

Tuesday, 4th September, 1934

THE  
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

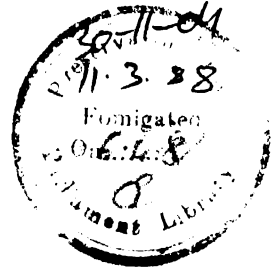
VOLUME II, 1934

*(8th August to 6th September, 1934)*

EIGHTH SESSION

OF THE

THIRD COUNCIL OF STATE, 1934



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## COUNCIL OF STATE.

Tuesday, 4th September, 1934.

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

### MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. George Hemming Spence, C.I.E., I.C.S. (Legislative Secretary).

### QUESTION AND ANSWER.

#### COST OF PRINTING THE *Fauji Akhbar*.

216. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: (a) Will Government kindly state whether the *Fauji Akhbar* is printed by a private press in Simla? If so, how many copies and at what annual cost?

(b) What will be the cost of printing it in bigger private presses at Lahore or elsewhere?

(c) What is the annual cost of (i) editing, and (ii) printing the *Fauji Akhbar* and what is its annual total income?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) and (c). The *Fauji Akhbar* is printed in a private press in Simla.

During 1933-34 the weekly average number of copies printed was 10,351.

For the same period the pay of the Translation Section of Army Headquarters which carries out the editing, managerial and translation duties connected with the *Fauji Akhbar* as well as the general translation work of Army Headquarters, and of the officer in charge thereof who is the editor of the paper amounted to Rs. 42,838, but it is difficult to say what proportion of that sum related to the *Fauji Akhbar*. Rs. 29,158 were expended on printing and wrapping and Rs. 16,693 on paper, blocks, postage, remuneration to contributors and office contingencies.

The income was Rs. 36,944. It may be added that it was never the intention that this paper should be a commercial proposition. Numerous copies are distributed free, and one of its principal objects is the education and welfare of the troops.

(b) Tenders for printing by private presses in Delhi and Lahore have been received and are under consideration.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Is it essential that this paper should be printed in Simla at a comparatively heavy cost or could it be printed anywhere else?

( 605 )

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** I just said that tenders from other presses have been called for and will be considered.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** May I ask why it could not be printed by the Government Press ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** I must ask for notice of that question.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** Will the Government also consider if it is possible to get it printed in the Government Press when they are considering the tenders of private presses ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** I will have that matter considered.

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**STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSING REGRET FOR THE RULING GIVEN BY HIM IN REGARD TO CLAUSE 2 OF THE IRON AND STEEL DUTIES BILL.**

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Honourable Members, with reference to the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Sapru in regard to clause 2 of the Iron and Steel Duties Bill and the ruling which I gave yesterday evening on it, I should like to make a statement. While it represents my own view, to which I adhere, I find that the amendment has been framed on the lines of clause 3 (1) of Act XIII of 1933, an Act to provide for the imposition of additional duties of customs on imported goods for the purpose of safeguarding industries in British India. There are also some other Acts where such provisions are found. The existence of these precedents inadvertently escaped my memory when I pronounced my ruling yesterday. I feel I should have followed those precedents, whatever might have been my personal opinion on the subject. It is therefore only fair that I must express my extreme regret in this connection for the inconvenience caused to the Honourable Mr. Sapru in not permitting him to move his amendment and I do so accordingly. I am very pleased to see that the Honourable Members of the Progressive Party are in their places this morning and I can unreservedly assure the Party that as long as I occupy this office I shall always be ready and willing to show all possible fairness and consideration to all Parties in this House. (Applause.)

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) :** Sir, having heard what you have said—and that is what we expected from a high personality like you—I rise to assure you, on behalf of my Party, of our complete confidence in you. Having known you and your conduct in the Chair for some years past, we may assure you that we have not misunderstood you. The incident is over and has left no kind of bitterness behind. We hold you in the same esteem and have the same regard for you as we had before. (Applause.)

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I thank the Honourable Member for his kindly sentiments.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) :** Will you kindly allow me, Sir, to

express my complete confidence in you and my regard and esteem for you as the President of this Chamber? (Applause.)

### INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF:** Sir, I beg to move :

“That the Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, for certain purposes, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.”

The object of this Bill, Sir, is to provide for legal status of the first batch of young gentlemen cadets who will be shortly passing out of the Indian Military Academy at the end of this year. These officers will be designated “Indian commissioned officers” and will receive commissions in His Majesty’s Indian land forces more or less on the Canadian and Dominion model. The form of commission is as a matter of fact identical with that which has already been given to the officers of the Indian Air Force. The existing officers of the Indian Army are first of all the British officers who hold commissions in His Majesty’s land forces, and secondly, the well known officers, the Indian Viceroy’s commissioned officers. We now propose to institute a third category who will gradually oust the others from that portion of the army which is destined for Indianization; and on the Dominion principle it is proposed to include these Indian commissioned officers under the Indian Army Act and not under the British Army Act, so that in time to come the new Indian Army will be governed by its own statute. Two-thirds of the clauses of this Bill deal with the introduction of the new Indian commissioned officer. A small number of further clauses deal with the warrant officer, who if he is not exactly new is certainly new in the Indian Army in the fighting units, and we are instituting that class exactly on the model of the warrant officer in the British Service. The remainder of the Act merely aims at bringing the Indian Army Act into line with the Indian Air Force and our own Army Act. Within the Indian Army itself there will be almost complete reciprocity between the British officer and his brother officer, the Indian commissioned officer, as regards powers and privileges, with the exception that the purely British officer will have an ultimate right of appeal to His Majesty, which, as I dare say those who take an interest in this subject may have observed in a note to section 42 of the Army Act, is not encouraged at all. As regards conditions of service, which are not affected by this Bill, it is proposed that the Indian commissioned officer shall have his pay, leave and certain other conditions laid down according to Indian standards. The pay will naturally not be as much as the British officers who are banished from their own country have, nor will the leave naturally be the same. You cannot expect that we should offer to these officers more than we offer to our own officers when they are serving in their country, and the new pay will be almost exactly the same as our own officers receive, almost shilling for shilling, when they are serving in their own country in England, and they will have the same leave,—60 days or whatever it is in the year, and naturally not have the same six months or more every few years as our officers have which is absolutely necessary in most cases for the good health of the European. The Bill deals only with the position within the Indian Army. The position



[His Excellency the Commander-in Chief.]

of the officer commissioned in His Majesty's land forces, *vis-a-vis* the officer commissioned in the forces of a dominion, is quite plain and that is that neither of them has any automatic power or authority over the other. The only exception to that rule, I believe, is in Canada where, if a British full-commissioned officer goes to Canada, the Canadian commission confers full power over him there but it does not convey full power over him if he is fighting in another country, and a very important proviso is that a British officer who chooses to come and serve there cannot be ordered to do so but only goes there by his own free will. That being so, special provisions have always to be made to meet any case where these two different classes of officers find themselves serving together and that power is conferred by section 181 of the Army Act. On the other hand, an officer of His Majesty's land forces already has under the Army Act powers of command over all the personnel in the Indian Army. The Indian commissioned officer will, as an officer of the Indian land forces, have certain general powers of command over British personnel, subject to the Army Act. The exact nature of these powers, however, will have to be specified in the King's Regulations later on the analogy of the provisions made in paragraphs 172 to 192 of the King's Regulations now. These paragraphs are rules made under section 71 of the Army Act and they lay down the conditions under which officers of the different categories of His Majesty's forces should exercise command over personnel of corps other than their own. The authorities at home in England have accepted the need for specifying in King's Regulations the exact nature of the command to be exercised by Indian commissioned officers and the rules to be made for that purpose are now under consideration. In such a large and varied organization as the Army in India, in which the British Army and the Indian Army serve in such close contact, there are numerous different circumstances for which more or less general provision has to be made but it can be accepted that the effect of the rules when they are framed will be to empower a commander, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards to the commander of a station, to appoint the occasions when that power of command may be exercised by Indian commissioned officers in relation to the personnel of the British Army in India who may be serving under his command. The power of punishment will naturally not be granted but that is a normal limitation which exists already between officers of the Royal Navy, the British Army and the Royal Air Force. We have no power of punishment over each other's personnel.

Now, as the House is aware, Sir, this Bill was somewhat warmly debated in another place and eventually was only passed by a very narrow majority. Personally, Sir, I cannot but deplore that the discussion in another place took the form that it did because, in spite of the very able manner in which the Army Secretary presented the case and piloted the Bill, I cannot but feel that a great deal at any rate of the opposition was due to pure misapprehension. I myself have discussed this subject with all sorts and conditions of men, Indian and British, and public and private, in India, and I have found, even up as far as the Governor General's Executive Council, I found it even in the case of my Honourable friend on my right here, the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain, that considerable ignorance prevailed on matters which seemed to

us soldiers to be part of our every-day life, and I think we had forgotten, that every trade has its own technicalities which seem quite simple to those who are engaged in it every day but which are almost Greek to those who are not. So far as I could judge, the opposition to any part of the Bill, except in one matter, was very slight. I think in the other place they realised that this Bill was obviously necessary and I feel that this House will consider it to be obviously necessary. But the point at issue in the other House was the very delicate one—I say delicate advisedly—of the question of powers of command and privileges of the new Indian commissioned officers *via-a-vis* their brethren in the British Service who are under the Army Act and which I have just explained. Now, I say that I deplore the tone which was adopted in the other House because not only did I think it dangerous from the point of view of influencing the young men who are just coming out of the new Indian Sandhurst but it seemed to me, Sir, to suggest all through that we were not keeping our word in this matter and were deliberately placing the new Indian officers in a position of inferiority; and most dangerous of all that there would be a grave reaction in the army. Whereas, Sir, as a matter of fact, no concealment whatever has ever been made, at least intentionally, that there must be in existing circumstances and for a certain time a difference between the two commissions. That debate is sure of wide publicity and the first people to read it will be your own young gentlemen cadets who are coming out of the new Indian Sandhurst next January. I cannot help feeling myself that it was scarcely wise to use such unrestrained language as was used which may well discourage these young men and produce that very inferiority complex in them about which we hear so much nowadays and which I for one deny absolutely ever existed in their minds until you put it into them. I feel the utmost sympathy with the Indian politicians who consider it their duty—and it is their duty—to keep a jealous guard over the privileges of these young officers of theirs who are just entering into the service as pioneers in this momentous change which is taking place in the army and I will go so far as to say that I even sympathise with their wish to have something in writing about it in the new Bill. As the House knows, in the other place we were prepared to agree to an amendment which would have gone, I think, a very long way towards, meeting their wishes. But when it was referred to England, we found out—I must say as I feared, that the Law Officers of the Crown had no course whatever open to them but to point out that such a procedure would in fact constitute an infringement of the Royal Prerogative. In no Army Act in the world, so far as I am aware, are the actual powers and privileges of officers mentioned at all or set forth. The Army Acts almost universally confine themselves to the definition of officers as such, to the recording of crimes, punishments, affairs of discipline and so on, and leave to the head of the State concerned the power to make regulations in another document that will actually define the powers and privileges of the officers who are created under the original Act. This, I understand my Army Secretary gave an undertaking, would be done. But it did not, and apparently does not, satisfy certain sections of opinion in this country. Those sections still claim that the Indian commission should confer in fact full powers over all British personnel in the Indian Army and the Army in India as well, and also in what is known as mixed formations where one or more British units serve alongside Indian units. I do not say,

[His Excellency the Commander in Chief.]

Sir, that later on, when the Indian officers become senior and prove themselves that this will not take place. But it is perfectly clear to me—and I think it must be to the House—that at the present moment there is no chance whatever of such full powers being given to an Indian commission. Let us not mistake one another over this question of inferiority complex and powers. It seems to me that I hear so much about the inferiority complex now, which certain distinguished Indians feel, that if they do not take great care, other people will begin to think that there is really an inferiority complex. I would ask them to remember that people in England know very little about India, and if they go on talking so much about this inferiority complex, people in England, who have the fate of this country in their hands, will begin to think that there is really one, and that they are not fit to take on this or that responsibility. I am perfectly convinced and I am sure that there are a great many people in this country now under whom I or any soldier would not have the slightest objection to serve—people like old Sir Pratap Singh who have proved themselves in war and under whom all our officers would gladly serve. I should not have thought of any inferiority complex in this case. I do not feel any inferiority complex because I am sitting under the leadership of my friend here on my right who is an Indian gentleman and I happen to be British. Why? Because, he has proved himself an able man and, above all, because we are both pulling in the same boat. That is why I feel no inferiority complex. It is said that we should do the same in the army as we do in the civil services. I would ask them to remember, Sir, that the civil services have been Indianized, or they have been in the process of Indianization for a great number of years, and there is now very nearly 50 per cent. Indianization in the civil services. But do you think that there would have been all these privileges given to the Indian civilians that you claim now for your young officers when they first began? People were watching to see how they were developing; they developed and have proved that they are fit to undertake those responsibilities in the same manner that I think your young officers will do. There is no comparison between the two. Your Indianized portion of the army are just beginning. They are a young plant, and I would ask you to remember that when we people are responsible, as we are, for the safety of India, we cannot afford to take risks in the matter. If you, in the civil service, make a mistake, you have so many others to correct you and, after all, a mistake in civil life can be corrected. But a mistake in war can never be corrected. Until we are sure that these young men are fit in every respect to take the place of the young men we are replacing, we must have our eye on them and not give them full powers until they have proved themselves. Inside the army, I feel perfectly convinced that there will be no difficulty whatever. There may be some small legal difficulties, and that is for the Law Officers to solve. But I am quite certain that the British officers who join in the future the Indian Army, and who find themselves junior, as they will, to your young men who are coming out of the Indian Military Academy, will loyally accept the position. I am perfectly certain of that, for, if they do not do so, the position would obviously be impossible. Neither do I anticipate the least difficulty with regard to the special cases which the Army Secretary said would be provided for in the future by special regulations in the King's Regulations, such as

officers employed on garrison duties, boards, junior staff officers, and such like things. Having said this much, Sir, I do hope that the discussion in this House will proceed on sober lines, with every thought and with every care that what is said here may not injure the prospects and the self-respect of your own young Indian officer.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Bill which has just been moved for consideration by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is the most controversial measure which has been introduced in this session. Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has said a great deal about inferiority complex. I am not going to follow him into the question of this inferiority complex. The inferiority complex is there and the inferiority complex will continue until India achieves Dominion status. Situated as we are, perhaps it is inevitable that we should feel this inferiority complex and I do not apologise for it.

Sir, it is necessary to examine the scheme which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has placed before us carefully, and it is also necessary to speak with a certain amount of straightforwardness notwithstanding the possible repercussions on the recruitment to the army about which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is so very solicitous and anxious. The position today is that in this country we have two armies. There is the British Army, and its discipline is regulated by the British Army Act; and there is the Indian Army, and its discipline is regulated by the Indian Army Act. Now, the Indian Army Act at present only regulates the discipline of the Indian officers who are hereafter to be done away with, the Viceroy's commissioned officers. It does not regulate the discipline of His Majesty's commissioned officers; the discipline of His Majesty's commissioned officers is regulated by the British Army Act. It is hereafter intended to create a new class of officers called the Indian commissioned officers, and it has therefore become necessary to have a discipline Act for this new class of officer. Therefore the very first question which we have to consider is whether the creation of a new class of officers to be called Indian commissioned officers is at all in the circumstances of this country necessary. And if it is necessary to create this new class of officer, what the status of this new class of officer should be, what the prospects of promotion, what powers of command, of this new class should be, not merely in relation to the Indian Army but also in regard to mixed formations? Now, Sir, it is necessary, in order to make my position clear on this question, to enter into a little history of the military policy that has so far been pursued in this country. The army policy of Britain in this country has been subjected to a great deal of criticism by Indian nationalists. It is a policy on which I think Britain cannot legitimately congratulate herself. It is a policy which has been adversely commented upon—not merely by rabid Indian politicians, not only by moderate politicians like Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, Mr. Abdul Rahim, for whom personally I have very great respect because they belong to my school of thought, but it is a policy which has been commented on adversely in the past by a distinguished soldier like General Sir George Chesney. You will find that in his book *Indian Policy*. He is very abusive in that book of the old Indian National Congress, a very moderate body, as it seems to us today, the Congress of 1887 and 1888.

[Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru.]

But even he has to admit that your military policy has not been what it should have been in this country. Well, Sir, it was not until after the Great War that commissions were given to Indians, and then it was really because the India Office was presided over by the greatest Secretary of State that this country has ever known, Mr. Montagu, that there was a change in the policy of the Government in regard to military affairs. And then while the number of commissions was very small, there was this to be said that the men who were going to be admitted to the army were to be admitted on terms of perfect equality in the army. That was the position, Sir, in 1917. Theoretically the Indian officer today can be attached to any unit, as he has theoretically the same status as the British officer. He has the same commission today as the British officer in His Majesty's land forces. In practice of course we know that he can serve only in certain Indianized units.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: That is not so. The officers who got commissions immediately after the war are serving in all units all over India.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU: Well, I was thinking of the policy of having Indianized units. Indians now are only attached to certain Indianized units.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Those are the new officers. I am talking of the officers who got special commissions after the war.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU: I will leave it there. The declaration of policy in regard to the British goal in this country was made in 1917, and thereafter Indians began to demand that in view of that declared goal there should be more rapid Indianization. From 1917 you have had a number of committees which have considered the question and the pace at which Indianization should proceed. You have had Lord Rawlinson's Committee; you have had the Indian Legislature moving a Resolution that 25 per cent. of the annual vacancies should be reserved for Indians, the 25 per cent. to be increased gradually to 50 per cent. Government accepted that Resolution and no action has been taken on it. You had the Skeen Committee's Report, and then we had the Round Table Conference in 1930, which was preceded by a very memorable declaration in regard to the ultimate issue of India's political evolution being Dominion status. Well, Sir, in 1930 the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference met and what did that Committee decide? Did that Defence Sub-Committee contemplate that there would be a new class of officer to be called the Indian King's commissioned officer created as a result of its recommendation that there should be substantial Indianization? Sir, I have read the proceedings of that Defence Sub-Committee with very great care and I find that what happened was that there was an agreement that there should be substantial Indianization and increase in Indianization in view of the new advance of the political structure of India. What happened further was that the Defence Sub-Committee recommended that so far as the Sandhurst door is concerned it should be kept open to Indians, but they wanted the Sandhurst door to be supplemented by a new door in India, and for that pur-

pose they wanted an Indian Military Academy to be established on the lines of Sandhurst and Woolwich in England. That was the recommendation of the Defence Sub-Committee. I do not think that the Indian members of the Defence Sub-Committee would have agreed to those propositions for a moment if they had been told that the Sandhurst door would be closed to them. But, Sir, what happened after that? We had an Indian Military College Committee here and that Committee was precluded by the terms of its reference to go into certain wider questions of Indianization. The brave Indian members of that Committee, notwithstanding the narrow terms of reference, wrote their minutes of dissent and they are entitled to credit for the courage and the independence that they showed in regard to the terms of reference of that Committee. Well, the result was that the Sandhurst door was closed. Even then there was no statement that it was intended to create a new class of officers to be called Indian King's commissioned officers, and all along we have been under the impression that the status, the opportunities for command, the position of these Indian officers would be exactly the same as those of the British officer. Therefore, Sir, when we are told that we are accusing the British Government of a breach of faith, well, I am sorry to use strong language, we plead guilty to the charge. The condition therefore is that we have never demanded the creation of this new class of officers. It is you who in pursuance of the policy of segregation are doing it. Therefore so far as we are concerned we are in no way responsible for this policy and we have to examine very carefully the provisions of this Bill to see that the position of the Indian officer *vis-a-vis* the British officer *vis-a-vis* the British Army, for which we pay in this country,—and it is only now that a small part of that army is going to be paid for by Britain,—it is for us to see that *vis-a-vis* the British Army *vis-a-vis* the mixed formations, the position of the Indian officer is exactly the same as the position of the British officer. Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has referred us to the Dominions and has said that

“ We are going to give you exactly what the Dominions have ”.

Now, Sir, let us be quite frank about it. Dominion status is not in sight. British politicians today fight shy of the use of the words “ Dominion status ”. Subtle distinctions are made between responsible government and Dominion status. Lord Rankeillour and the Marquis of Salisbury have told us that

“ What Britain is pledged to is not Dominion status, that what it is pledged to is the Preamble of the Government of India Act which talks of the progressive realisation of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire.”

Well, Sir, therefore, why refer us to the example of the Dominions? The Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Commonwealth of Nations. They are in no way subordinate to Great Britain. The Governor General there is in no sense the Agent of His Majesty's Government. I speak subject to correction by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as I am not an expert; but so far as I have been able to discover, the constitutional position in the Dominions is that the Dominions are complete masters of their army; they have complete control over their army. The British officer is not there by virtue of his British commission; he is there by virtue of his Dominion commission. If he chooses to serve in the Dominion army, he is subject to Dominion legislation and Dominion control, not to British legislation and British control. There is no British army of occupation in the Dominions. Therefore

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it is no use when it suits your purpose to refer us to the position in the Dominions and when it does not suit your purpose to say, " Well, you cannot have Dominion status ". You cannot have things both ways. What will be the position hereafter when this Bill is passed ? In future the British door will be closed to Indians. Indians will only get limited commissions in the Indian Army and what will be the position of these Indians in the Indian Army ? We know that in the Indian Army you have formations, brigades, divisions and army corps. So far as the regiment is concerned or the unit is concerned, possibly not much difficulty will arise so far as these Indian officers are concerned. They will have the same opportunities of rising to commands so far as the regiment or the unit is concerned as the British officer. But what about these mixed formations, what about brigades ? Sometimes in a brigade you have got two or three regiments, one is a British regiment and two are Indian regiments. And will this Indian officer be automatically promoted to the position of brigadier, or commander, of this brigade ? What about divisions ? What about army corps ? The Bill does not provide, therefore, for any automatic powers of command so far as the Indian officer is concerned in regard to brigades, divisions and army corps. So far as British officers are concerned, it is admitted in the Majority Report of the Select Committee itself that the British officer will have automatic powers of command and therefore it is no use saying that the position of the Indian officer will be *vis-a-vis* the British officer exactly and identically the same. In one case power of command, prospects of promotion, are guaranteed ; they are certain ; in the other case it will be within the discretion of the commander or of the military authorities to give the command or not to give the command to the Indian officer who happens to be the senior officer. It is therefore not very wrong to say that what you are really doing is to create a provincial service in the army, that the position of these officers will be intermediate between officers of His Majesty's land forces and the Viceroy's commissioned officers. We know the organization of the provincial service. In the provincial service there are certain listed posts reserved for members of the imperial service and what you are really doing by this Bill is to establish this system of listed posts in the army and therefore I say that these officers will not have exactly the same status as British officers. Let us also consider this question of scope a little further. The scope of the Indian Viceroy's commission will be limited to British India. I do not know if that term will include the Indian States and whether in point of fact the position of the British officer *vis-a-vis* the Indian States will not be higher than the position of the Indian officer. So far as active service is concerned, the British commissioned officer will have precedence over Indian officers as they will have a more extensive commission than Indian officers. His Excellency referred to Canada and I was wanting myself to look up the position in Canada yesterday. I asked for a book called the *Canadian Statutes*, but it was not available ; but I looked up *Keith's Responsible Government in the Dominions* and I find there that what Keith says is that in Canada the position is that local forces can be placed under the command of an imperial officer in the event of the two forces being engaged in service in the Dominion only if this is deemed desirable by the Governor General in Council. That is to say, the responsible Government of Canada appoints the occasions on which command

should in the interests of unity of control be given to the imperial officer. That is something very different from what we have been led to believe by His Excellency is the case in Canada. I think, Sir, you will find the position stated clearly at page 143 of Keith's *Sovereignty of the British Dominions*. I do not think it is necessary for me to cite the whole passage.

Then, Sir, let us examine the matter a little further. So far as the salaries of these men are concerned, they will be different. They will be lower than the salaries of the British officers. Sir, I belong personally to a school of thought which believes that the salaries in this country are pitched too high and there ought to be a substantial reduction in the salaries all round. I have got no serious quarrel in regard to the salaries. But I have this to say even in regard to the matter of salaries. These Indian officers will have to live in messes. They will have to live according to European standards. They will have also certain obligations to discharge towards their families and we know under the joint family system what those obligations are. And therefore, Sir, if you do not pay these men adequately they may not be able to live in appropriate style and they may therefore be looked upon as social inferiors. You have therefore to recognise that there are two armies here, that Indianization is proceeding at a snail's pace and therefore, Sir, while I sympathise with the view that the Indian officer should be paid at a lower rate, I am not prepared to regard this question of salaries as wholly unimportant.

Then again, Sir, as I have just pointed out, British officers will have automatic powers of command. Their position in command will be automatic. With Indians this will not be the case. It will be left to the military authorities to give them not so many commands but to appoint the occasions on which they will be able to command the British personnel. Now, Sir, will His Excellency indicate to us what that expression means? What exactly is the significance of the word "occasions" in regard to this question of command? We, Sir, want a definite answer to a definite question. We want, Sir, an unequivocal answer to a plain straightforward honest question. That plain straightforward honest question is this. What are the occasions on which you propose to give the Indian officer command? If you will indicate to us what exactly you are proposing to do under the Regulations, if you will indicate to us that, though on account of some legal difficulty you cannot have this particular clause in the Bill, you are prepared to have this clause substantially incorporated in the Regulations that you will frame, we on our part will be prepared to revise our attitude towards this Bill. We on our part will be prepared to make a response to any gesture of this character on your side. But we want, Sir, a definite pledge, a clear assurance, an unequivocal assurance that substantial improvements, practically identical in language and purport with the amendment which I shall have the honour to move in this House, will be incorporated in the Regulations that you make under this Bill. We know, Sir, that in the army there are certain very rigid tests before a man can rise to a position of command. You have to pass examination after examination before you can become a captain or before you can become a major. And, Sir, if our Indian officers satisfy those tests, why should they not be in the same position as British officers? You cannot say that there is no difference between the two. In the one case the powers of command are automatic, in the other case



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the power of command to be given to the Indian officer is a matter which rests within the discretion of the higher military authorities. Therefore, Sir, the real substance of our point is this. What will be the position of our men with respect to these mixed formations so long as you have these formations? The fact of the matter is that you are creating a new and very limited form of commission for men who will serve in the army of their country. Before, Sir, we are asked to agree to a new form of commission we are entitled to know what is going to be the nature of that commission, what is going to be the value of that commission, what is going to be the character of that commission? What is, Sir, the difficulty in your giving us an assurance if your object is exactly the same as our object? Why cannot you say today here that in the King's Regulations you will see to it that the position of the Indian officer *vis-a-vis* mixed commissions and *vis-a-vis* the British personnel of the army is exactly, absolutely and wholly identical with that of the British officer?

Sir, take again the question of court-martials. So far as the British officers are concerned, they will be in a position to preside over court-martials over Indian officers. So far as Indian officers are concerned, they will not be allowed to sit on court-martials for the trial of British soldiers or British officers. And this will be so even if they happen to be in command. Just consider the position of the commander who cannot sit in a court-martial over his own subordinate officers. Sir, so far as the legal aspects are concerned, I will reserve what I have to say till I move the amendment of which I have given notice. For the present, in winding up I should like to say that this Bill is based on racial discrimination. I make that statement, Sir, with a full sense of responsibility. It is entirely in keeping with the policy of segregation which has been pursued since the days of Lord Rawlinson, Sir, and it is therefore absolutely and clearly in consonance with the traditions of the Army Department in this country. The Bill, Sir, affects the question of our *izzat*. We know what *izzat* means to Indians. I have, Sir, an appeal to make to those Members of this House who do not ordinarily vote for us. Sir, it is not a question of repression. It is not a question of civil disobedience. It is not a question of the Congress. This is not one of those questions on which there can be any legitimate difference of opinion.

Sir, I would appeal to those Members who do not ordinarily vote with us to rise equal to the occasion and to assert the self-respect of this great country of ours, this great country which we want to be free and independent and self-respecting. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal : Muhammadan) : Sir, the Honourable Member who preceded me has dealt with the subject so eloquently and clearly that he deserves the congratulations of this House and I in my own way feel, Sir, called upon to make a few observations on the Army Bill which is now before this House.

It is quite clear from the statement of objects and reasons that the Bill is meant for giving rank and position to the cadets coming out of the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun. This, Sir, I think is essentially necessary as

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under the existing statute either in India or in England their position has not been defined. But, Sir, India's self respect demands that these officers should not be placed in any inferior position in their own motherland. It is not that we are clamouring for any rank equal or superior to the existing officers in the Indian Army in any place outside India. But national self-respect compels us to see that we do not rank our officers in any way inferior to anybody else in our motherland.

Sir, under the existing Army Regulations, Indians who have passed out from Sandhurst enjoy the same rank and position as any other British cadet as officers holding the King's commission. No distinction or discrimination is also made in any way amongst the civilians in India, whether European or Indian, when once they are placed in any high office. It is therefore rather inconceivable why Indians coming out of the Dehra Dun Academy should be marked with inferiority in military services.

Sir, as proposed under the present Bill, Indian officers when they get on to higher grades in office will not be placed automatically in charge of "mixed formations," even if they are otherwise qualified to occupy such posts. Sir, we claim for our Indian officers, as a matter of right and not through any special favour, the full privileges and opportunities to occupy all the ranks in the army for which they may be found fit and competent. If this is not conceded in the Bill, then, Sir, we do not think it worth our while supporting it. His Majesty's Government in England may pass any Regulations for these officers as they deem fit. The responsibility in that case will be theirs and as a subject nation we cannot resist the same. But then it cannot be said that India of her own accord put a stigma of inferiority on the forehead of her Indian military officers.

Sir, these are my observations on the implications and importance of this Bill and I am sure, Sir, I am voicing the opinion of the intelligentsia of my country. Finally, Sir, we may be killed but we shall not commit suicide. I appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his able Secretary Colonel Lumby to give to the Indian commissioned officers in the Indian Army the same opportunities, privileges and promotions as are accorded to the British officers in the Indian Army in all units and formations.

**THE HONOURABLE SARDAR SHRI JAGANNATH MAHARAJ PANDIT** (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Army Bill, as emerged from the other House, has not been well received by the people of this country. I must say that the principle of the Bill has been conceived under a very short-sighted and conservative policy. The Bill, when passed into law, will always remain as a canker in the minds of those cadets who will come out of the Indian Military Sandhurst established at Dehra Dun. Sir, whenever an officer coming out of the Dehra Dun Sandhurst will have to be posted for taking command over a British unit in times of emergencies he will have to be given the same rank like other British officers either by a notification or by some other like method as has been admitted by the Army Secretary in the other House. What will be the net result? The net result will be that he will always be smarting under a sense of inferiority. I will not be surprised if this sense of inferiority later on develops into discontent in the whole army. Sir, in an army where implicit discipline is required discontent is the last word which should ever be allowed

[Fardar Shri Jagannath Mahara Pandit.]

to creep in. It may be argued that the present Viceroy's commissioned officers hold lower rank but they are not discontented in not being able to have the power of command over British troops, then why should these Dehra Dun cadets have any reason for such discontent? I must say that the Dehra Dun cadets would certainly have a reasonable complaint as they having the same military training, as is imparted at the English Sandhurst and having the highest standard of educational qualification will naturally feel resentful if they are not given the same status with their British confreres. There is no denying the fact that the Dehra Dun cadets would be drawn from families having a very high social position and would be drawn by competitive test, which means that the cadets would be highly educated as well. There cannot be any comparison between the Dehra Dun cadets and the present-day Viceroy's commissioned officers. Before I conclude, I would say that this inferior position to these Dehra Dun cadets will be an anomaly when compared with other recruits for imperial services. The candidates drawn by competitive examination held in India for the Indian Civil Service and other Imperial Services are given the same status and position with British candidates who are recruited in England, then why only should these Indian cadets for the army be given an inferior position? I hope and trust that Government will consider these facts and strive hard to remove these anomalies at the earliest possible opportunity. I am confident that when His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief could go so far as to establish a Dehra Dun Sandhurst for meeting the wishes of the people of India, he would surely but gradually overcome the sentiments of British troops and officers and would gradually bring about the desired end, viz., the equality of status for both cadets from Dehra Dun and from the British Sandhurst for which we are all striving.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the army has been the career of certain classes throughout the world and especially in India which is the home of caste-bound peoples. Manu, the Great legislator of India, has divided the Indian population into four castes. The Brahmins, or the literary classes, have always liked to be on the civil line of every government from the early dawn of history. The Kshattriyas and especially the Rajputs have always been the swordmen or the military men of India. The Vaishas are the business people and the merchant class. The Shudras have been the servile class. Sir, both the Afghan and Moghul rulers, although Mussalman by religion, extended their patronage to Rajputs and other martial classes of India and they never withheld the high honours of a commander of 10,000 and 20,000 troops from the patrician and martial families of India. As I said the other day on the Bengal Terrorist Bill that the zamindars and especially the gentry of India had been the backbone of the various Governments of India from the early settlement of the Aryans in this country, whether the Government of India was held by the Kshattriyas, the Buddhists, or the Rajput princes or the Afghan and the Moghul Emperors. Everyone of them, in their own turn, extended their patronage to the gentry of India at least in the military department and they kept the status of the gentry on the same level as their own people.

Well, Sir, I have studied the systems prevalent in the armies of the various European powers. The universal army service system prevailed in the pre-war

days in Germany ; conscription which is the invention of France and practised in the French Army, and the voluntary system of England and the militia of the Swiss Army. Sir, there is an " Extract of the Proceedings of the Interview and Record Board attached to the Summary of the important matters connected with the Defence of India " and on the strength of those opinions I submit that His Excellency Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode will be well advised if he condescended to make a special concession for the gentry of India, say five or ten, whichever number he chooses, to give to the scions of the nobility the privilege to compete at Sandhurst for their examination to join the army every year.

Sir, it is the lookout of the parents to spend the necessary amount according to their status on the education of their sons. When the civil and judicial administration is still in the hands of the Secretary of State, and India is not a self-governing dominion, and at the same time when Oxford, Cambridge and other Universities of the United Kingdom are not closed to Indians, I do not see any reason why Sandhurst and Woolwich should be closed to the gentry who have got very large properties and who have loyally served the Government of this country from time immemorial, and whose properties and stake in the country are the best security for their future loyalty. This class want to get their sons an English education, English manners and customs which can best be learned at Sandhurst and Woolwich. Sir, as a representative of the old land-owning aristocracy and having the authority of the gentry of the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Northern India, I can say that the gentry of Upper India will be quite satisfied if His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will permit the young men of approved type and status of nobility to compete at Sandhurst and Woolwich in whatever number His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is willing to accept them every year. As these boys have large properties and incomes at their back they will not stay long in the army as has been the case of the nine commissions that were given to us from the Imperial Cadet Corps before the outbreak of the Great War. Everyone of them retired after a service of 18 years or even less than this period because their object was not to make the army a career but they had entered it simply to learn English manners and customs. The same is the case today with the gentry of England too. They join and serve in the various guard and cavalry regiments for a certain time and then retire into private life as the heads or partners of their own concerns. Well, Sir, if England with all the democratic elements round it has a special course for her gentry and well-to do gentlemen, I fail to understand why the same should be refused to us here in India, of which we have been the recipients from the dawn of history. If Lord Curzon as a Viceroy of this country could see the necessity of the gentry in 1901-02, I fail to understand why His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy and Governor General of India and His Excellency Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, the Commander-in-Chief in India should not extend their patronage to a class which was recognised as fit for the King's commission in 1902 and which has, during the war, rendered very meritorious services and has been loyal to the Government from the days of the East India Company. The gentry of India is unanimous in upholding the views of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, but they do want the same concession from him which they received from Lord Curzon in 1901 02.

[Major Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan.]

With these remarks, Sir, I whole-heartedly support the Bill and hope that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will kindly look into the request that I am making on behalf of the gentry of India. Being a military man, Sir, I always like to support my superiors, but the privileges of my own class are much nearer to my heart than even a very heavy loss to me or to my family. As I have been fully instructed by the gentry of all Northern India, I cannot refrain from expressing the views of this class, and I want the Government to show some special concessions to them in the army at least. If the Government want this Bill to be successful, I respectfully submit that the demands of this class should not be overlooked and neglected. The idea that the gentry of India is sleeping is totally wrong, and I do hope that the Government of India through the intercession of our Field-Marshal would consider their case favourably. Personally, I would have never raised this point but being strictly compelled to express the views of this class I have no other course but to lay it before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the favourable consideration of the Government of India. As a military man I do not want to discuss the differences between the Army Act and the Indian Army Act. I will abide by the decision of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with a hope that every endeavour will be made to bring the Indian Army Act into line with the Army Act as far as possible.

As regards the Viceroy's commissioned Indian officers I should say that they have been in the past a tower of strength to the Indian Army and they should be permitted to retire according to their own contract of service and great care and patience should be taken in discharging them according to their term of service. In discharging these loyal officers of the army, no haste, hurry or impatience should be shown because hastily getting rid of them will create discontentment and it will not make the present scheme successful but on the other hand it will retard it. These officers put up with the horrors of the Great War and as such they have served both the country and the Government very loyally. Their compulsory retirement will be considered in India not in good faith but the motive of utilising their services at the time of the Great War and then disbanding them on the termination of that successful war, will be taken as a move for utilising persons at the time of emergency, and then turning them out when that emergency ceased to exist. This method of the Government will not bring in sufficient recruitment for the future still greater war which is looming on the horizon. Well, Sir, as an honest and loyal subject of His Majesty and according to my Oath in this Council I have honestly expressed myself with no sugar distribution but have stated the plain facts for the advice of the Government of India.

As regards the Royal Indian Marine I cannot express my opinion until I have the full prospects, pay, wages, leave allowance, leave passage and the necessary concession to the officers and warrant officers of the Royal Indian Marine put before us.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Education, Health and Lands Member): That portion of the speech might be read when the next Bill comes on!

**THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN :** That question is relevant to this Bill, because you are putting the Royal Indian Marine too under this Act. It has got everything to do with the Bill.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Order, order. I understand that you have very nearly finished your speech.

**THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN :** I have finished my speech, Sir. I do not want to say anything more than what I have stated already.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA** (United Provinces Central: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, His Excellency's speech this morning was very moderate and full of sentiments which we all appreciate on this side of the House. As I have understood his speech, it seems that he has got every sympathy with the views we have been and are expressing here, but he has been dictated to by the War Office and he cannot go against them. If it is a fact, I would appeal to His Excellency to accept our amendments which will come up afterwards and they will strengthen His Excellency's hands in fighting for India's cause against the War Office. He has tried his best to remove the one underlying idea of inferiority complex. It is not on this occasion alone that he has done so. I am reminded of his speech which he delivered on the 10th of December, 1932, in the Military Academy at Dehra Dun when he said :

" An army can have no politics. It is the paid servant of the people and is at the disposal of the Government of the day, whatever may be the political complexion of the day ".

Those words are full of sentiment as the speech of His Excellency this morning, but with all that we have to fight against the dictation of the War Office ; and we have to give expression to our views.

The Bill before us is not free from undercurrents of inferiority complex. I would regard this Bill as a cobra. It looks very glossy and charming, but it requires the skill of my Honourable friend Sir Nasarvanji Choksy to dissect it and find out that it is full of poison. The very first sentence in the statement of objects and reasons says that the Bill is meant to help Indianization. The sentence runs as follows :

" The main purpose of this Bill is to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, in order to provide for the changes in the constitution of the Indian Army rendered necessary the progressive Indianization of the Defence Forces of India ".

One cannot but conclude from this that the Bill is meant to help the speeding up of Indianization of the army, but it contains two main principles ; and they are that it is based on differential treatment between Indians and Europeans. Sir, it has got another principle to which we object, namely, that the Viceroy's commissioned officers will be replaced by a new type of officers whom we do not know. Sir, I have got many reasons to oppose the Bill on account of these two principles and I shall narrate them one by one.

Firstly, I am of opinion that instead of speeding up the pace of Indianization, as is said in the statement of objects and reasons, the Bill will retard progress. I have arrived at this conclusion because under the existing scheme there are 16 King's commissioned officers and 16 Viceroy's officers in every

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

regiment. The Bill seeks to eliminate 16 Viceroy's commissioned officers. The result will be that it will take double the time for Indianization, because instead of Indianizing those 16 officers in every regiment, we shall have to Indianize 32 officers. Therefore this will retard the progress of Indianization and take double the time. This is my first objection.

The second objection to the Bill is that this Bill will make the army more expensive. The Viceroy's commissioned officers in every regiment draw a salary from Rs. 80 to Rs. 250, while these new officers will start on a salary of Rs. 300 and upwards. Thus the expenses of the army will be increased and the additional cost will tend to make Indianization unpopular.

My third objection to this Bill is that Viceroy's commissioned officers now serve as links between the rank and file and the King's commissioned officers and help the new and untried holders of the King's commission with their experience. What will be the result under this Bill? The result will be that while the help of experienced Viceroy's commissioned officers will be available to British officers in non-Indianized regiments, it will not be available to their Indian compatriots in the Indianized regiments. So, Sir, those regiments which will be Indianized will be worsened under this great handicap and therefore, Sir, I object to this Bill.

Now, Sir, my fourth reason for objecting to this Bill is that at present the Viceroy's commission serves as a powerful attraction to all those young men who, though unable to aspire to the superior commission for lack of sufficient educational qualifications yet they come from families with splendid martial traditions. They will have no attraction for joining the army. We want that our best men who have got military aptitude should come forward and join the army. Sir, it was for this reason that the House will remember I moved a Resolution in the last Simla session for giving greater facilities to the University Training Corps. My object was that the young educated men of the Universities should be attracted to join our armies and for them, Sir, this was a great temptation which this Bill seeks to remove and therefore, Sir, I object for this reason also.

Sir, my fifth objection to the Bill is this, that it will result in the segregation of Indians. This will deprive them of all those advantages due to close co-operation and association in the same unit. This Bill draws a clear line between the Indian Army and the British Army and therefore, Sir, these men will not have the same opportunities which other officers have at present.

Sir, my sixth objection to this Bill is that there is no justification for a difference in the salaries of British and Indian officers. I find that there is a difference in salary, in leave and other allowances; these have been narrated this morning by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The Indian and British officers in the civil services draw the same pay, except for the overseas allowance. But, Sir, here I find that there is going to be a difference in salary by which the Indian officers will always think that they are inferior to their British colleagues.

Sir, my seventh objection to this Bill is that the type of commission which is devised for Indians is different from the King's commission. This means

a differentiation in status between the Indian and European. No such difference exists between the Indian and European members of the Indian Civil Service. Why introduce this galling distinction in the army? Sir, this will also retard the progress of speedy Indianization and young men will think twice before coming forward to join the army as officers.

Sir, my last objection is that the scheme put forward by the Government involves the exclusion of Indians from the command of mixed formations. This cannot be viewed except as a great slur on the Indian sense of self-respect and dignity. Numerous Europeans serve under Indian ministers. European members of the Indian Civil Service serve under Indian Civil Service men and provincial service men holding listed posts. The question is, why should there be any reluctance on the part of Britishers to take orders from Indians in the army? Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to express that he does not feel any sense of inferiority while working under the leadership of my Honourable friend Sir Fazl-i-Husain. We want, Sir, that the same spirit should be observed by every officer in the army that has been expressed by His Excellency. But, Sir, unless the amendment that has been tabled is accepted, we cannot feel sure that it will be done. We know, Sir, how many times assurances have been given in this House and how have they been treated? And in matters like this where the ordinary policy of the Government of India is dictated from the War Office, we want an assurance from the War Office or the British Parliament and unless the assurance comes from there, we do not think that it will have a binding effect. Either the clause that is just going to be removed should be incorporated in the Bill or an assurance should come from the War Office which dictates the British policy of the Government.

Sir, in conclusion I would say that no Indian who has the least bit of self-respect in his composition can be a party to the enactment of this law which brands his countrymen as an inferior class of the British commonwealth's citizens. Racial discrimination is a hateful principle and it should not be incorporated in any Act. May I remind the Government that it is not a sound policy to place too great a strain on the loyalty and affection of one's friends?

Now, Sir, I will join with the appeal made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sapru, to the official and to the nominated non-official Members of this House that in a matter like this they should side with the country to remove this blot and not vote with the Government and I hope they will accept the request that has been made from these benches.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE (East Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, after the very lucid and masterly way in which my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru has dealt with the Bill under discussion this morning, there is very little for me to do except to express my great satisfaction at being saved much labour. Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Mehrotra has characterized the Bill and compared it to a cobra, but may I assure my friend that much of its poison and venom has been taken away by the discussion in the other House?

This Bill deals with a subject on which depends the future Indian autonomy. We are told every now and then that unless Indians are trained



[Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee.]

in national defence they can not expect to get autonomy in the civil administration. A few years ago Indian politicians understood the implication and agitated both in the press and on the platform for throwing open the King's commission to Indians. Government, though slow in its forward movement yet, after all, accepted the Indian demand and fixed a definite quota of Indian students to be selected for admission to the military Sandhurst in the United Kingdom. With the increased demand of India for provincial autonomy and central responsibility, the demand for increased opportunities for the training of more Indians for national defence was ever increasing. Later on, finding that the opportunities given to India for training in the military Sandhurst in England was very small in comparison with the magnitude of the task of Indianizing the army, we in India made a definite demand for the starting of a military Sandhurst within the boundaries of British India. After a number of committees and commissions had gone into that question the present bureaucracy had to yield and established a Military College at Dehra Dun. Sir, the College has been functioning for the last three years and the first batch of Indian cadets are expected to finish their training in a few months. All these years the whole of India thought that these cadets who are being given training, which is in no way inferior to the training given in the British Sandhurst, would be given the same opportunities of commanding all the units of the Indian Army, irrespective of colour, as are enjoyed by British commissioned officers at present. All of a sudden, the Government of India comes with a proposal that Indians cannot be given command over British units. It means that all Indians entering the army irrespective of education, status or position, must be relegated to a position of inferiority in the Indian Army. Sir, these cadets from Dehra Dun have given ample proof of their merit as will appear from the following extract of the opinion of the Commandant of the Institution at Dehra Dun. It reads as follows :

" It is possible for me to state with confidence that the Academy has already laid the foundations of traditions not unworthy of the great military institutions of England where Indian cadets have hitherto been trained ".

Sir, this is the opinion not of an Indian, but of a British army officer, who must be as much biased against Indians getting the same right of command over British units as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or the army staff officers in India who are responsible for drafting and piloting the present measure in this House and the other. In this connection I cannot help saying that the Government is probably very nervous over the proposal of my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru regarding the continuance of the Viceroy's commissioned officers. The Government in their shrewdness, before bringing up this Bill, abolished the Viceroy's commissioned officers. It is as clear as the light of day that the Government of India was hatching the plan all these years, namely, to substitute Viceroy's commissioned officers by cadets from Dehra Dun. They wanted to hoodwink the whole of India by removing the existing titles of subedars and jemadars, and substituting in their place the titles of second lieutenants and captains, but in reality they desired to replace the Viceroy's commissioned officers by these cadets. The Government's sole intention is to get the same kind of work as they do out of subedars

and jemadars from the Dehra Dun cadets with different titles. Sir, the abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers were demanded because such officers being of lower rank and status could not be given the right of command over British units. Now, if the same disability is put on the Dehra Dun cadets then I ask the Government wherein lies the difference between the Viceroy's commissioned officers and the Dehra Dun cadets? If the Government think that they would be able to satisfy the whole of India only by giving the empty titles of lieutenants and captains and higher pay to the Dehra Dun cadets, then I must ask the bureaucracy to look back 50 years hence. Sir, Indians of 50 years ago might have thought it a Godsend if they had been offered these crumbs from the British table. I must frankly tell the Government that what India wants today is not those English titles or higher pay, but she demands equality of status with the whites either of Britain or of any other European country. Sir, today I may tell the Government that Indian cadets of Dehra Dun would even be satisfied with lower pay or with even the titles of jemadars and subedars provided Government give them the right of command over white tommies. If Government think that the present proposals and promises of Government, namely, to confer the rights of command over British units on individual cadets, according to circumstances, would satisfy India, then I would only tell them that their being deaf and blind to real public feeling in India would not make the whole world blind and deaf as well. So long as these Dehra Dun cadets are not given this right of command over British units as one of their birthrights, no Indian with a grain of self-respect can support this measure. To my mind it would be better if Government closes the Dehra Dun College and leaves the question of army appointments where it is to day before the Bill is passed into law.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, as I have understood from the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, this Bill has been brought forward primarily to make legal provision for officers coming out of the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun who in terms of clause 5 of the Bill will be called Indian commissioned officers. Now, non-official Members of this Legislature should in my opinion examine a measure of this kind from two standpoints. Firstly, how far it helps to concede the Indian demand for a rapid Indianization of the army in India, and secondly, what status and position it assigns to the newly created Indian commissioned officers.

Now, Sir, judging it from the first criterion I feel that in consequence of the proposals contained in the Bill the pace of Indianization will be retarded. It seems to me that under the present scheme of things there are 16 King's commissioned officers and 16 Viceroy's commissioned officers in every regiment. The proposals under contemplation seek to eliminate the Viceroy's commissioned officers entirely and to replace both sets of officers by the officers of the new type. If the Viceroy's commissioned officers had been retained only 16 officers holding the King's commission would have been required to completely Indianize one regiment. The elimination of the Viceroy's commissioned officers will necessitate the drafting of 32 officers of the superior type into every regiment thus doubling the time of the complete Indianization of a unit.

[Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.]

Now let us see what was the promise held out to India about the pace of Indianization. The Government promised 60 officers a year. Now, the army authorities, I understand, say that there will be only 23 officers during the first term and, say, perhaps, 23 more in the next term. Now, how many years will it take to get sufficient officers for a complete division? I think it was once said by the army authorities that it would take about 20 years for a complete division to be Indianized. Now, we have got six divisions and—if there be no wastage—at the rate of 60 men it will take 120 years for the six divisions to be Indianized. Is that a proposition which we can contemplate with any amount of satisfaction? And this only refers to the Indian army; leave alone the Air Force which is a most important wing of any army nowadays. Thus it would seem that this Bill will not help the pace of Indianization of the army but on the other hand would retard it.

Now let us examine the Bill from the second standpoint, *viz.*, what will be the status and position of the Indian commissioned officers which the Bill creates? So far as I understand, the position is this. His Majesty's Indian Forces consist of the Indian Army and the British Service, and both combined are called the Army in India. Now so far as I have understood the Government's position it is that in the matter of the Indian Army complete reciprocity be established so that British officers serving in the Indian Army (not the Army in India) be governed by the Indian Army Act which would automatically give a senior Indian officer command over a British officer in the Indian Army. The chief difference between the two types of officers in the Indian Army would be that whereas the British officer would have the right of appeal to the King, an Indian officer, following the Dominion custom, would have the right of appeal to the Governor General. As for mixed formations consisting both of the Indian Army and the British Service in India, Indian commissioned officers would not automatically assume command but the Commander-in-Chief or commander, as the case may be, would, whenever such an occasion arose, give the right to an officer of Indian commission to hold command over a mixed formation. It is contended that in practice there would be no hitch in giving such command to an Indian commissioned officer, but the Government seem to claim that the King's prerogative in framing Regulations on the subject cannot be interfered with. Now, Sir, let us see under what circumstances the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun was established for whose cadets the Indian commission is being proposed under this Bill. The question of the defence of India was, I understand, mooted at the Round Table Conference and there the conclusion was arrived at that if India was ever to become self-reliant in matters of defence, then it was absolutely essential that a military college should be established in the country and that there should be no need for young Indians to go to Sandhurst or Woolwich for military training. The assumption throughout was that the Indian cadets or officers who will be recruited through the Military College in India should have exactly the same opportunities for leading the army in due course, when they are found fit for it, as any other officers; otherwise there was no object in asking the Government to establish a military college here, which does, after all, mean considerable expense.

So, ever since the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun was established as a result of the recommendations of the Round Table Conference the assumption throughout has naturally been that the Military College in India would be a replica of Sandhurst and Woolwich and that officers coming out of the Dehra Dun Academy would have the same status and prospects as their British compatriots coming out of the Sandhurst College, so much so that the Dehra Dun College is popularly known as the Indian Sandhurst. But this Bill fails to a great extent to fulfil the expectations which the country has entertained. And it will be a great disappointment to the Indian public if the graduates of the Dehra Dun Academy are accorded a status inferior in any way to that of the graduates of the British Military Colleges. The belief that has come to prevail in the country is that the position of Indian commissioned officers as envisaged by the Bill will be something intermediate between the Viceroy's commissioned officers and the British officers and more or less analogous to that of the officers of the Provincial Civil Service in the civil administration, their chances of attaining a higher command will be like the prospect of a provincial officer obtaining a district charge, or rather will be confined to occasions.

Now the question is what reason is there for drawing this distinction between an Indian commissioned officer, who is found equally fit and a British officer, as not to give him exactly the same chances as to the British officer? That Indian commissioned officers are under the Bill not being given a status of equality with British officers is I think admitted on all hands. Why such a distinction should be made between the two classes of officers is not understandable, unless it be true that there is reported to be a feeling in imperialist circles that British prestige will suffer if British officers and British soldiers have to serve under Indian officers. But if European members of the Indian Civil Service and other European functionaries can serve under Indians in the civil administration, why should there be any objection to British army officers and soldiers working under Indian army officers? At any rate, the Government should not expect Indian public opinion to give its consent to such an objectionable arrangement which places Indians in a position of inferiority.

So, Sir, judging from the two criterions, *viz.*, firstly, how far it helps Indianization of the army, and secondly, how far it gives equal status and opportunities to the Indian commissioned officers, it has unfortunately to be admitted that the Bill falls far short of the expectations of Indian public opinion.

The only thing which the Bill concedes is that the Indian Legislature will in future have control over officers in the Indian Army, both British and Indian who, I understand, are at present governed by the British Army Act.

All points considered I do not feel that I should be a party to the enactment of this measure unless the Government concede the Indian non-official demand and give to the newly-created Indian commissioned officers under the Bill the same status and opportunities for promotion and power of command, rank and precedence as that of the British officers in the Indian Army in all units and formations.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI (Burma : General) : Sir, these are times for plain speaking and the Indian point of view has been very ably

[Mr. P. C. D. Chari.]

put forward in the other place by Sir Abdul Rahim, while the debate here has been very ably initiated by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. He has put forward the real feelings of Indians on this matter and I endorse every word of what he has said.

Sir, we are told that by this Bill the Indian Army will be governed by an Indian statute. That is in the fitness of things. But what is the Indian Army? When His Excellency said the Indian Army would be governed by this Indian statute he meant only the Indian element in the Indian Army. In every country you expect the army of that country to be controlled by an Act made by that country. But the real position of the Indian Army is patent. The Army in India is not an Indian Army; it is the British army of occupation maintained at the cost of India in the interests of Great Britain, to serve as a watch dog of the British Empire, and it has been so used on all occasions. It is maintained not only for the purposes of India but for the purposes of the British Empire. It is this that creates the hitch and it is on account of this the Government is obliged to bring in measures which perpetuate racial discrimination and which create the inferiority complex in Indian minds, about which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief complained. I do admit that owing to the distrust and suspicion created in the minds of Indians on account of the various acts of the bureaucracy, this inferiority complex has been deepened. But I am glad to say that during recent years this inferiority complex has been greatly removed by the working of the national organization, still I have to admit it is there. I belong to a class of people who try to reason out and critically study a Bill before opposing it or before trying to vote for throwing it out. What do I find here? The Bill as it stands does not encourage any person with nationalistic views to accord support to this measure and we are now for the first time creating a class of persons, Indian officers, who are given

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a new designation. We have the British army officer and the Viceroy's commissioned officer and this Bill creates a third set of officers who hold a position intermediate between the two. That is the Indian commissioned officer. There is no use denying the fact that these Indian commissioned officers will not have all the rights and privileges which the British officer has under the British Act. We are told that under section 71 of the Army Act King's Regulations will be framed to regulate the status of the Indian commissioned officers and it will also give them opportunities of holding commands in mixed formations or having commands over British personnel. We are glad that the Army Secretary in the other place and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief here have given out the real situation. I have carefully followed the speech of the Army Secretary in the other place and I have very carefully noted the assurance given by the Army Secretary in the other place. What does that assurance amount to? It does not meet the Indian view point at all. A definite assurance was asked that in framing the King's Regulations, they will be so framed as to ensure automatically to the Indian commissioned officer the same privileges and the same status and the same opportunities for command which are enjoyed by other British officers. The Army Secretary in the other place said that he was not the Commander-in-Chief and he could not give that assurance. Fortunately for us we have got His Excellency the Commander-in-

Chief here and I hope it will be possible for him, though I have got very grave doubts whether it will be possible for him too—to give an assurance that the King's Regulations will be so framed as to remove all possibilities of doubt that the Indian commissioned officer will not suffer in status, in the matter of promotion and in having automatic opportunities of command. If this feeling in the Indian mind is to be really taken into consideration Government should see that before bringing in this Bill that the Regulations are framed in such a way as the Indian commissioned officers will have the same status, privileges and opportunities of command as the British officers. The strength of feeling may not be appreciated by people who have been accustomed to western ways of thinking. The Easterner—it may be his misfortune—places greater importance to sentimental considerations, to questions of self-respect and to other non-material things than to material advantages. As one of my Honourable friends has said, even if the pay is less, if the Indian commissioned officer is assured that he will not suffer in the matter of getting automatic promotions and automatic commands in a mixed army, in a mixed formation, Indian youths will readily come forward for places in the Indian Army. I may assure His Excellency that owing to this insistence upon Indian self-respect being respected by the Westerner that there is so much opposition to the Bill. The other House had been willingly passing and placing on the Statute-book a number of Acts, but as His Excellency pointed out, this Bill was passed by a narrow majority in the other place. What does it show? The other House consists of people who cannot be accused of trying to throw out Bills. They have taken note of the strength or feeling in the country and they have found it necessary to voice public opinion and the result was that they allowed the Bill to be passed only with a narrow majority. I am referring to this aspect of the strength of feeling on this matter in the whole of India. Somehow the whole intelligentsia with one voice protests against this Bill; the intelligentsia of India wants that when there is an opportunity of insisting upon Indian self-respect every Indian in the Central Legislature should voice the feeling that we care for self-respect which is more precious to us than our life itself. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has told us that the question of command of an Indian officer over British personnel may not arise at all for a fairly long time, and I find, from the question of Indians getting command over British personnel or other British officers, that it is not likely to occur during the next 20 years; but these time tables are no sure guide. Anytime a war may break out and there may be occasions for Indians being placed in command over British officers. Such being the case, the Indian insists that theoretically at least the Indian commissioned officer should be placed in the same position as the British officer; and here and now when you make a new enactment which gives statutory recognition to the Indian commissioned officer, this principle should be embodied in the Bill itself in black and white that the Indian officer will not suffer and will have automatic command when he satisfies other conditions along with his British officers. That being the case, I cannot be a party to this Bill being made into an Act, and if this Bill becomes an Act, let it not be said that Indians in this House have been a party to this measure. If you will excuse me, Sir, and if His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will excuse me, I would request the other Honourable Indian Members of this House not to touch this Bill with a pair of tongs, nor even with the end of a long pole.

Sir, I oppose this Bill.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR GHULAM HUSAIN HIDAYATALLAH** (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official) : I have one difficulty, Sir, which I request His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to solve, namely, whether Indians who have now been trained at Sandhurst enjoy the same rights in regard to status, promotion and command in mixed formations or do they have different rights, and secondly, whether the Indians trained at Sandhurst could sit in a court-martial when a British officer or a British soldier is being tried ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF** : The commissions which were granted to Indian officers in the Indian Army and have been granted up to this moment are called King's commissions and convey full rights in every way.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR DR. SIR NASARVANJI CHOKSY** (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, for a number of years Indian politicians have asked for Indianization of the army. When proposals were made in Lord Rawlinson's time for the Indianization of eight units, the agitation still persisted and they asked that the pace of Indianization should be made more rapid. Now, Sir, when provision has been made for the training of Indian cadets at Dehra Dun and when they will come out as officers in command of Indian regiments, difficulties have arisen which have led this House to discuss at great length the future position of these Indian commissioned officers as they are to be styled. So far as I can perceive, Sir, most of the Honourable Members have been envisaging a dim and distant future for these officers inasmuch as they are not likely to command their units or rise to higher positions until 25 or 27 years hence. I do not therefore see what necessity there is at this early stage to provide for a remote future contingency ?

Then, Sir, it has been stated that the command of an army corps, the command of a division, the command of a brigade, or the command of a battalion, have all to be foreseen from now. I say, Sir, this is neither the time nor the occasion to consider these matters. These questions should be relegated to the proper time.

Then, Sir, a great deal of opposition has arisen as regards the gradual abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers. What was the original reason of their employment ? Was it not the fact that the British officers who commanded these Indian troops had no knowledge of the vernaculars, were ignorant of their habits and prejudices and thus could not get into close contact with them ? It was these liaison officers who acted as intermediaries between the troops and their British officers. Now, when these British officers are to be replaced and the Indian units are to be officered by Indians, there does not seem to be any further necessity for their existence. This change will not take place in five or ten years, but much longer before they entirely cease to exist. In the meanwhile warrant officers are to be appointed in their place. Sir, we have also to consider whether the conditions of army recruitment and of the civil services are analogous as suggested. There are vital differences. The army is an organization which has for its object the defence of India and its internal security and it cannot possibly be compared with the civil services where Indianization has taken place to the extent of 50 per cent. and whose duties are entirely different.

Then, Sir, much has been said about what is called the inferiority complex. Has not the time arrived when such supersensitiveness should be discarded ; when we should rise superior to such considerations ? There is no superiority and no inferiority complex. India is going to have an Indian army, an Indian army of its own, officered by its own nationals. It is the first instalment of *Swaraj*. Indian nationalists and patriots should therefore be proud of this army. Why should they hanker after King's commissions for their own nationalist army ? I do not see what necessity there is, even if there are two armies, that they should have the King's commissions ? The British Army is quite differently organized. It works under a different set of regulations. The Parliament's Army Act controls it. Similarly the Indian Army will be working under an Act of the Indian Legislature.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Are you positive that the Indian Army will be under the Indian Legislature ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR DR. SIR NASARVANJI CHOKSY : Well, that is for the future. The Indian Army Act is an Act of the Legislature. As to what will occur in the future it is impossible to foresee. There are vast developments ahead. We do not know what is going to be the future of the constitution and I think we cannot base any deductions upon what we do not know. This Bill is, however, intended to establish a purely Indian army. The British Government is engaged in working out a regulation whereby Indian commissioned officers may be allowed to exercise powers of command over the British personnel of the British Army in the case of mixed formations, as ordered by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or the commander for the time being under suitable circumstances. This is a rare privilege which is not allowed to officers of the Dominion army. India has every reason to be proud of this concession that was never contemplated by Indian politicians at any time. The Indian Army Act is not intended to embody provisions governing command, rank and precedence, and no Parliament would consent to any infringement of the inherent right of the Sovereign with regard to those.

With these few words, Sir, I heartily support the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GHULAM HUSAIN HIDAYATALLAH : Mr. President, Sir, after what I heard from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that the Indians trained at Sandhurst enjoy the same status and privileges as a Britisher, I am convinced that this Bill suffers from an inferiority complex. An Indian is an Indian whether he is trained at Sandhurst or Dehra Dun. It makes no difference at all. Why should an Indian trained at Dehra Dun not automatically be put in command of mixed formations ? He is the same Indian as the Indian who is trained at Sandhurst. Why should he not sit in court-martial when a British soldier or a British officer is being tried ?

The other difficulty that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief pointed out was that we had only just started this College and we must wait and see. But I would request His Excellency, Sir, to consider that these young men from Dehra Dun are not aspiring to be placed in command of mixed formations before 20 or 25 years. Is that not a sufficient period to test their ability ? In whose hands is the promotion, Sir ? In the hands of His Excellency the Com-



[Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah.]

mander-in-Chief. First he enters as a lieutenant. If he is not fit, he should not be promoted as a captain. And then, Sir, the other point is they have to pass certain examinations. If he is an able man who has fulfilled all the conditions, I see no reason why he should not be put in charge of the mixed formations.

Again, Sir, he says in military matters, if you make a small mistake it involves a big risk. But the same Indian who is trained at Sandhurst he is to be in charge of the command in each formation. Why should he be allowed in command, Sir, and not the Indian who is trained at Dehra Dun? An Indian is an Indian whether he is trained in one place or another. If that was the position that the training in Sandhurst is different from the training in Dehra Dun, then I think they must raise the standard at Dehra Dun. That is the remedy. These are the real feelings of my country, Sir. But, I being a nominated Member, cannot play false to Government. I must obey their mandate, Sir. (*Several Honourable Members* : "No, no.")

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, I regard this Bill with disfavour. It is doing an injustice not only to Indians but to trained European British officers. The noble band of officers who have been placed in charge of the Military Academy at Dehra Dun are being penalised, stigmatised, that they cannot prepare students of the same calibre as those trained by Sandhurst. Is it not an injustice to these British officers? They are being condemned without any trial. They have not been given any chance to prove that they are capable of turning out the same quality of men, men of the same calibre, as Sandhurst. That is a very great injustice. Our objection arises from the fact that we feel that in civil employment the stakes are small—one gets a little less pay and occupies a little less position—but in the army the stakes are high. They play with life and death. In the army they are both comrades in arms, ready to shed blood to save our home and hearth, and we do not think that we should be placed in a disadvantageous position, especially in our own home country. An Indian soldier or officer will be fighting for his home and hearth, and that is not the consideration which is guiding the British officer serving in India. We are told that the Indian Army is here to be utilised only for the defence of India, and that it will no longer be required to go at the imperial behest to save other parts of the British Empire, without either the sanction or implied consent of the Government of India. If this be the rule, is it fair that our own people should be regarded as mercenaries, who have no interest, who are paid to do their work and who must take orders and be done with it. The Honourable the Leader of the House was vehement against segregation—against the inferiority complex—when I moved my Resolution on the 9th instant. He said he did not wish to be a party to segregation. He does not wish that there should be any inferiority complex. How is it that he is a party to this? As my Honourable friend Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah has very pointedly remarked, an Indian is an Indian whether he is trained in Sandhurst or in Dehra Dun. If the British Government had made out a rule that no black man will rule a white man, or will have command over him, we could have understood the position. Why have they made this discrimination? My complaint against the British Government is that they have

always been halting and indecisive. No one knows better than His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief what would have been the effect, if England had decided once for all sufficiently before August 4th, 1914. It is a moot question. If Germany and the Central Powers had known a week before that England was going to participate in the war, the Great War would not have occurred. England did not warn us sufficiently early that we are going to be placed in this disadvantageous position. Government had before them the Shea Committee Report which contemplated the Indianization of the full Indian Army in 28 years. That, Sir, has been shelved. It did not see the light of day. Only when some reference was made to it in the Round Table Conference, did we know of its existence at all. Even in the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference no specific mention was made of differentiation. What will happen if this Bill were not passed? If His Majesty the King Emperor can grant commissions to Indians who pass out of Sandhurst, I cannot conceive of any impediment to His Majesty granting commissions to officers who pass out of Dehra Dun. If we have to pay for regularising the work through the War Office it could be done. We pay crores to the War Office to do our work. Could we not pay for this also? There is a great difference between the Colonies and ourselves. Our soldiers are liable to serve His Majesty in any part of the Dominions, whereas a Dominion soldier is engaged to serve only in the Dominion. He is not under the orders of the British War Office.

Sir, we are very much handicapped by the non-existence of rules and regulations governing these Indian officers. I can very well understand that these cannot be issued unless the law is amended. That is a legitimate defence. We have our own difficulty and we hope that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be sympathetic towards us. Rules and regulations are made and shelved, the Legislature, after passing an Act, is no longer concerned with it. The English practice, to which I have drawn attention many a time is that some of the rules and regulations made under the Acts are laid before both Houses for discussion, and are open for discussion for 15 days. We have been claiming the same privileges. Would it not be fair if the rules and regulations were submitted to the Indian Parliament for discussion? Rules and regulations framed by His Majesty cannot be amended here. But it is the usual practice in Parliament to send a request that such and such modifications may be made.

His Excellency then dwelt on the fact that it is possible to advance on these lines because we do not stand to lose much; but in military matters one must be very cautious. Sir, in Africa, Mesopotamia and Kenya and in the Great War generally, the Viceroy's commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers have proved sufficiently that they are eligible for the highest command and office. Their endurance and capabilities have been examined in every aspect and there is no reason for thinking that we are untried.

Now, Sir, I should like to say a few words about the officers who are going to get Indian commissions. May I point out to His Excellency that there are certain rules and regulations in the army about age restrictions in certain grades? Among those being trained at Dehra Dun there are some who are taken from the ranks, men of a more advanced age than the gentlemen

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

cadets. They are men of anything between 25 and 30 years of age and they will be at a disadvantage as compared with the average cadet who enters the Academy between 18 and 21 years of age; and therefore their progress and promotion to higher ranks will be retarded.

The policy of Government in regard to increasing the number of regimental officers under the new scheme has also been subject to criticism, but we will discuss that later during the stage of consideration of resolutions. Here I would simply like to say that we Indians realise that by bringing this Act the Government is putting us in an inferior position. Without this Bill we would be entitled to the same privileges and rights as British commissioned officers, and therefore it will not surprise His Excellency if we all in a body oppose this measure.

THE HONOURABLE MR. VINAYAK VITHAL KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, after listening to the debate on this important subject this morning I think there is very little left for me to say. When I was listening to the speech of His Excellency I thought I was carried off my feet. After having heard and read His Excellency's speeches so many times, I am fully convinced that he has a soft corner in his heart for the public demand about Indianization of the army. Whatever arguments His Excellency may advance, I think he is fettered in his discretion by the War Office.

Sir, in this Bill a most important and vital question is involved, and that is racial discrimination. We have been told time after time that the policy of the British Government in India is to make us equal partners in the Empire. But, Sir, things which appear so very good in theory,—when we come to examine them and face facts,—we find that our conclusions are not quite correct. I do not want to go into the details of the Bill, as my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru has exhaustively dealt with that aspect, but I cannot resist the temptation of having a say in this matter because the Bill affects India as a whole. Sir, if I understood him correctly, His Excellency said that Indian commissioned officers would get command over what they call mixed formations in course of time if they are found fit. If that is the position then there ought to be no quarrel between this side of the House and the Treasury benches. Our demand is that if you want to create these Indian commissioned officers without any demand on the part of the public in India, you must secure to them equal powers of command with British officers. His Excellency referred to the greater danger attaching to a mistake committed on the military side than in the case of a mistake on the civil side. I fully agree with him, but may I bring to his notice, Sir, that even the best military officers, even the highest officers in the British army, are reported to have committed mistakes during the war. Mr. Lloyd George in his reminiscences of the war has fully brought those mistakes to the notice of the public. If, Sir, the Indian commissioned officer who is passing out of Dehra Dun is not fit to hold command, do not give him at any cost the power to command British personnel. If my information is correct, there are many tests and many examinations which an officer has to go through and when an officer is found quite fit then only is he promoted. If that is so, I do not want to press the claims of an inefficient Indian officer, but I do really protest that if really you find the Indian officer quite fit, quite equal in quali-

fications, then do not deny to him the privileges that the European officers automatically get. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief requested us to conduct the debate in a sober spirit. I shall try my utmost to do so, though I know that my Honourable friend Mr. Mehrotra characterized the Bill as a cobra. The crux of the situation is this. You have to say it frankly and openly that you can believe Indians and you can give them higher posts in the military as you have done in the civil side. I was very glad to listen this morning to the remark made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that he does not feel any inferiority complex when under the Leadership of our Honourable Leader of the House. If that is so and if so many Indian Civil Service officers also do so, the army also should do so. For instance, my Honourable friend Mr. Stewart works under an Indian officer and I do not find that the Government of India can say in any way that the efficiency of the administration has gone down, because an Indian is in charge of a particular portfolio. If you find that the best men come out of our local Sandhurst, Dehra Dun, you cannot distinguish between Indian officers coming out from Woolwich or Sandhurst and Indian officers coming out from Dehra Dun. If the standard of efficiency is less at Dehra Dun and if you want our support, we on this side of the House are willing to strengthen your hand to increase the standard of training at Dehra Dun, but for God's sake do not make a distinction between this Indian officer and that Indian officer. I quite understand, Sir,—and I am quite at one with His Excellency in the matter,—that we should not bring in this question of inferiority complex and superiority complex. That will have its repercussions on the cadets coming out of Dehra Dun. I examined the question from another point of view. If you allow this heart-burning to go on amongst Indian officials coming from Dehra Dun, I submit you will experience breach of discipline in the army and discipline is a necessary element in military administration. You cannot afford to injure the feelings of Indian military officers when you want them to serve in your army.

I also cannot understand another principle involved in the Bill. If a European officer can give a judgment after hearing facts in a court-martial, when an Indian officer or Indian sepoy is the culprit I fail to understand why an Indian officer, if he is to preside at a court martial, should not be able to give a judgment equal to that. We on the civil side have got so many High Court judges, whose efficiency none, either in India or in the United Kingdom, has been able to challenge. Therefore why have you introduced this obnoxious principle of racial discrimination in the Bill? I, Sir, for my part cannot see my way to support this Bill when this obnoxious principle of racial discrimination is there. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief referred to the decision of the Lower House. I say it was by a snatch vote that the Government succeeded there. But the Government ought to see which way the wind is blowing. Public opinion in India is condemning this Bill throughout from its very inception. Public opinion in India did not ask you to bring forward this measure. If you want to proceed with this Bill, Sir, I humbly request you to take away this principle of racial discrimination and we shall be with you to support this measure. From the debate that His Excellency has heard on this Bill here this morning and from expressions of views of my Honourable friends, like Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah, His Excellency should come to

[Mr. Vinayak Vithal Kalikar.]

the conclusion that public opinion is against a Bill of the present type. I do not know whether Government or the Honourable Leader of the House has left him free to vote this way or that. From the expression of views that he has made I conclude that he fully agrees with us in regard to this Bill.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GHULAM HUSAIN HIDAYATALLAH: I should be true to my constituency as you are.

THE HONOURABLE MR. VINAYAK VITHAL KALIKAR: It seems from the views he has expressed this morning that he and I belong to the same constituency, namely, India, except that he has been commanded by Government of India for that side.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: He represents the Bombay Presidency.

THE HONOURABLE MR. VINAYAK VITHAL KALIKAR: That would show at least to the Government that public opinion is against this Bill and I therefore request His Excellency either to accept amendments proposed by us or not to proceed with the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I propose to adjourn the debate at this stage and I will call upon the Leader of the House if he has any statement to make.

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#### STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Leader of the House): Sir, tomorrow the 5th September, we meet for the transaction of non-official business and I propose therefore that the Council meet at 10-30 A.M. on Thursday, the 6th September, when the business not finished today will be taken up.

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The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 5th September, 1934.