that is a complaint not altogether without grounds. What the grounds are and where the blame is I do not propose to attempt to assess, but I sympathize with Mr. Jinnah in his regret on that point. Whether it is possible to go more quickly I cannot say. It is quite possible when we are able to take action on the Committee's report, progress may be made in a more rapid manner. Then he spoke on the necessity for a second line of defence, and he looks forward I gather to the time when there will be such a second line of defence in India. My Honourable friend Mr. Mackworth Young I think will be able to make a point or two on that head and I will leave that portion of Mr. Jinnah's speech for him to deal with; but speaking generally, I do feel that, hearing the speech, the impression left on my mind was that Mr. Jinnah is not really so despondent of the future of this important problem as he appeared to be . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** I created a wrong impression.

**The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:** It was unfortunate; my Honourable friend is so clear on the impression he really wishes to create, but I do think he did create such an impression. I sympathise with him entirely in his being a little nettled at the delay in the publication of this report to which he naturally as a signatory attaches so much importance, but I trust he will not go to the extent of voting for a deprivation of Rs. 1,000 from the grant for the Army Department.

**Mr. M. E. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban):** Sir, I rise to support the motion which is being debated before the House, and in doing so, I shall not tire the House by quoting facts and figures (Laughter), and I am unable to do so for the simple reason that, with the view that I might make a useful contribution to to-day's debate, about two or three weeks ago, in that cold room a few yards away which we call the Library I wrote an order that I might be sent by value payable post a few reports dealing with this question. That was about two or three weeks ago, but I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving any of these reports from the publication department of the Government. Somebody complained the other day in this House that the publication



department of the Government moved on very slow wheels. I have not had yet the pleasure of receiving any intimation whether these reports have been despatched or are in course of transit or when I would receive them.

**Mr. President:** Has the Honourable Member not received any acknowledgement?

**Mr. M. E. Jayakar:** No, Sir.

**Mr. President:** I regard that as an act of discourtesy on the part of the authorities concerned.

**Mr. M. E. Jayakar:** Well, Sir, I am pretty well used by this time to many discourtesies, and this is the least of them. Therefore, I propose to speak to-day from the point of view of a man to whom this problem presents itself as an ordinary Indian. I may be forgiven, Sir, if I make a speech which may be regarded as non-expert in its character. I remember, Sir, in Bombay, having been very largely concerned with the education of youth in colleges and schools, the great enthusiasm which we witnessed passing over our schools and colleges when the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force were constituted in this House years ago. I remember also, coming to more recent times, the great enthusiasm which prevailed in our colleges in Bombay when Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Motilal Nehru—no two better persons could have been found amongst Indians—were appointed to work on the Sken Committee *alias* the Sandhurst Committee. Day after day—I am mentioning to my Honourable friends something out of my own experience—day after day young men came to see me. I was concerned with their education and had spent a few years of my life in connection with it. They therefore consulted me. "Shall we join the I. D. F.? Shall we join the University Training Corps? Is the British Government really anxious, really honest and sincere in their desire to give us military training?" Day after day, on an average, I may state, Sir, 15 to 20 young men from colleges came to see me. Invariably my advice was "Do join by all means! I believe that the British Government are this time going to give you a sincere trial. Do join by all means!" Shall I tell my Honourable friends opposite, and I will here make a free confession, that before I came to this House I used to wonder how these men, concerned with heartless policy of the Army, must be ogreish looking, frightful of mien! When however I came here, Sir, and cast my eyes on them, *e.g.*, on the Army Secretary, his pleasant countenance and fascinating smile, I realised that we had not to deal with ogreish looking men, but with a policy which made these pleasant-looking men ogreish in their actions! To continue my narrative, the result was that one man after another who joined these forces after a short experience came back to me and said "This experiment is a perfect camouflage." These are strong words, Sir, but they are perfectly well deserved. I went into the history of their grievances very carefully. I asked them to state in writing what their grievances were with regard to the policy pursued. I got statements from the most responsible of them. I have no time to go into the details mentioned in these statements, but I can say, reviewing them together very briefly at this distance of time, that they were thoroughly convincing that this was not intended to be an honest experiment at all. One such fact was mentioned in the course of this morning's debate by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru, namely, the



[Mr. M. E. Jayakar.]

tearing of firearms. I hold the view, Sir, that if Government want to train a young man in military matters it is necessary to allow him the use and possession of firearms; I may tell my Honourable friends the reason which leads me to this conclusion. If you want to develop a *sense of power* which is after all the military man's best asset in his life, along with self-restraint and self-control, the kind of feeling which Honourable Members get when they are driving a large six-cylinder car sitting at the wheel, a sense of power and control combined, in due proportion, which makes the best Military officer, an admixture of power, responsibility, control and restraint; if you, Sir, want to develop in our young men a sense of these qualities you must give them genuine fire-arms. Many of them have come and told me what was pointed out this morning by Pandit Kunzru that to begin with they were given no rifles at all, then imitation rifles, and lastly they were given out-of-date rifles only for a short time just for the firing period, with the result that these young men felt convinced that Government were treating them, in the name of training, with absolute distrust and suspicion. I can tell my Honourable friend the Army Secretary that many of them wished to resign if they did not actually sever their connection with the Force.

**Mr. G. M. Young:** May I interrupt for one moment, Sir? Did the Honourable Member take any steps to convey any of these complaints to any military authority or to the Government?

**Mr. M. E. Jayakar:** I did not personally make any complaints to the military authorities, and for this reason that any interference from "political agitators" like me would, I thought, spoil the matter; but I am sure that every one of the men concerned made a complaint to the authorities concerned. I am sure that they complained, e.g., to the University authorities under whom this particular battalion was being maintained. I think they complained to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Vice-Chancellor, and I have no doubt that he must have complained to the military authorities. I did not personally complain because I am always anxious to avoid any interference because of the bad name which we public men generally have in Government books. But to continue my narrative, every one of these people gave me the same story. Then I visited one of their camps. I was convinced from what I saw and heard that the whole thing was a deliberate and slow process of killing the self-respect of these young men. I know it is a very grave and responsible charge, but I make it before the Government Benchers. The whole policy was so cleverly devised—small pin-pricks here and there, calculated to injure the self-respect of these youthful and enthusiastic men. I cannot describe to Honourable Members the detailed processes, but it was a most cold and provoking method of small pin-pricks day after day, distributed over various actions, the sum total of which was to destroy the self-respect of these young men and to make them every day conscious of racial inferiority and racial domination. The result was that at the end of about a year of experiment the one thing of which these men were made conscious was that they had more pigment in their skins than they ought to have had. Many of them said to me: "The world has grown so advanced in science. Is there no process by which we could get rid of this quantity of pigment in our skin? If we can do that, we will advance much faster."

Then I met one of the important men in the University Training Corps. I will not disclose his name for the moment. He said "The difficulty is, Mr. Jayakar, that there is not enough enthusiasm in these young men. What can we do?" I said "What? There is not enough enthusiasm in the Maharashtra country about fighting? Is that what you want me to believe? People whose ancestors had been fighting with or against the British till recently—and you tell me there is not enough enthusiasm in such men about military careers." He said "Where are the officers to come from?" Well, Sir, I was angry and I gave him a reply which I shall repeat here: I said "Go and seek your intrepid officers among the detenus: you will find your proper officers there." What does an officer want in this country or anywhere? Disregard of death, valour, chivalry, self-respect, patriotism. If a man shows all these qualities in this country, but is discontented with a system which affords no scope for them, you put him in jail and call him a detenu or revolutionary. What are these young men endeavouring to secure in this country? Opportunities to distinguish themselves in all these qualities which make life so noble. And yet there is a belief that there is not enough enthusiasm in the Maharashtra country, of all other places in the world, and that Government cannot get good men to fill in military forces. Sir, my indictment is this, that the Government are really humbugging the people (An Honourable Member: "Hear, hear.") . . .

**Mr. G. M. Young:** On what authority does my Honourable friend say we cannot find young men? The University Training Corps is practically full.

**Mr. M. R. Jayakar:** That may be so now, but, I was speaking about the Indian Defence Force and the University Training Corps some time ago and was repeating the complaint which was stated to me by a responsible man that the experiment could not generate enough enthusiasm in the ranks of our young men. I say there is something rotten in their system if Government cannot generate enthusiasm. I remember the time, Sir, when Dr. Paranjpye went on lecturing in the Presidency of Bombay advocating compulsory military training for our youth. I had myself the honour of presiding at such public meetings more than once, and I can assure the Honourable the Army Secretary that as many as two and three hundred young men used to come merely to listen to the scheme, just to find out whether it afforded enough scope for them to go into military training. But the difficulty to-day is that the Government restrictions are so carefully framed and the whole system is so ingeniously based on artificial and disguised racial distinctions, that no man with self-respect, who is proud of being born an Indian, can find it easy to work under the system. Then I was told, "Oh, this must be a cautious experiment. The advance can only be slow. Possibly you will get in 200 or 300 years complete Indianization of the army". Well, Sir, we Indians, I can tell my Honourable friends, are a very patient people; we believe in transmigration also. I may say that while this slow process is in operation, I expect to die and be born again towards the end of 200 years and become an officer in my next birth. Sir, I ask the Government Benches, is this the way they are treating the just ambitions of the youth of this country? I ask Government, "Have you any definite policy, have you any definite programme? If so, are you prepared to state it on

[Mr. M. R. Jayakar.]

the floor of this House to-day, in how many years you propose to make the army Indian?" We recognize that it must take some time, that a reasonable period must be allowed for the genuine working of this process. I am not concerned with the actual number of years; I am concerned with the immediate creation of these automatic processes—I should like my friends opposite to mark my words—I am concerned with those automatic processes of advance, which once begun proceed in arithmetical progression automatically. I listened with great respect, with great attention and curiosity, to the speech made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the other day. I expected that we were going to be treated to something which might be regarded as a statement of "policy and programme" in this connection, so that I thought I could go back to our colleges and schools and tell the young students: "I have heard the Commander-in-Chief; this is his policy and programme in the matter of military training". But what did we hear? We heard three statements, that the Inchoape Committee recommendation of a cut is an impossibility; the recommendation was made by them in a fit of enthusiasm, if not folly. The second thing I heard was that he was not prepared to cut down a single man, that he was not prepared to cut down a single rupee,—a tripartite statement proceeding from such a high officer! I shall take this message to my friends in our schools and colleges and tell them that this is the position. But may I ask the Government Benches, in all seriousness, do they think, that in making such miserable advances they are taking advantage of the traditional fighting talent in this country, of which in any case in the Mahratta province there is plenty,—in the Muhammadan provinces there is plenty, in the north-west of India there is plenty? I am immediately concerned with the small province from which I come. I know, speaking personally, that if in my time the fighting officers' line in the army were open to me, I would not be here making impotent speeches. I am sure, Sir, there are a number of people, like me, who, if these ranks had been open at the threshold of their career, when they were young and enthusiastic, not hardened with disappointment as at my age—I say if these ranks had been open to them at the threshold of their career, they would have chosen the army as their profession for life, I will say without exaggeration, Sir, that this racial exclusion is rankling in the hearts of a large number of my countrymen and may have its nemesis. Shall I make a confession, Sir. When I looked at your Royal Air Force display the other day, when we were taken up in small batches in aeroplanes many possibly felt happy. But I felt very sad, Sir. And why? (Laughter from a certain section of the Swarajist Benches.) It is not a matter for laughter at all. We are here trifling with the innermost and most sacred sentiments which God implanted in our heart and which education has reared and ennobled. Why I felt sad was this, that I and my countrymen should have nothing to do with all this grand display of power and responsibility; that all this large amount of money should be spent, that all this talent should be generated and utilised, that all this enthusiasm should be created with foreign aid when there is plenty of material among us if only the Government had the eyes to see. I felt that I was like a pariah, ostracised by reason of my colour and my skin, not because of anything which God has not given me but because of my skin, my nationality, my ancestry! Sir, when I looked at the somewhat queer-looking people who handled these machines the thought came into my mind: how much better would this all be if

Indians were there. It makes me very sad, Sir, when I go to these entertainments of British military display. I feel, Sir, that it is not possible for me to convey in foreign language all that I feel on such questions of national honour and dignity. I do hope that the Government have at least the imagination to understand what I feel. If even that is not there, then I say there must be something very rotten in the state of Denmark. I wish, Sir, to convey to this House as far as my words can a sense of my extreme condemnation of the military policy of the Government. I will go further and say that beyond the narrow cut which is being debated I would advise them to throw out the whole of the votable part of this entire grant as an indication of our severest condemnation of this policy of camouflage and deception which the Government have been pursuing from time immemorial. I feel, Sir, I have not words strong enough to express my condemnation, but feeble as they may appear, I hope they will induce this House to treat this cut in the only way it deserves.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Kunzru, relates to "general policy and expenditure." After the illuminating speech of Mr. Jinnah and the powerful eloquence of Mr. Jayakar, I think it is very difficult for any speaker to be heard in this House. However, I propose to take up that part of the Imperial policy which has an important bearing on military expenditure. Sir, it is a well-known fact that the military expenditure of this country ought to have been put not on Indian shoulders but on British shoulders. Speaking a couple of years ago in this House on the General Budget, I quoted some of the observations of eminent British statesmen who had from time to time admitted that it was a financial injustice, a wrong to India, to make the Indian people pay for the British Army in India. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who has also filled the high office of the Prime Minister of England, in his book "The Government of India" has clearly stated that it is a grave injustice to the Indian people to ask them to pay for the British soldier, the British garrison, in this country. He writes:

"Undoubtedly India has not been dealt with fairly in this respect (the military expenditure). It has to bear the expense of operations that are mainly Imperial . . . A large part of the Army in India, certainly one-half, is an Imperial Army which we require for other than purely Indian purposes and its cost therefore should be met from Imperial and not Indian funds."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald went on to say:

"When we station troops in other parts of the Empire we do not charge them upon the Colonies; but in India we have the influence of the dead hand. India is treated as an independent state, which however we rule and whose military policy we control while it 'borrows' from us a certain number of troops for which it pays."

Sir, that is the extraordinary position of India to-day. India has no freedom, whereas the Colonies have freedom, and yet India has got to pay for the British army of occupation in this country. It is no more and no less than a foreign army of occupation. Sir, in the Colonies, those who have read colonial history, those who know something of the colonial military budgets, those who know the manner in which the Colonies were treated are aware that, when the British army was in the Colonies, the British people maintained it at their own expense. Only the Colonies bore one-tenth of the financial burden. I shall read

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

to you, Sir, what Mr. Keith says about the amount that the Colonies had to bear:

"Moreover, the expense was very heavy. In 1858 the Colonial military expenditure of the Imperial Government was nearly £4,000,000 towards which the Colonies gave but £380,000."

Sir, when the Colonies were granted freedom, the Colonials did not pay for the British Army. Britain continued to pay for the British Army; Britain continued to maintain the British Army at the figure I have placed before this House. Even after the grant of freedom this policy went on and when two Committees of the House of Commons examined into the question and came to a decision that the Army should be withdrawn from the Colonies, even then the British Government brought about the withdrawal only very slowly, and then, Sir, they withdrew because it was a financial burden. I do not think it is necessary for me to quote before you what Mr. Keith has said on this:

"In 1863 the Governors of the Australian Colonies were informed by the Imperial Government that it was not intended longer to maintain at Imperial expense the garrisons in these colonies and that if in the future these Garrisons were kept there, it would be necessary that the Government should pay for them at rates specified in the Secretary of State's despatch."

But what is happening in India to-day? India has no freedom and India has to pay for her thraldom. India has got to pay for the British Army of occupation. No self-governing India would contemplate this. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald truly says:

"A self-governing India would no doubt insist upon bearing some definite share in Defense. But like the Dominions it would settle how much it ought to bear. It would adjust cost to its means and it would decide in what form it was to make its contribution—perhaps an Indian recruited army. In any event, the present plan by which India pays for the Imperial Army stationed there without in any way determining policy is as bad as it can be"—

This is not my language, Sir, but the language of an ex-prime Minister of England.

"If the existing system of military defence is to last, the whole cost of the British Army stationed in India should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer."

That is the opinion of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. India's aspiration for Dominion status has been thwarted on the ground that there is no home defence in this country. Without home defence how can you aspire to home rule? But in the Colonies, home rule was granted without home defence and facilities were provided for home defence. The Colonies had opportunities which are denied to us. Sir, we are committed in the Montagu dispensation to what is known as development of responsible institutions in this country, but side by side with the development of responsible institutions in this country it is but right that we expect the Government to develop also the Indianisation of the Army, to develop a policy of making Indians fit to defend themselves. Sir, the other day the Home Member reminded the House of an animal called the crocodile and the policy of the Government reminds me of another animal which also lives in water, and that is, the tortoise. The Government moves at the tremendous velocity of which the tortoise alone is capable in regard to the Indian policy. I wish to submit, Sir, how, within the period that the British came to this country and started that policy of emasculation, started that policy of weakening the Indians. (An Honourable Member: "Exploitation.") My friend Mr. B. Das exclaims "exploitation". Exploitation is not half so dreadful a crime as emasculation.

and the policy that we are discussing to-day is emasculation first, and exploitation afterwards—exploitation financially, but emasculation of the manhood of the race. Sir, it has been said in this House that Indians make very good soldiers but they do not make very good officers. When the British came to this country, who were the officers in the Indian Army? Were the British the officers of the Indian Army? Lord Curzon said, "We conquered India with Indian swords." The officers were also Indian officers. The English Government took jolly good care to destroy the capacity of Indians to be officers. They took jolly good care to destroy the armies themselves. Students of Indian history are aware. Sir John Strachey has recorded in his book, "India, Its Administration and Progress" how unwarlike tribes were recruited for the Army, how the people all over the country had opportunities for service, and how the Government altered that policy and restricted recruitment to certain select classes in the country, so that the people as a whole would not have an opportunity to enrol themselves in the Army. The whole policy has been one of destroying the manhood of the race. The whole policy has been one of depriving India of the power of rising again at any time in her history and taking a stand upon her own liberty and defending it. The whole policy has been one of making India the m'ch cow of the British Empire. The whole policy has been one of reducing India to that degradation in which the Romans left the Britons, the primitive Britons. The House will remember how when the Romans were withdrawing their armies from Britain, how when Rome was sinking under the assaults of barbarous invaders and the vices of internal administration—how when the Romans were leaving Britain the Britishers said to the Romans, "Oh, ye, masters, please do not leave us. We will fall a prey to foreign invaders. Please protect our shores, protect our land, protect our hearths and homes." Britain wants that we should be in the same helpless position. Britain wants to leave this country in the degradation in which the Anglo-Saxons found the Britons. That is the degradation to which we are being forced to-day, and I am glad that my Honourable friend, Mr. Jayakar, who generally uses very sober words, who generally weighs his words before he uses them—that even he was constrained to say that this is a policy of "humbug". This "humbugging", as he put it, must cease to be. This is the biggest fraud known to history. We are being advertised to the world as incompetent, as incapable of producing officers, while the truth is that India has as much genius in her to produce officers as any other country in the world. Sir, you said when you were amongst us how if we had self-government we could start numerous colleges in the country—military colleges, and give opportunities to the youth of the land to take their burden, the national burden upon their shoulders like other men in other parts of the self-governing world. And that is, Sir, what has happened in "The Land of the Rising Sun." And if there is character, if there is honesty among those people who describe their country as "the Empire over which the Sun never sets," they should adopt in this Oriental country the same policy as the Land of the Rising Sun adopted. And with what result? Sir, it is not my description of it, it is the description of a European writer: "phenomenal" is "the progress that Japan has achieved in military matters in recent years." The history of the Japanese army and navy is one of the most extraordinary developments in efficiency. W. M. McGovern says in his book "Modern Japan" how within a few years, 30 or 40 years—England has been here for a longer period—how in a short period Japan which had no better

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

army than the Indian Army that the Indians had when the aliens came to use our army against ourselves—Sir, the Japanese rose into a great and mighty nation because the Japanese provided their own officers for the army, the Japanese Government felt as the Japanese people wanted them to feel. Here we have a Government which feels it its duty to keep us in bondage. This is what the Japanese did:

"The Lord of Satsuma employed English experts, the Lord of Kii Germans, while still others looked to the Dutch for guidance. Even the conservative Shogunate at Tokyo decided in 1862 upon the adoption of Occidental methods of warfare, though it retained the services of the Samurai."

The units of the troops consisted in this period of 8,306 infantry, 1,608 cavalry, 800 field artillery and 2,045 garrison artillery with 1,406 officers, making a total of 13,625. That was in 1862. And in India after 1957 whatever officers there were in the Indian Army, whatever material there was in the Indian race to produce officers was barbarously destroyed. I do not want to go into this chapter of history because I will have to detain this House very long but students of history know that the "Mutiny" was suppressed as though it was an Indian War of Independence. A small country like Japan progressed so fast without the Englishmen governing the country. Here is a Government which shamelessly boasts hour in hour out of its sympathy and solicitude for the people of India. And Sir Darcy Lindsay and the European group sing to that tune and dance to that tune. Here is a Government which says that we have nothing but the good of the Indians at heart, the good of the great masses at heart. What are these educated classes but "microscopic minorities", say they. This Government has not followed the example of the Japanese. The Japanese had to send for the British experts, while this British Government has been trying to destroy the manhood of the race and the competence of the Indian people to officer their own army. I have only place before this House one simple statement which this European author of "Modern Japan" has furnished us. In Japan before the Russo-Japanese War there were 36 generals, higher officers and officers, 8,970 petty officers and 65,241 men, making a total of 78,482. Before the Russo-Japanese War, there were 94 generals, 8,480 higher officers and officers, 11,865 petty officers and 132,348 men, making a total of 152,677. After the Russo-Japanese War, there were 125 generals, 14,388 higher officers and officers, 24,066 petty officers and 211,396 men. I need not trouble the Members of this House through Indian history and the number of wars that have been waged, the number of battles in which we had to engage including the last war. The Commander-in-Chief stands up in this House with that callousness for which his department is notorious and says publicly that the attraction among the European youths for the Indian army is being diminished. He said he had not been getting boys from Sandhurst in the numbers he wanted. I do not take either His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or the gentlemen sitting on the other side of the House at their word value. I judge them by their deeds. If His Excellency had the good of the people at heart, what would he have said? He would have said, "I am glad that enthusiasm is being kindled in my country for men coming out to officer the Indian Army. I will now an opportunity for me to create opportunities for the Indians to do so." (Hear, hear.) There was such a brain wave on the heights of Simla that I have heard of the O'Donnell Circular in connection with the Indian Services in India. According to the O'Donnell Circular, it was contemplated that recruitment should stop in England and there should be



plete Indianisation of the services but after that O'Donnell Circular, which never saw the light of day, (Laughter) what happened? The Lee Commission came. A racial discrimination was created in the services, among members in the services who had the same standing, the same opportunity, the same education, recruited under the same constitution. What happened? Racial barriers were created in the Indian Civil Service and other services; and I suspect that this statement of the Commander-in-Chief is only a gloomy prognostication of another Lee Commission coming to this country. (*An Honourable Member*: "Yes".) Of course there are not many Indian officers in the Army to create differences between Indian officers and European officers. Already the poor Indian officers are treated like so many frogs in a little well. Therefore, there is no question of racial discrimination being raised on a gigantic scale. It is already there, but they will perpetuate it, they will feed it at the cost of India.

Sir, so much for the Government's attitude towards the Army; and now I shall deal generally with the attitude of the British Government towards the Government of India in respect of army matters. In military matters they do not treat the Government of India as an entity in itself. The Government of India is no more and no less than what Lord Curzon described it to be, namely, "a subordinate branch of the British Government". My friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, had in his beautiful note to the Report of the Retrenchment Committee made certain very illuminating observations on this aspect of the question. The Esher Committee too had some observations to make in 1919. I shall first refer to what the Esher Committee said:

"We were confronted with evidence of the continued reluctance of the India Office to relinquish into the hands of the Government of India greater freedom in the administration of the Army, even in cases where this could be done without compromising the administration of the Army at home or contravening the sound principle of uniformity in military policy. We are strongly of opinion that greater latitude should be allowed to the Governor General in Council and to the Commander-in-Chief in India in matters relating to internal, military administration."

The Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India do not trust the Indian people in regard to military matters, and the British Government do not seem to trust the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India presumably because of their contact with the Indian people! It is how the British policy, the British military policy in the East is because, as it has always been admitted by all constitutionalists, it is on the Army that British rule in India depends. It is on the militarism of the British in this country that the British domination rests and therefore they do not want the Army to be wrested from their hands into Indian hands. Sir, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who was a Member of Lord Chelmsford's Retrenchment Committee in 1922, emphatically condemned the present system of control in the following terms:

"The Commander-in-Chief is the responsible adviser of the Government of India in all military policy and affairs. Should the Government of India differ from the Commander-in-Chief on any question, the Secretary of State may, and not infrequently should, hold the Commander-in-Chief and force a certain line of action on the Government of India contrary to their wishes."

The gallant gentleman who is seated on those Benches is more powerful than the entire machinery of the Government of India (Hear, hear). He sits there in the War Office in India. But if at times, as sometimes happens, the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief agree, the Secretary of



[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

State rejects their unanimous recommendation and forces on them a different line of action irrespective of the additional cost to the Indian Exchequer; and this additional cost relates not only to the general policy of the Government in India, but also to details, for let us hear Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. He says:

“ This interference of the Secretary of State is not confined to questions of Imperial interest or to broad lines of policy but extends to such administrative details as the comforts of British soldiers or the emoluments of officers.”

So complete is the British domination so far as army matters are concerned. Sir, this Assembly is, so far as this Department is  
5 P.M. concerned, a nonentity, and so long as the Army Department is not made responsible to this Legislature there cannot be responsibility even in this irresponsible Government in the matter of Army administration. Sir, I think I have taken so much of the time of this House and it is 5 o'clock, an appropriate time to adjourn. (Laughter).

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 15th March, 1927.

---