

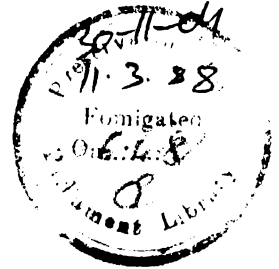
Wednesday, 5th September, 1934

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.

Wednesday, 5th September, 1934.

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

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

#### APPOINTMENT OF DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL, FINANCE, IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

214. THE HONOURABLE MAHARAJA JAGADISH NATH RAY OF DINAJPUR: (a) Will Government please state whether a new appointment of Deputy Director General, Finance, has been created in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs ?

(b) Is it a fact that this officer is mainly employed to help the Financial Adviser, Posts and Telegraphs ?

(c) Is it a fact that in previous years an officer of inferior rank and of less pay was appointed temporarily to help the Financial Adviser, Posts and Telegraphs, during the budget season only ?

(d) Will Government state the reasons for the necessity of creating a post of so high a rank and pay ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL: (a) Yes.

(b) No. The Deputy Director General, Finance, is the controlling officer of the Budget and Finance Section of the Director General's Office. He is also required to give financial advice on all matters of ordinary importance and everyday administration of the Posts and Telegraphs Department and help in the detailed examination from the financial standpoint of the more important questions and so relieve the Financial Adviser.

(c) The facts are that in 1930 a Deputy Financial Adviser was appointed as a temporary measure to help with the budget work, and in 1932 an Assistant Financial Adviser was appointed for a similar purpose. The pay of both these officers was less than that of the Deputy Director General, Finance. The status of the Deputy Financial Adviser was equal to that of the Deputy Director General, Finance, and that of the Assistant Financial Adviser was lower.

(d) The necessity for the post was explained to the Standing Finance Committee who approved of the proposal at their meeting of 25th November, 1933. Experience had shown that the amount and nature of work devolving on the Financial Adviser was more than could properly be attended to by one officer and that he required the help of an additional officer of the status of the Deputy Director General, Finance.

**FINANCIAL ADVISER, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS, AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL, FINANCE, IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.**

215. **THE HONOURABLE MAHARAJA JAGADISH NATH RAY OF DINAJPUR :** (a) Is it a fact that both the Financial Adviser, Posts and Telegraphs, and Deputy Director General, Finance, in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, are officers of the Finance Department ?

(b) Is it also a fact that the accounts and audit of the Department are carried on by a senior Accountant General who has under him no less than five deputies and a large number of trained accountants and accounts clerks ?

(c) Is it a fact that it is under consideration to import into the office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, which is an administrative office, clerks and accountants from the Posts and Telegraphs Accounts Offices ?

(d) If the reply to (c) be in the affirmative, will Government please state their number and the reasons for the necessity of this action ?

(e) Will Government please state whether the work for which these men are imported into the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, was for so long done in the Posts and Telegraphs Audit Offices ? What are the reasons for transferring the work to the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL :** (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, except that the number of deputies is four.

(c) and (d). A proposal to bring into the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, two passed accountants, but no clerk, from the Posts and Telegraphs Accounts Offices for a temporary period is under consideration. These passed accountants are being brought into the Director General's Office to deal with and to put on a satisfactory basis the Engineering and Stores accounts work in the Budget Section and the work in the Statistics Section which experience has shown cannot be performed satisfactorily by ordinary clerks having no experience of this kind of work.

(e) The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative ; the second part does not arise.

**RECRUITMENT OF CLERKS AND ASSISTANTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.**

216. **THE HONOURABLE MAHARAJA JAGADISH NATH RAY OF DINAJPUR :** (a) Is it a fact that the recruitment of clerks and assistants in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, is made from men who have passed the examination of the Public Service Commission ?

(b) Is it also a fact that in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, there is no sanctioned appointment of accountants and accounts clerks ?

(c) Is there any proposal under consideration for creating temporary appointments in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, to provide for accountants and accounts clerks ?

(d) Has the approval of the Public Service Commission been obtained for the appointment of accountants and accounts clerks in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs ?

(e) Has the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, powers to create any temporary appointment in his office ? If not, has the approval of the competent authority (Secretary, Industries and Labour Department) been obtained for the creation of temporary posts in that office during the current year ?

• THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G. MITCHELL : (a), (b) and (c). The replies are in the affirmative.

(d) No. This is not necessary.

(e) The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative, except in the case of the menial establishment. As regards the second part attention is drawn to the reply to part (c) of the question. The proposals which are now under examination will be submitted for the orders of the Governor General in Council in due course.

#### ASSISTANTS IN THE RAILWAY BOARD.

217. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : (a) Is it a fact that certain Assistants in the Railway Board were to be recruited from outside, but subsequently it was decided to promote the existing men from the third grade ? Will Government state the reason for this change of procedure ? Is it a fact that thereby Muslims have been deprived of their claim to appointment ?

(b) Is it a fact that a new appointment has been made by the Officer on Special Duty, Railway Board, this month ? Is it a fact that an unqualified person has been appointed although there were many Public Service Commission passed candidates on the waiting list ? Will Government state the qualifications of the appointed person ?

(c) Is it a fact that there are a number of men practising typewriting in the office of the Railway Board ? How many of them are Muslims ? Are the men working given preference to outsiders at the time of filling appointments ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a) The Honourable Member has not got the facts quite correctly. Five Assistants' posts in the Railway Board office retrenched in 1932 are to be revived. To fill them the Railway Board have had under consideration the promotion of suitable men in their own office, or the importation of suitable men recommended by State Railways. The matter is not yet settled but, in all probability, four posts will be filled by promotion in the office and one by an employee recommended by the Agent of a State Railway. The posts in question are selection posts, to be filled either by promotion in the office or from State Railways.

(b) An Officer on Special Duty has recently been appointed, and to obtain the services of a clerk for him, a number of persons on the Public Services Commission qualified list have been addressed regarding the vacancy and the most suitable of them will be appointed to the post. In the meantime, purely as a temporary measure, and pending the arrival of a qualified person on the Public



Service Commission list, a clerk with knowledge of typing was employed. This clerk has since been discharged.

(c) So far as the Board know there are no persons practising typewriting in their office and such a practice has not been authorised.

#### IMPORT AND EXPORT FIGURES OF KATHIAWAR PORTS.

218. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : (a) Are the import and export figures of the Kathiawar ports included in the Budget, Customs and Currency Department papers ?

(b) What is the net loss of the British Indian Customs Department due to free entry from the Indian States (maritime and Kashmir) ? Will Government state the names of such maritime States and the figures of free imports from each of the States including Kashmir during the last three years ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN PARSONS : (a) If the Honourable Member will let me know exactly to what documents he refers, I will try and give him the information.

(b) No statistics exist from which it would be possible to estimate the net loss of customs duty due to free entry from Indian States. The figures of free imports of dutiable goods from Kathiawar are as follows, in lakhs :

1931-32	..	..	..	..	..	..	77
1932-33	..	..	..	..	..	..	225
1933-34	..	..	..	..	..	..	217

Separate figures for each State are not available, nor are figures of free imports from other than Kathiawar States available.

The maritime States in question are Travancore, Cochin, Cambay, Baroda, Bhavnagar, Jafraabad, Junagadh, Morvi, Nawanager, Porbunder and Cutch.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May I say, Sir, in regard to (a) that I was referring to the Indian Sea-borne Trade.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN PARSONS : In that case, Sir, the answer is in the negative.

#### CAPITATION PAYMENTS.

219. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : (a) Will Government please state whether the capitation payments made during the last two years were final payments or were subject to variation on the actual cost being assessed ?

(b) Do Government propose to press the War Office to make an actuarial calculation of the actual cost of training soldiers in the year 1933-34 ? Have Government considered the advisability of associating an Indian for the purpose of such actuarial calculation ? If not, why not ? What arrangements, if any, do they propose to make for the purpose of checking the War Office figures ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : (a) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the last sentence of the reply which I gave on the 27th August, 1934 to part (b) of his question No. 153, which was

that payments were assessed on the basis of a provisional flat rate arranged in 1927, pending discussion of details before the Capitation Tribunal.

(b) Government have already taken action to expedite the submission of the War Office calculations. The Secretary of State and the Government of India will be given full opportunity of criticising the calculations. If considered necessary these will be referred to the Actuary to the Government of India who is an Indian.

**COST OF THE THIRD AFGHAN WAR.**

220. **THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Will Government kindly state :

(a) The cost of the Third Afghan War ?

(b) The cost of the Waziristan occupation from 1919 to 1924 ?

(c) The average cost of operations between 1895 and 1915 on the Frontier under the Close Border policy ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** (a) Separate information is not available. The net cost of operations undertaken on the North-West Frontier in 1919 (including the Third Afghan War) amounted to about Rs. 31 crores.

(b) As regards Waziristan separate figures were not compiled for the year 1919. The cost for that year is included in the figure given under (a). For the years 1920—1924, the cost was about Rs. 24 crores.

(c) The net expenditure on operations on the North-West Frontier from 1895-96 to 1915-16 amounted to Rs. 7.87 crores.

**SURPLUS OF OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.**

221. **THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Is it a fact that there is a surplus of officers in the Indian Army ? If so, how many in each rank ? What are the total pay and emoluments of the surplus officers ? What action do Government propose to take to bring the number of officers to the required strength ? What will be the additional expenditure on pensions and gratuities ? What will be the saving in pay ?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** There is at present a small surplus of officers in the Indian Army. I assume, however, that the Honourable Member is referring to the fact that unless special steps are taken there will in the near future be a considerable surplus of officers in the ranks of major and lieutenant-colonel. The best way of dealing with this contingency is at present under the consideration of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government and, as it is not known which officers will ultimately be affected, it is impossible to give the figures asked for by the Honourable Member.

**NUMBER OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL DESPATCHED TO SHANGHAI IN 1927.**

222. **THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Will Government please state the number of men, British and Indian, sent to Shanghai in 1927 ? What was the date of their departures from the British Indian ports ? Were the

British Government charged with the cost of transportation within British India and were the pay and emoluments during the period of such transportation charged to the War Office? If so, what were the two amounts? What was the total amount of money received from the War Office? What was the period for which the troops were outside British India?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF:** The following numbers of officers and personnel were despatched from India to Shanghai between the 27th January and the 12th February, 1927:

British officers	..	..	..	..	136
British other ranks	..	..	..	..	1,916
Indian officers	..	..	..	..	102
Indian other ranks	..	..	..	..	3,118
Followers	..	..	..	..	864

The Imperial Government were charged with the cost of transportation within India and a sum of Rs. 3,90,914 was recovered from them on this account. In accordance with the general agreement for the adjustment of financial transactions between the Imperial and Indian Governments the pay and allowances of the force were charged against Indian revenues up to the date prior to that of embarkation for Shanghai and from the date following that of disembarkation in India. The troops arrived in India on return on various dates between the 8th August and the 26th September, 1927 with the exception of certain small units which arrived on the 30th November, 1927. The total amount recovered from the War Office including cost of transportation was Rs. 72,83,720.

#### NUMBER OF BRITISH AND INDIAN TROOPS STATIONED IN TRANS AND CIS-INDUS AREAS.

**223. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** What is the number of British and Indian troops stationed in trans and cis Indus areas?

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF:** 12,563 British and 65,468 Indian troops are stationed trans-Indus, and 51,529 British and 1,21,862 Indian troops cis-Indus.

#### QUALIFICATIONS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE WATCH AND WARD ESTABLISHMENT.

**224. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the minimum academical qualifications required of a candidate (other than the ex-police or ex-military) to get an appointment in—

(i) The Watch and Ward staff of the Legislative Assembly?

(ii) The third division of the Government of India Secretariat?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether non-matriculantes are eligible for appointment in the third division of the Government of India Secretariat? If so, will they please state why they have fixed the Matriculation as the minimum qualification for appearing at the examination of the Public Service Commission for the third division?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT:** (a) (i) No fixed academic qualifications are laid down for recruitment to the Watch and Ward staff.

(ii) The educational qualifications for the third division examination are the Matriculation, the Junior Cambridge or an equivalent examination.

(b) Non-matriculantes are not debarred from appointment to the third division in purely officiating or temporary vacancies; but for permanent vacancies, which are filled through the examination held by the Public Service Commission, the matriculation has been prescribed as the minimum qualification in order to ensure that men sufficiently educated for the duties to be performed are obtained.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government consider the advisability of fixing the qualifications for direct recruitment also, that is, recruitment otherwise than through the Public Service Commission?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: I am prepared to consider that suggestion, Sir.

**MAXIMUM AGE-LIMIT FOR INFERIOR SERVANTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, SECRETARIAT AND ATTACHED OFFICES.**

225. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the maximum age-limit for the inferior servants of the Government of India Secretariat and its Attached Offices for service under Government?

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN PARSONS: There is no maximum age-limit for inferior servants entering these offices, except in the Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, where the limit is 25 years unless waived by the head of the department.

**EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD DIVISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.**

226. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government be pleased to state whether academic qualifications are taken into consideration at the time of filling an appointment in the—

(i) First division of the Government of India Secretariat?

(ii) Second division of the Government of India Secretariat?

(iii) Third division of the Government of India Secretariat?

If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: Under the orders contained in the Home Department Office Memorandum No. F. 452/27-Ests., dated the 8th December, 1928, a copy of which is in the Library, most of the departments of the Government of India fill permanent vacancies either by the promotion or confirmation of qualified candidates or by direct recruitment through the Public Service Commission, who hold periodical examinations for this purpose. The minimum educational qualifications prescribed for admission to the first and second division examination is the possession of a degree or a pass in the Senior Cambridge examination and for the third division a pass in the Matriculation, the Junior Cambridge or an equivalent examination. Temporary vacancies in the first division are ordinarily filled by the promotion of permanent second division clerks and those in the second

and third divisions either from the list of candidates considered suitable for temporary employment prepared by the Public Service Commission or by the recruitment of unpassed candidates. The matter is left to the discretion of departments. In regard to candidates who are recruited otherwise than through the Public Service Commission, no minimum educational qualifications have been laid down, but I have no doubt that departments take into account all factors, including academic qualifications, which may be necessary when filling a particular vacancy.

**VISIT OF THE TRADE COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO INDIA.**

227. **THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** (a) Is it a fact that a representative of the Government of South Africa visited India?

(b) Is it a fact that he is exploring the possibilities of entering into a trade pact between the two Governments?

(c) Did the said representative see any Member of Government? If so, whom?

(d) Will Government state their attitude towards this question?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART:** (a) Yes.

(b) No. The object of the visit was to investigate the possibilities of South African trade in India.

(c) If the Honourable Member wishes to know whether there was any official interview with a member of Government, as far as I am aware, the answer is in the negative.

(d) Does not arise.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** Did the said gentleman see any Member of the Executive Council unofficially?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART:** I am afraid, Sir, I have no record of the private interviews of this gentleman.

**FILLING OF A THIRD DIVISION VACANCY IN THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.**

228. **THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** (a) Is it a fact that the present strength of the Legislative Department is of 50 men?

(b) Is it a fact that there are at present only seven Muhammadans in this Department?

(c) Is it a fact that according to the latest Resolution of the Home Department there should at least be 12 Muhammadans?

(d) Is it a fact that only recently a vacancy has occurred in the Legislative Department?

(e) Is it a fact that both the Establishment clerk and the Assistant Secretary are Hindus?

(f) Is it a fact that an offer has been sent to a Hindu who is a relative of the Establishment clerk?

(g) Is it a fact that the Establishment clerk took this file personally to the Assistant Secretary and Secretary and had it decided in the favour of his man ?

(h) Is it a fact that the Department did not even write to the Public Service Commission to give them a man ?

(i) Is it a fact that there are equally good qualified men from the minority community on the list of the Public Service Commission ?

(j) Do Government feel that an injustice has been done to the Muhammadan community or not ?

(k) If so, do Government propose to cancel this offer and ask for a Muhammadan candidate from the Public Service Commission ? If not, why not ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE :** (a) and (b). Assuming that the Honourable Member is referring to the ministerial establishment, the actual figures are 51 and 8, respectively.

(c) No. The Resolution does not refer to the existing composition of any office but provides that 25 per cent. of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment of Indians will be reserved for Muslims and  $8\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. for other minority communities, and I may add that of the last four vacancies in the Legislative Department filled by direct recruitment, including the vacancy to which the question relates, two or 50 per cent. have been filled by the appointment of Muslims and one or 25 per cent. by the appointment of a representative of another minority community.

(d) Yes.

(e) This is a fact though an irrelevant one.

(f) The vacancy has been filled by the appointment of a Hindu. He is not a relative of the Establishment clerk.

(g) No.

(h) Under the relevant orders, no reference to the Public Service Commission is required where a vacancy is filled as in the present case by the transfer of a clerk from one department to the same grade in a different department.

(i) As the vacancy was not required to be filled from a minority community, this question does not arise, but I may inform the Honourable Member that the appointment in question was an appointment in the third division and that the person appointed, who is an Honours graduate possesses higher educational qualifications than those required of or normally possessed by candidates for the Public Service Commission examination for the third division which the person appointed had duly passed.

(j) No.

(k) There is no question of cancelling an offer. The appointment has been made and for reasons which will be apparent from the replies to earlier parts of the question, no grounds for cancelling the appointment exist.

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI :** Am I to understand, Sir, that the Honours graduate who was appointed had not passed the Public Service Commission examination.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE :** No, Sir. He had passed the Public Service Commission examination.

**REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATION UNDER RULE 5 (2) OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTORAL RULES FROM CANDIDATES STANDING FOR ELECTION IN THE NEXT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY WHO MIGHT BE DISQUALIFIED UNDER THE RULES.**

**229. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE :**

(a) Is it a fact that imprisonment after conviction in a court is a disqualification for standing as candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly? If so, what are the periods of imprisonment which debar a candidate from standing for election?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the different disqualifications of the civil disobedience prisoners who have been released or are being released?

(c) Do Government propose to remove such disqualifications of the civil disobedience prisoners? If so, what steps have Government taken to remove the disqualifications?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state whether Government propose to remove such disqualifications by a general order? If not, why not?

(e) Is it a fact that each individual candidate having the above disqualifications will have to apply to Government for the removal of those disqualifications? If so, whether such applications will have to be made to the Government of India direct or through the Local Government?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT :** (a) and (b). The Honourable Member is referred to sub-rule (2) of rule 5 of the Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules.

(c), (d) and (e). If the Honourable Member will refer to the proviso to the sub-rule which I have quoted, he will see that on an application being made by a person disqualified under that sub-rule, the Local Government can, with the previous approval of the Governor General in Council, remove the disqualification. The Government of India are arranging for all applications to be submitted to them and each application will be carefully considered by them.

**EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.**

**230. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** (a) Will Government please state the minimum academic qualifications required of a candidate for an appointment in the second division of the Government of India Secretariat?

(b) Will they please also state whether a candidate, who has not passed the Public Service Commission examination for the second division of the Government of India Secretariat and is recruited for a vacancy in that division, is also required to possess the same academic qualifications as are required for that division under the rules? If not, why not?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT :** (a) and (b). I would draw the Honourable Member's attention to the reply I have just given to his question No. 226.

**PROHIBITION OF THE APPOINTMENT OF BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS TO THE CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIAN STATES.**

230A. **THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the names of those Indian States, each with a population of three hundred thousand or more, which prohibit the appointment of British Indian subjects to their civil services ?

(b) Is it a fact that a subject of an Indian State is eligible for appointment to any office under the Crown to which a native of British India may be appointed on obtaining a declaration under the Government of India Act ?

(c) Is such declaration made as a matter of course if such a subject has satisfactory conduct and character ?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state what action they propose to take to introduce the principle of reciprocity ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT :** (a) I am collecting information and will place it on the table in due course.

(b) Yes.

(c) A declaration of eligibility in respect of a candidate is made with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council only after the candidate has satisfied Government as to his nationality, character and antecedents.

(d) I propose to explain in my reply to the Honourable Member's Resolution the view which Government take on the suggestion which he has made.

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI :** Have there been any cases in which during the last one year, for instance, an application made by a subject of an Indian State for seeking the declaration under the Government of India Act has been turned down by the Secretary of State in Council ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT :** I must ask for notice of that question, Sir. So far as I am aware, there has not been any such case.

**SHORT NOTICE QUESTIONS.**

**Arti-nimaz DISPUTE IN AGRA.**

231. **THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** With reference to the statement made by the Honourable the Home Secretary in reply to question No. 178 of this session, will Government be pleased to make a further up to date statement on the *Arti nimaz* question ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT :** Sir, a telegram which I have received from the Government of the United Provinces states that the *Arti-nimaz* dispute was settled by mutual agreement between the parties on the 1st of September. Full details of the settlement have not yet been received but they will be reported as soon as possible.



There has, as Honourable Members are aware, been a further disturbance in Agra City not connected with the *Arti-nimaz* dispute, and if the Honourable Member so desires I will read out the telegram I have received from the United Provinces Government on that point. This is a message, dated 3rd September :

" Message just received from Commissioner, Agra, states that a communal disturbance occurred in city last night unconnected with recent *Arti-nimaz* dispute which had been settled by mutual agreement on 1st September. On the same date a Hindu was murdered in private quarrel. Body of deceased was taken to burning ghat on 2nd. Quarrel cause of which obscure arose and a Muslim was murdered at burning ghat. Shortly afterwards murder of a Hindu in retaliation took place in city whereupon sporadic rioting occurred during evening of Sunday and following night in which several persons injured. Troops called out and patrolled the city and additional police previously earmarked drafted in. Situation now quiet but troops will make route march through city today to restore confidence. Casualties in addition to two original murders are one killed and several injured but full details not yet available "

Since receiving that telegram I have received another which was sent off at 4-45 P.M. yesterday, which says :

No further disturbance occurred at Agra yesterday. Police reinforcements arrived, situation quiet, total casualties four killed (including two murders which preceded rioting) and thirty-four injured "

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Do the Government consider that this riot was not the result of the *Arti nimaz* affair ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT : That fact has been stated by the United Provinces Government, who are far more fully acquainted with the facts than we are up here.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : May I know if any high official of the United Provinces Government or the Ministers went to the spot ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT : That question, Sir, should be asked in the United Provinces Council. It is impossible for me to answer it.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Does the Government consider the seriousness of the situation when a *hartal* was observed for more than three weeks, and will the Government advise the United Provinces Government to send some high official to the spot to bring about an amicable settlement between the two communities ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT : I think we need have no reason to doubt that the United Provinces Government will deal with the matter with their usual efficiency and do everything possible to settle the dispute.

#### BURMA RAILWAYS EMPLOYEES' UNION.

232. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI : (a) Is the Government of India aware that " the Burma Railways Employees Union " was registered under the Trade Union Act in March, 1933 ?

(b) Is Government aware that the rules of the Union were submitted to the Agent, Burma Railways, and were approved by him before the registration of the Union was effected ?

(c) Is Government aware that the Agent, Burma Railways, has refused to recognise the Union ?

(d) Are there any rules or conditions governing the recognition of the Registered Railway Unions (of railway employees of the railways in India) by the Agents concerned ? If so, will Government please state them ?

(e) Do the Government of India propose to instruct the Agent, Burma Railways, to recognise the Burma Railways Employees' Union ?

• THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: (a) and (c). From the information readily available, Government understand that the Burma Railways Employees' Union which was not registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, up to May, 1933, was not then recognised by the Agent, Burma Railways.

(b) Government have no information.

(d) I would refer the Honourable Member to the rules issued by the Home Department in 1921 which are applicable to Unions of Government servants on State-managed Railways. A copy of these rules is already in the Library of the House.

(e) No.

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### HINDU WOMAN'S INHERITANCE BILL.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Before we proceed with today's work I would like to remind Honourable Members that this is the last non-official day and I would like all the work which appears on the list of business to be concluded by the evening.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI (Burma: General): With reference to the legislative business, I have obtained the consent of all the gentlemen who have balloted resolutions to allow me to move my Motion first, and I now ask your permission, Sir, to make my Motion ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: If Honourable Members have no objection, as it will only take two or three minutes, I will allow the Honourable Member to make his Motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI: Sir, I beg to move :

“That the Bill to amend the Hindu Law of Inheritance in certain respects and entitling women to certain rights to the property of a joint Hindu family and to a share of inheritance on partition, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon.”

Sir, by this Motion I am only asking the Government and Honourable Members of this House to keep an open mind. I want this Bill to go to the country, so that opinion may be elicited and I am not asking the Council to commit itself to the principle.

The Motion was adopted.

## RESOLUTION *RE* ABOLITION OF VICEROY'S COMMISSIONS

~~THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT~~ : The debate will now proceed on the Honourable Mr. Sapru's Resolution, namely,

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Viceroy's commissions in the Indianized units of the army should not be abolished."

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa ; Muhammadan) : This Resolution asks that Viceroy's commissions in the Indianized units should not be abolished. He has dealt with the question at length and I need not weary the House with further details. I simply wish to point out that we on this side do not wish to interfere in matters under the purview of the military authorities more than necessary. We would have been content to leave the decision in the hands of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief if we had been informed of the changed complement of officers before the number of officers was increased to 60 in place of the 29 formerly eligible for Sandhurst, etc. As is well known the number of officers admitted into the army has been gradually increased and we were under the impression that we would be getting something more than we had before. But if the number of 60 eligible for entry into the Dehra Dun Academy is analysed, excluding those who come from Indian States, we find that we are in a distinctly worse position than we were in before the creation of the Indian Sandhurst. Formerly the usual number of officers in a regiment was 12 to 14, and now the number is to be increased to 28. As out of the 60 admitted, we have to place in each regiment 28 officers in place of 12. So that we have taken a distinctly retrograde step and Indianization, instead of being accelerated is going to be retarded and it will take much longer to Indianize units under the present scheme than would have been the case if the Sandhurst scheme had continued. That, if will be admitted, is a step in the wrong direction. With the advance of India on the road to Dominion status and *Swaraj*, we were expecting that the defence of India would become more and more a concern of the Indians themselves, who would be given a bigger share. If the Viceroy's commission is retained in the Indianized units, the result is that we will be able to Indianize more regiments than we could if that commission is abolished.

There is another sentimental point too. With the abolition of the Viceroy's commission a feeling may be created in the minds of soldiers who are serving in the Indianized units that their officers are just replacing Viceroy's commissioned officers and therefore they will not have the same amount of respect for their officers which they previously had. The British and the Indian Sandhurst officer are not directly concerned with the men ; and they had the Viceroy's commissioned officers to intervene and act as an intermediary. And thirdly, we regard that there will be a sort of blocking. I do not know what will be the practice, but when we abolish the Viceroy's commission the soldiers who are in the Indianized units will have one of the doors by which they can rise shut in their face, whereas the other units will have that scope. I do not know if it is the intention of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to restrict the intake of officers from the ranks to the Indianized units alone. If it is done it might recompense the Indian units for the loss of privilege that I have referred to. If it is not restricted to Indianized units and if recruitment is open to the whole of the Indian Army, then, Sir, I regard it as a distinct injustice to Indianized units.

Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LATA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, the subject in hand is one of the most momentous questions ever discussed in this House. It affects the complexion of the Indian Army most vitally and will have more far-reaching consequences than the Government of India will care to admit or an ordinary layman will be able to visualise. The province to which I have the honour to belong has the deepest possible interest in this question. The Punjab is the gate of India. It is the sword-hand of the British Indian Empire. It supplies more than half the combatant strength in His Majesty's Indian Forces. Naturally, then, as a Punjabi I am more keenly interested in the subject of this Resolution than my Honourable colleagues from other provinces with the possible exception of the North-West Frontier Province. As a *Kshatriya* I represent the martial race of India, and feel an anxious concern for the rights, privileges and general welfare of the martial people of my country.

Viceroy's commissioned officers have been a regular feature of the Indian Army for generations past. These designations of subedar, risaldar, etc., have a good deal of sentimental and historical value attached to them, and the abolition of these ranks will be most undesirable on sentimental grounds alone. But there are much more weighty grounds on which the abolition of the old Viceroy's commissioned ranks should be opposed. There are very valuable traditions of honour, dignity, prestige and gallantry associated with these ranks. These traditions have endeared these ranks to all the martial-minded people of India and serve as a fertile source of inspiration to those who have occasion to serve in the army. Traditions of honour, courage and good name have a great value in every sphere of life. They have a tremendous importance in the military sphere. No army can afford to lose this rich heritage of its past traditions. No Government will allow a spring of loyal, devoted and inspiring traditions to dry up. And who can deny that a violent break with the past which the abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers implies will result in a drying up of that spring of perennial devotion, loyalty and daring which generations of these officers were able to bring into existence by means of traditions handed down from one set to the other in unbroken succession? They cherished these designations, they honoured these names, they held these ranks in high esteem and were prepared to make a good many sacrifices to keep the reputation of these officers unsullied. What would the designations of "sergeant" and "warrant officers" mean to Indians? They are foreign epithets and would mean next to nothing to Indians.

Foreign designations for Indians will be inappropriate anywhere, but they will be less inappropriate in non-Indianizing units. Corporals, sergeants, sergeant-majors, warrant officers—these may be all right for the British Army. But their use in the Indian portion of the Indian Army and *a fortiori* in the Indianizing units of it, passes my comprehension. Jemadar, subedar, risaldar, subedar major, risaldar major—these names call up definite memories of dear associations. What will the names of corporal, sergeant and warrant officer recall to the minds of Indians? Nothing. They are mere empty dreary blanks.

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Dass.]

Besides this, Indian officers holding the rank of jemadar or upwards are known as commissioned officers. It is true that their commission is not a King's commission, but it is a commission all the same, and they are commissioned officers. That gives them an added sense of self-respect and sense of dignity. Their prototypes under the new scheme will not be commissioned officers and, consequently, their sense of self-respect will be lowered. I cannot emphasise the importance of self-respect in the men who wear the King's uniform in the army and are expected to fight the Empire's battles. The lower the sense of self-respect of our men in the army, the lower the efficiency of our military machinery. On the other hand, the higher the level of self-respect among our men the greater the efficiency of our army.

The abolition of the Viceroy's commission will entail the loss of very substantial pecuniary advantages. Risaldar-majors and subedar majors receive a personal allowance of Rs. 50 a month. This allowance forms part of the pension allowed to these officers on their retirement. The addition of Rs. 50 per month to one's pension means a very substantial gain. In the ordinary course of things this advantage will disappear with the abolition of the post of subedar major and risaldar major.

Similarly the British Order of India, II class, carries with it a monthly allowance of Rs. 30 with the title of *Bahadur* while the British Order of India, I class, carries with it a monthly allowance of Rs. 60 and the title of *Sardar Bahadur*. This means both honour and financial gain. These allowances are added to the pension to which an officer is entitled on retirement. But the Order itself is not open to men and non-commissioned officers. Only officers holding a Viceroy's commission are eligible to it. The abolition of the Viceroy's commission will thus involve the disappearance of this Order and the pecuniary advantages attached to it.

The allowances which are attached to the Indian Order of Merit, both first class and second class, are also different in the case of commissioned officers holding the Viceroy's commission and non-commissioned officers or rank and file. The abolition of the Viceroy's commission will mean the closing of higher allowances to Indians.

Lastly, if I am not mistaken, the Military Cross is not open except to commissioned officers. At least I have not come across a single individual who holds a Military Cross and is not a commissioned officer. If my impression is well-founded that means the elimination of another very important honour and allowance open to Indians serving in the army. I have reasons to believe that these incidents of the new system are not realised or are only imperfectly realised by those who enlist in the army. When the full implications of the new system are realised the popularity of military service is likely to suffer a serious diminution. Add to this the disadvantages which will follow on the abolition of the Viceroy's commission (to which I have already alluded) and you will have to reckon with very grave factors which will cause a deplorable diminution in the popularity of service in the army.

The abolition of the Viceroy's commissions will further mean a serious slackening of the pace of Indianization. If the Viceroy's commissioned officers

have also to be replaced by the products of the Dehra Dun College the time taken by the complete Indianization of a regiment will be doubled as the number of these officers in every regiment is practically the same as that of King's commissioned officers. The result will be that if the complete Indianization of a certain number of units with the retention of the Viceroy's commissioned officers takes 20 years, with the abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers the process will take 40 years.

In non-Indianizing units British officers will have the advantage of the experience and advice of senior Indian officers holding the Viceroy's commission.

• Sir, a gallant Punjabi British commissioned officer while in command of a company of the 1st Brahmins narrated to me a fact that a major commanding that section ordered a certain line of advance in Arabia during the Great War and a Viceroy's commissioned officer came to that gallant officer who gave me the information and said that the line of advance was not in accordance with the regulations. The major agreed that the subedar major was right and modified his plans accordingly. I do not want to mention the name of the officer but as far as I understood from him it was a fact and thus these Viceroy's commissioned Indian officers have proved a great asset to the army.

• Why should Indian officers coming out of Dehra Dun be deprived of this advantage? They will stand in greater need of the help and advice of experienced Viceroy's commissioned officers. In a way they will be on probation, and those who are not on probation feel more nervous than those who are not on probation. The very fact of nervousness which will arise from their peculiar position will cause them to make more mistakes than their British conferees. Why should Indian officers be made to start under a handicap? Why should they not have the same advantages which are enjoyed by British officers?

Last but not least is the effect which the elimination of the Viceroy's commissioned officers will have on the attractiveness of Indianizing regiments. The existence of the Viceroy's commissions has a powerful attraction for all those young men who have had only a vernacular education or only a smattering of English education and who cannot expect to secure superior commissions either through open competition or through the army. Young men from the best military families with fine martial instincts and traditions are attracted by the Viceroy's commissions.

Sir, under the circumstances I will make a fervent appeal to the Government in the name of our Indian soldiers, in the name of economy, in the name of efficiency, in the name of sound policy, in the name of Indianization and in the name of justice and fair play that the valiant and valuable hand of the Viceroy's commissioned officers in the Indianizing units should be retained with all their present powers and privileges and should, under no circumstances, be abolished.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Sir, after listening as I have done to the Honourable mover of this Motion on the last private motion day and to the speeches I have heard today, I must confess to a sense of fatigue,

[His Excellency the Commander in Chief.]

weariness and disappointment. There are a very great number of people in the British Isles now and a very great number of people out here, Europeans, who are trying their best to help India forward, and I must confess we get very little help from Indians in the matter. Criticisms we get—hostile criticisms—very rarely constructive criticisms—and it does seem to me that some of my Honourable colleagues in this House on the Opposition benches excel in this. They excel in the pastime of opposition to..... No, I will withdraw that Sir. If I said that, Sir, it would seem as if I meant that I banged and barred and bolted the door to private discussion on the subject. That I certainly do not. I am always willing to listen to criticism which is helpful but when the same criticism is made day after day and week after week I do think, Sir, you will admit that the dog is sometimes rather dead. I will say this, Sir, that some of our colleagues on the Opposition benches here do display a very marked enthusiasm for speaking to the man at the wheel after the course of the ship has been well and truly laid. In this case, the Government of India, fully supported by His Majesty's Government in England, have decided on the objective of the voyage of the Ship of Indianization, and they have given to me, their captain on the bridge for the moment, their orders and instructions, and I have taken counsel of my charts and the best known practice in the art of navigation that I know of and I have tried and I think myself that I have set a true course to the port of our desires, which is an Indian army modelled on the very best models of the rest of the armies of the world. Is it to be wondered at, Sir, that, after all the discussions, all the anxious thought and all the care that we have devoted to this subject, that we should decline to alter our course and speed at the behest of people who, to say the least, have little or no knowledge of navigation ?

The Honourable mover tried, I thought, on the first day of his Motion, to anticipate the Government reply by quoting many of the arguments—and in my opinion very excellent arguments—which have been advanced in support of the Government policy, and with almost unctuous satisfaction disposing of them by the simple process of contradiction. I think, Sir, one is entitled to ask by what right he and his friends take leave to criticise so glibly the policy of Government which that Government has adopted on the considered advice of men who have spent their whole lives in the profession of arms, and I would add, Sir, who have no political axe to grind whatever. It is so fatally easy, Sir, for the politician to criticise from the security of his armchair, or the security of the floor of a political Assembly, a policy for the results of which he is not in the slightest degree responsible. It is so easy, from the comparative comfort of one's cabin on board ship, to criticise the captain on the bridge, who is peering anxiously through the icy spray of a stormy night, and to say that he does not know his business. It is so easy on a Motion of this sort to talk about a bold policy of elimination of British troops in India, or the stopping of all recruiting of British officers for the Indian Army. It is so easy for people to say that, who are in no sense responsible for the safety of India. Who would be the first to cry out if riots such as we have just heard in one of the questions occur which affect the safety of their homes and efficient troops were not available to put those riots down ? It is so easy to say, as one Honourable Member did, that the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of the Round

Table Conference with regard to Indianization have in no way been fulfilled when Indianization since that period has been actually doubled! It is so easy to say that the new young officers will feel a sense of inferiority and that there is discontent already among the rank and file, when the speakers are in no sense responsible themselves. But I say, Sir, that they are responsible for the most dangerous effects such talk may have on the future of the Indian Army.

Have the Honourable mover and his friends ever heard the whine of a bullet down a frontier valley? Have they seen soldiers' faces blanch when death in ugly shapes is taking toll of their ranks? Have they ever seen a young British officer, just as frightened no doubt as they are, but by his inherited tradition to lead, step in front of his men and play upon their nerves like a skilled musician on an instrument, restore their tone and do with them what he likes? Have they ever seen that? If they have not seen that, then why should they say in what manner we should train the young officers of the Indian Army to take their place and lead their men, when their lives and the fate of their country are at stake? Do the Honourable Members of the Opposition think that officers of this sort can be created overnight by a stroke of the pen or by the speeches of politicians or a minority report by Mr. Somebody-or-other on a committee? Do he and his friends think that a war-worn and war-wise nation like the British, who won their Empire at the point of the sword, and have kept it by the sword all these years, are to be turned aside by armchair critics when we are making the greatest experiment in history and when we are still responsible for the consequences of that experiment to the millions of people in India? If they do that, Sir, I think they have learned very little from their long association with my race.

Indians have asked, and as this House knows very well, I agree with them in their asking, for the gradual Indianization of their own army. Some would wish to increase the speed and alter the course that we have signalled from the bridge to the engine room, and others (and I think they are by far the wiser) are content to leave the speed and direction of the ship to those who have to shoulder the responsibility. We have accepted that responsibility, and in doing so, we have designed an army modelled on exactly the same lines as every other army in the world, in which young officers join and from the moment they join, they command their men directly, with no link between them and the ranks which they command. I say, Sir, that if you aim at a national army and not a hybrid army, there is no other possible course. It was very different in our case when we created the Army in India with which we have kept the peace all these years. Our officers were foreigners, and it was very necessary, in view of the enormous complexities of caste, religion, race, language with which they were confronted that they have a link between them and the men they commanded, and I should like to pay a tribute here to the magnificent success of that link. In spite of the position of the Viceroy's commissioned officers being somewhat anomalous—really anomalous—in that the last-joined English boy commanded the oldest risaldar or subedar-major no more perfect military relationship has, I contend, ever existed in the world, than that relationship which has obtained and still obtains between the British officer and the Indian Viceroy's commissioned officer



[His Excellency the Commander in Chief.]

and it has stood the test of many wars. But because I say that, it is no reason why, when the foreign British officer is being gradually eliminated, the same thing should apply to men of their own race.

It is quite obvious to me why this question has been so often raised in the last few years. The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. I am afraid it is not the efficiency or non-efficiency of the army which is troubling most of those who raise this point so often. It is not, I am afraid, pity for the Indian non-commissioned officer whose chances are being somewhat lessened. It is not the discontent which some of them say this new system and the elimination of the Viceroy's commissioned officers will give rise to. I am afraid it is simply and solely because they think that if we do not eliminate the Viceroy's commissioned officer, the pace of Indianization will be speeded up regardless of the efficiency of the army in the future. I have said, Sir, so many times, and I say so again emphatically, that nothing will ever induce me to recommend to the Government of India that the organization of the new Indianizing army in India should differ in any respect from the best models of other armies in the world and I should not be doing my duty if I did so. Nor would it be in any way in the best interests of the future Indian Army, and in my opinion it would be a very grave reflection on the capacity of your own young Indian officers who are now getting commissions in the Indianizing portions of the army.

I consider, Sir, that it is sheer nonsense, and in some ways mischievous nonsense, to say that it will lower the opinion of the rank and file for these young gentlemen. Which, Sir, is likely to lower the opinion of the rank and file most—the fact that these young officers can stand on their own legs and do the work that every young officer is doing, or the fact that they have to be “dry nursed” by a special link? There is no doubt about the answer whatever. So far from lowering their status, it will raise it.

Then again, Sir, it has been said both today and on the last occasion when this subject was debated that our proposal will lead to greater expense. It will not. The figures of the Honourable mover and others are quite wrong. They have quoted any figures between 27 and 32 officers of the new regiment. The figure will be 23 or 24. The rates of pay that we are proposing are almost exactly the same as their brother British officers get when they are serving in their own country—in England—but they naturally do not contain a special Indian element. Why should Indians who get pay exactly the same as our own British officers do in their own home feel a sense of inferiority? If that is the case, why do not I feel a sense of inferiority because the British officer in the Indian Army gets much better pay and pension than I do? It is because I know that they have earned it by many years of banishment from their own country. It is quite obvious of course that a few non-commissioned officers will have less prospects than they did of attaining to what always has hitherto been a very coveted rank. But the number who get it in any case is not great, and a great many of those non-commissioned officers will now be taken specially in hand and have special opportunities for education given them in order that they can enter the new Indian Sandhurst through the ranks and gain the full status of an officer. Fifty per cent. of those vacancies at

Sandhurst were given to these non-commissioned officers and they are still eligible for Viceroy's commissions in that part of the army which is not Indianized. And in addition we are creating in the Indianized units a new class of warrant officer exactly similar to that in the British service. Their status and pay will not be so high as that of the Viceroy's commissioned officers, but their pay and pension will very closely approximate to that of a jemadar.

Now, Sir, I do beg that all these questions may be looked upon as not

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appertaining to one class or one rank or still less to individuals. We must look at them in their true light as part of a great and momentous change which is taking place in the Indian Army. I may have spoken strongly, Sir. It is because I feel strongly on this matter. It is because I am personally devoted to the Indian Army, that I am intensely proud of my connection with it. (Applause.) And I am deeply interested in its future and I feel how dangerous, misinformed and irresponsible criticism may be to the young plant of Indianization. We are honestly trying to start your new army with a pride in itself, and some of you are trying your best to make it ashamed of itself. We all heard, Sir, what His Excellency the Viceroy said the other day. Was he not right in urging the cultivation of a genuine spirit of co-operation and understanding during the next few months and years—vital months in the future of India. Is it too much to hope, Sir, that I may get more co-operation and less hostile criticism in my attempts to make a new army? (Applause.)

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI (Burma : General) :** Sir, I propose to join the ranks of those irresponsible critics who have preceded me. That irresponsibility, that want of knowledge on military subjects is not due to any fault of ours. If we had a system whereby the responsible Members of the Legislature are allowed, as in other countries, their say in military policy, they would be in a better position to understand the real requirements of the military situation.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF :** I have said a hundred times that I am always willing to meet any Member of both Houses and explain anything about our plans and what we are going to do.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI :** I thank His Excellency for that assurance once again. But my difficulty is that though once in a way we may have an opportunity of taking our doubts to His Excellency to resolve, what we really require is a bird's-eye view of the military requirements of the country. This requires deep study and a position assured to us by the constitution whereby the Legislature could visualise the position and help the military authorities to come to conclusions. It is the absence of that position that is really responsible for what His Excellency has been pleased to term irresponsible criticism. The Members do not take an idle pleasure in making destructive criticism. They may want actual knowledge, but they have native intelligence and experience of life, of civil life at least, and they can appreciate facts, figures and conditions of service put up by people in the know like His Excellency. Bearing that in mind, if they have a reasonable doubt in regard to the policy propounded, is it not right and fair that they should come forward and say that in their view the military policy is wrong and they have a better idea about it. That idea may not be correct, but it is for the military authorities to see

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

how far the intelligence of these people can be harnessed to develop the military policy in regard to which they have no scope under the constitution for shaping it. They have only limited advisory powers and I hope His Excellency will take the criticism that comes from this side of the House as being actuated by the best of motives, and as constructive views. At any rate those views are entitled to some amount of consideration and I hope His Excellency will in future better appreciate the criticism from the non-official benches.

Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the Motion so ably moved. My Honourable friend Mr. Ram Saran Das has given the real feeling of the martial classes of India with reference to the proposal to abolish the Viceroy's commission. I heartily support him in what he has said. I admit I do not belong to the martial classes, but I am interested in the proper policy to be adopted for Indianization of the Indian Army, more especially as we have been told that unless India can have its own army adequate for its defence it cannot expect *Swaraj*. Sir, this is only a small Resolution in regard to the Indianization of a minor cadre, but the principle involved is big enough for us to agitate for the retention of the Viceroy's commissioned officers in the Indianized units. From what I have been able to gather from the speech of His Excellency, the real trouble seems to be that because the Viceroy's commissioned officers are men of ripe experience, with considerable service and practical experience in the army, and it is not considered desirable that they should be subordinated to the recently recruited Indian officers from Dehra Dun. But why should the Viceroy's commissioned officers be out of place in Indianized units alone? Is it considered that they can very well obey a junior British officer but that they should not be called upon to obey the orders of the recently recruited Indian officer? Is that the idea?

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: That was not His Excellency's argument.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI: That is what I gathered; I may be wrong. On the other hand, I would say that if you are going to Indianize a whole division, then the proper course would be to keep up the tradition so far as is consistent and compatible with Indianizing the units. These Viceroy's commissioned officers are there in those units and the tradition should be kept up in further Indianizing it by having officers also as Indians.

I have got one other appeal to make to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief before he takes steps to abolish Viceroy's commissioned officers in the Indianized units. In view of the very large unemployment which is facing the country, there would be a large number of boys with the necessary English education, but who would not be in a position to enter Sandhurst. There must be an opportunity in the Indianized units for these educated men, for instance, we have people who have passed the School Final, or Matriculation or Intermediate. There must be an incentive to these people to enter Indianized units as rankers—

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Does the Honourable Member ask me to consider unemployment before efficiency for war?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI: I am not asking His Excellency to consider unemployment before efficiency. I ask him to keep the army in India trim and in the highest state of efficiency. Consistent with efficiency if people from the martial classes who are fit in every respect to enter the army happen to be educated people, there will be an incentive to them to join the Indianized units as rankers if there is a prospect of attaining to Viceroy's commissions and I hope His Excellency will bear it in mind. I am not for a moment suggesting that unemployment should be placed before the desire to keep the highest traditions of the army in view. Consistently with efficiency it must be possible for educated young men to enter the ranks in the Indianized units. If you take away this incentive,—the prospect of their becoming Viceroy's commissioned officers,—then to that extent you will be discouraging the educated classes, properly qualified, physically fit Indians, from entering the Indianized units.

• With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI (United Provinces: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I do not hesitate to say that there was one part of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech which has considerably influenced me. His Excellency went on to say that he was anxious to base the organization of the Indian Army on the latest European model. Now, that is a desire, I am sure, with which all patriotic Indians would agree and they would welcome that statement by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. There is, however, one point which I think is of considerable importance, and it is this. We all know, Sir, that the profession of arms in India, at any rate in the past, has not been open to anybody and everybody. India like the old Japan was a country in which the profession of a soldier was confined to certain races which were known in this country as martial races. I, myself, Sir, though a civilian, belong to a family that had rendered military service to the rulers of the time; both my maternal grandfather and my paternal grandfather were soldiers. My father was the first civilian in the family. This profession in India has been confined to particular families.

I invite, in this connection, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's attention to a very important question, namely, the enlistment in the army of a man who knows only a little English, say, up to the 7th or 8th standard, or who knows only a little Gurmukhi, or only a little Persian, or can read and write Urdu only, but who belongs to a martial family, that have rendered important military services in the past to the Crown. The man himself is very fit to enter the army and by reason of family traditions it can be expected that he will give a good account of himself as a soldier. Now, I put it to His Excellency whether a man like that is more likely to offer himself for enlistment in the Indianized unit or in the unit that is not going to be Indianized. It is obvious I take it that this man will not care to join the Indianized unit for the simple reason that the chances of promotion are taken away for ever. It will no longer be open to this man to ever become a jemadar or a subedar or a risaldar as the case may be. No doubt, as His Excellency pointed out, he can in course of time become a warrant officer; but we know that the status and emoluments of a warrant officer in an Indianized unit will be less than the status and emoluments of a Viceroy's commissioned officer in the non-Indianized unit. It thus follows, if my argument is right, Sir, that this man would rather offer himself

[Şaiyid Raza Ali.]

for enlistment in the non-Indianized unit than in the Indianized unit, and to that extent the efficiency of the Indianized unit cannot but suffer. I am not pleading the cause of the Viceroy's commissioned officers who in the past have rendered very great and valuable services to the Crown in various theatres of war in almost every continent. What I am pleading is that no steps should be taken which are likely to affect the fighting value and efficiency of the Indianized unit. There are very many young men who have got some sort of education and who are very keen on adopting the career of a soldier. My submission is that these men, after the abolition of the Viceroy's commissions in the Indianized units will, as a rule, offer themselves for enlistment in the non-Indianized units, because there their prospects would be much better; they could rise to the positions of jemada, subedar and risaldar. I would invite His Excellency's earnest attention to this aspect of the question. I say at least this is a question that should be considered before it is decided to abolish Viceroy's commissions wholesale. Earnest consideration should be given to that and if possible a satisfactory solution should be arrived at.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA (United Provinces Central : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I quite realise that the non-official agenda is very heavy and therefore I had absolutely no intention to speak on any of the resolutions except mine, to co-operate with you to finish the agenda; but some of the remarks of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have compelled me to rise and give a suitable reply.

Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to call us irresponsible men. Certainly, Sir, from his point of view, we are irresponsible, because we come here to criticise the actions of his Department.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI : We are constitutionally irresponsible.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : But, Sir, I will place before him the position that no good government can be carried on if it only hears one side of the case, i.e., its supporters. It is necessary for every good administration to hear both sides of a problem and if we come here to sit on these benches it is only to help Government to see the other side of the picture so that they may come to a right conclusion. If by doing so we lay ourselves open to being called irresponsible we do not mind. Sir, His Excellency was pleased to say that efficiency was the one object he had in view and that was uppermost in his mind. We do not quarrel with him on that point but, Sir, we would like to know, if after a hundred years of British occupation in India, it lies with the administrators to say that Indians have not reached that efficiency? Sir, may I ask if any regiments have been Indianized during all this time? On the one hand, when we ask for Dominion status we are told that the first and primary thing for a country demanding Dominion status is to have its own defence and this is the chief objection that is thrown in our way. On the other hand, when we request that the time has come for the army to be Indianized and that the Indians should be given a chance to prove that they are not lacking in that capacity, we are told that they should not be speeded up. Sir, I may remind His Excel-

lency that it was on the field of Flanders and other fields of the Great War that Indians proved their worth. That worth was recognised on all hands. The Indians proved their worth when other countries were not prepared to face Germany and Indians gave time to the British and their lives to mobilise and face Germany. Sir, after all that if anybody says that Indians are not fit, I think it is not right and proper. Then, Sir, as regards the pace of Indianization, as I have said, our first object is to show that we have got the capacity in that respect and our second object is to show that the country is overburdened with military expenditure. Sir, we all know that after the Indian Mutiny a ratio was fixed by which one British soldier was to be kept for every two Indian soldiers. One to two was the ratio decided after the Mutiny. May I ask, Sir, after about 70 years is it proper to keep the same ratio? (*An Honourable Member*: "The ratio is changed now.") I beg to differ from my Honourable friend because so far as my information goes it is not changed. In an answer to a question put during this session His Excellency was pleased to give some facts and figures and according to these figures, Sir, India has 58,000 British soldiers and about double the number of Indian soldiers. The cost of British troops that Indian taxpayers have to meet is Rs. 19 crores—

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Question?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA— and the cost of Indian troops that we have to bear is Rs. 17 crores. The expense per head of British soldier is about Rs. 2,500 and the expense per head of an Indian soldier is about Rs. 650. So, Sir, this is also another consideration for us to propose that the pace of Indianization should be speeded up.

Sir, if the Viceroy's commission is abolished, what will be the result? Under the existing scheme there are 16 Viceroy's commissioned officers and 16 King's commissioned officers in every regiment. If the Viceroy's commissioned officers are to be abolished, India will take double the time to Indianize its army because they will require about 32 officers instead of 16 to Indianize it. Therefore, Sir, the object of this Resolution is that we want that the pace of Indianization that was set forth in the first Round Table Conference should be continued and I must say, Sir, after the first Round Table Conference and the Sub-Committee that sat in connection with defence, the angle of vision of the Government has changed and it is on account of this that they have indirectly thought to abolish the Viceroy's commission so that the pace of Indianization may be retarded.

Sir, for these reasons we on this side of the House have no alternative but to support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR DR. SIR NASARVANJI CHOKSY (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, apart from all extraneous considerations, the question lies in a nutshell. That is, whether these Viceroy's commissioned officers will be superfluous under the new scheme of Indianization of the army. If His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with his vast and varied experience is of the opinion that they are, then I think it does not lie with us, who have had no such experience to guide us, to question his authority. He is the best judge of what is necessary. Times have changed,

[Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy.]

a new organization is coming into being and whatever changes take place, it is inevitable, in every sphere of life that while some persons go to the wall others come up to the front. And thus under the present circumstances, I believe that without experience and knowledge we cannot question the considered opinion of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief when he says that these officers are superfluous and will not be necessary in the Indianized units.

Secondly, Sir, there has existed the demand for the reduction of the cost of the army. The scheme of Indianization will bring about the desired result to some extent as expenses will be reduced under the changes contemplated. Such being the case we should accept the opinion of the greatest authority that we have. I think that we should not support this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SAIVED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras: Muhammadan): Sir, as has been observed and very rightly observed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, it is but right and proper that in our attempt to reorganize the Indian Army and Indianize the country's national forces, we should always have before our eyes the most efficient models obtaining in the world.

I wholeheartedly endorse this recommendation. At the same time I do submit that in our endeavour to copy the best models obtaining in the world, all that is required is to see what deficiencies there are in our present military policy and try to rectify those deficiencies. It is not necessary that we should abandon a part of the policy which up till now has contributed so much to its success.

Do we find from what His Excellency has just said the least mention or even the remotest hint that these officers had on any occasion failed to come up to the standard and answered the purpose for which they had been intended? It is abundantly clear from His Excellency's speech that on every occasion when they were required to take their part in any action, they always succeeded in discharging their duties most valiantly and efficiently. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been kind enough to pay them unstinted tributes for the distinguished service which they have rendered in the Great War. His Excellency has also told us how this part of the Indian Army has always contributed very greatly to the strength and efficiency of the Indian force. In view of all this, it is very difficult for us to see the real object at the back of the mind of the Government in trying to do away with this class of people.

I take objection to the abolition of this commission on two grounds, and I think that those are the grounds on which most of the Honourable Members who have taken objection have based their criticism. The first is, that the doing away with this class of officers will tend to retard the pace of Indianization. I will not dwell long on this aspect of the question. All I say is that in view of the limited admission that takes place every year in the Military College at Dehra Dun, it is not possible that all those educated young men who join the army would have a chance of securing a cadetship at the Indian Military College. Is it not fair, Sir, that these young men, most of

whom would be balked of their ambition, and would fail to secure a cadetship at Dehra Dun, should be enabled to find solace in securing the Viceroy's commission? A question was asked here whether we should try to find employment for these young men at the cost of efficiency. But, as has been observed by my Honourable friend Mr. Chari, it is not in the least suggested that efficiency should in any way be allowed to suffer on account of these people. Far from taking any step which would impair the efficiency of the Indian force, our past experience goes to show that taking the step which is proposed in this Resolution would be simply ensuring the efficiency of our army. For, as has been observed by my Honourable friend Saiyid Raza Ali, the kind of men who aspire to this kind of commission are those who come of a martial class, with family traditions of long and distinguished service in the army. I hope His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is not unaware of the strong feeling that exists in the country over this question. The military classes in India are very much agitated over the abolition of this class of officers. They feel that for all the services they have rendered for which the Government has been so profuse in expressing appreciation, they have been very badly let down, inasmuch as their sons have been prevented from joining the army, for they feel that it would not be worth while inducing their sons to enlist themselves in the army when in the absence of any chance of securing the King's commission or the proposed Indian commission, all that they can aspire to would be the rank of warrant officer in the Indian Army. By abolishing this class, not only do you deprive this fine class of young men of a military career for which they are so well suited, but you also deprive the country's army of the kind of material which up till now has contributed so much to the efficiency and strength of the Indian Army.

Therefore, Sir, I feel that in view of these facts Government should try and see their way to retain this class of officer in the army.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU (United Provinces Central : Non Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the first speaker after me on the Resolution was my esteemed friend, the Honourable Sir Akbar Khan. I find that he is not here today. He is a brave and patriotic man. He said that he was a pensioner and he indicated that his heart was really with us. Any one who heard his speech would have seen that. Then, the second speaker on my Resolution was the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. Of course, he shares my point of view and he has supported me with his usual ability. The third speaker on my Resolution was my leader, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das. He spoke as the representative of the martial classes and he has furnished also very good arguments in support of my proposition. Then, I come to the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I was sorry for that speech. If His Excellency will pardon my saying so, it was a provocative speech, and it was a speech which will have repercussions in the country. He says, Sir, that he feels fatigued, weary and disappointed when he listens to our criticism. May I say, Sir, that we feel exactly similar feelings when we listen to the military authorities on the question of Indianization? He said, Sir, that Indian critics had no constructive criticisms to offer. Does he realise, Sir, that he includes in that criticism all that is best and patriotic in the public life of this country—men like Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, men like Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami



[Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru.]

Mudaliar, men like Sir Abdur Rahim, men like General Rajawade ? They are not satisfied with the policy of the Government and the military authorities. He has not the support and the approval of these men. Well, Sir, I ask whose support has he ? Sir, he says that he welcomes criticism which is helpful, but what right have we who are not experts to criticise the Army Department at all. Sir, I thought that parliamentary government was government by amateurs, that the merit of Parliamentary government was that in that Government you had a combination of the amateur and the expert. By what right was Lord Haldane the Secretary for War, and by what right do we regard him as the greatest Secretary of State that England ever had ? Speaking of the expert, I should like to say this. The expert has got his limitations. He is inclined to be narrow at times. He is inclined to be prejudiced. He is inclined not to take the broad view which public men accustomed to public life, under pressure of public opinion, can take on great occasions. Sir, if you push his argument to its logical conclusion you will have to come to this conclusion—shut up these Councils. Why have the farce of these Councils if you resent criticism on our part ? We criticise because as patriotic men, as men who endeavour to the best of our ability to give thought to the problems of our country, we feel that your policy is wrong. If you resent that criticism, if you think that our criticism is not honest, then you must not expect us also to think that what you are doing is always honestly in the interests of the country. Sir, I was sorry to hear His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief say, “Who are you to say in what manner we should train young Indian officers ?” Is it conceivable that in any country in which you have parliamentary government a change of this vital character would have been carried out without any reference to the legislature and to public opinion ? It is for His Excellency to answer that question. His Excellency said that the military authorities were trying the greatest experiment in history. And what is this greatest experiment in history ? So far as Indianization is concerned, you will Indianize this one division in about 20 years. You have six divisions. Are you going to Indianize the army in about 120 years ? Do you contemplate the continuance of the present dependent position of India for 100 or 120 years ? Is it conceivable that any patriotic Indian, any self-respecting Indian, can tolerate the idea of India remaining a dependent, non-self-governing country for a period of 100 to 150 years ?

Then, Sir, let me come to the arguments by which His Excellency has supported his case. I have anticipated some of those arguments myself in my first speech, and I am perfectly prepared to admit that one of the objects of my Resolution is to speed up the process of Indianization, and I would say this with a full sense of responsibility that one of the objects of the elimination of the Viceroy's commissioned officer is to retard the process of Indianization. Sir, we have been told that an endeavour is being made to copy the latest European models. Well, it is no use talking of European models. We have an army of occupation here and that army of occupation creates certain problems. There is time, there is tradition in favour of the present system. The onus, the burden of showing that there is something wrong or defective in the present system is on the army authorities. I do not

think they have said anything to indicate that it was absolutely necessary in the interests of efficiency to do away with the Viceroy's commission. We have been told that the Viceroy's commissioned officers are the backbone of the Indian Army. Well, you are breaking that backbone of the Indian Army. You are not fair to the privates, to the soldiers who will join the ranks in these Indianized units.

I was glad, Sir, to find support from a quarter from which we do not ordinarily get support. The Honourable Mr. Padshah supported me. Of course I know that the Honourable Sir Nasarvanji Choksy, with his pathetic belief in the infallibility of the expert and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, was not prepared to support me. I was not surprised. Probably when I reach his stage of life myself I shall also believe in the infallibility of the expert. So far as my brave-hearted friend Mr. Mehrotra is concerned, he is always prepared to support lost causes, and I was not therefore surprised at receiving support from him.

Sir, with these words, I will ask the House to accept the Resolution

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Education, Health and Lands Member) : Sir, on behalf of Government I wish now to take this opportunity of winding up the debate and placing before the House what is the correct view to adopt as to the Resolution before the House, and also to point out to what extent we have really talked about the Resolution which is before the House and to what extent we have indulged in discussing matters which are of very great importance, on which very reasonably and very rightly different opinions can be held, which are very interesting to discuss, but which are not now before the House. It has been said in the concluding part of the Honourable mover's speech that the scheme for the abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers is being insisted upon by the authorities with the sole object of retarding Indianization. I believe I am not misrepresenting him ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU : No.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : That is a very dangerous statement to make, be it by an old or a new Member. That is ascribing a definite motive for an extremely important measure of policy.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU : It would have in any case that effect.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : Then, if one were entering into a debate on the point, would it be unreasonable to say that you have not got the slightest regard for that class of officer, the Viceroy's commissioned officer, but really you are aiming at speeding up Indianization, irrespective of everything. You are using this unfortunate class simply as a make-believe. You talk of their services in the war. What do you know of them ? Surely it is the people who have better opportunities of knowing their services and appreciating them who can be relied on to say whether they have done well or ill ? They in fact agree with you that they have done well. But for you to use that argument with the sole object, not mind you of doing them good, but with the sole object of carrying on what you say is your ulterior

[Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl i Husain.]

object, is it right to do so? I consider, Sir, that it would not be right on my part to attribute this motive to the Honourable Members opposite.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : If they have done well why abolish them ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : I think the Honourable Member had better resume his seat. It is not easy to find in his long speeches that amount of logic and argument which one would expect to find in them.

Sir, I just want to emphasise the fact that we on our part do not wish to attribute this motive to the Honourable Members opposite, that they are using the Viceroy's commissioned officers just as a sort of stalking horse in order to get something quite different.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU : I did not attribute it ; it is the Treasury benches. His Excellency said that we indulge in irresponsible criticism ; that we are not honest in our criticism.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : Neither that. His Excellency never said that.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU : There was no doubt on that.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI : There was no doubt about that.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : I say this is not the right thing to do. Whether the particular scheme of Indianization is right or not is a matter of controversy and everyone of us is entitled to maintain his own opinion. But after all, the opinion that I entertain or the opinion that the Leader of the Opposition entertains, whatever its worth may be, it is the opinion of a layman. I lay no claim to be an expert on the subject because of my ancestry, nor can the Leader of the Opposition because he belongs to the Punjab claim that he represents the martial classes. There are many other classes. Honourable Members have gone entirely wrong when they say that Government does not want discussion, that Government does not want debate, that Government does not want advice, that Government hates criticism. Nothing is farther from the truth than this allegation. If I were to give in detail the history of Government's efforts at inviting criticism on this important point, it would take me a very long time indeed, but I will only give you the recent history. In the year 1931 before Government accepted the Dehra Dun scheme, Government wanted a committee and Government appointed to that committee some of the gentlemen the Honourable mover himself mentioned saying they were the men whose opinion in India on army matters counted. I believe Sir Abdur Rahim was a member ; I believe Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer was a member and there were other members who could speak with authority on the question we are discussing today, namely, the Viceroy's commissioned officers. From the Punjab Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram was a member. What did they do ? Have Honourable Members read their report ?

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU:** I have read every single report, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** Is there an argument adduced today which has not found place in some one or other of that Committee? No. Exactly that is what I expected. Is it to be alleged that the Chairman of the Committee, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, was not fully cognizant of every bit of argument, one way or the other, that has been urged in the past and has been urged today, before him? To say that he does not care is not correct. What is the unfortunate man to do? He has listened to everyone of these arguments at least a dozen times during the last three or four years; he has thought over them and arrived at a decision. Well, he arrived at a decision. Let me say that that decision may be wrong. He says, and many on this side agree with him, that he is right. Do you want him to tell you, in spite of that, every time the question comes up that he has kept an open mind and that he has not already decided the matter, and arrived at a decision three years ago? If you admit that having all the arguments that have been adduced during the present debate before him—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI:** Having brushed aside all those arguments.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** That, I may tell the Honourable Mr. Chari, is a matter of opinion. Everyone of us, most of us have great faith in our own opinions. We also see that there are two persons to a controversy, each urging against the other that he brushes aside his arguments. Therefore to say that he has brushed them aside, either he did not understand or did not consider them worth very much. You take it for granted that one will fail to understand your argument. Your arguments must have been extremely subtle if they escaped the grasp of the Secretariat. I assure you that we are provided with a Secretariat whose intelligence refuses to let any argument pass unnoticed. Even if there is no force or sense in an argument, they get hold of it, they examine it so minutely that even if there is a shadow of sense anywhere in it they discover it.

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI:** May I enquire whether the decision to abolish the Viceroy's commission was taken after the publication of the report of the Committee, of which His Excellency was the Chairman?

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** That was one of the points that was debated in that Committee at very great length. So, Sir, it is obvious that my Honourable friends are not right when they think that Government or the Army Department or His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief do not want to listen to criticism. It is not that; we welcome criticism. They take criticisms into account before arriving at a decision. Surely, my Honourable friends opposite could not expect anyone to hold the post of Member or Commander-in-Chief or Governor who is incapable of arriving at a decision after the whole case has been presented to him or whose mind is always in such a fluid condition that every time a Resolution is moved on a subject which has been under discussion for several years he is always in doubt. Honourable Members forget that certain issues were live issues, were hotly dis-

[Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain.]

cussed and at that time no Honourable Member of this Council thought of bringing them to the notice of the Council. If the Honourable Mr. Sapru had been a Member of this House, three years ago, he might have in 1931 raised a debate on that question. Then that debate would have been a live debate; the matter was just then being hotly discussed; no final conclusions had been arrived at and Government would have been able then to really take a live interest in it. The thing was discussed in 1931, 1932 and 1933. The Honourable mover brings it up again in 1934. It is not his fault. He was not a Member; that was the fault of somebody else. You cannot complain against His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief if he says it is a dead thing. It is dead, because it was killed in 1931. It is not his fault. You could not have

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS:** The Central Legislature had no hand whatsoever in the matter.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** That is not the point. The point is the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition could have done three years ago what his follower the Honourable Mr. Sapru has done during the current session.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS:** He had no knowledge.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** The Leader of the Opposition of this Honourable House says he had no knowledge of the subject-matter of the debate of today three years ago. Well, if the Leader of the Opposition means to convey that he was ignorant of this controversy, he will make the Progressive Party a by word for ignorance. It is a very poor excuse, and I trust I have failed to understand him? It is best not to make such excuses.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS:** What I meant was that that subject was not referred to this House.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** The constitutional position is that every matter of public interest comes within the cognizance of this House as soon as any Honourable Member chooses under the Rules and Standing Orders to bring it to the House. There is no other way of bringing it to this House; and who could know it better?

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI:** May I take it that this Report of the Committee which was presided over by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was published?

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN:** Well, there again you unfortunately for some years absented yourself from this House. That is not Government's fault. Government tried its best to bring you back but could not do so earlier because another Honourable Member from the United Provinces was keeping this place.

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI:** That was not my question.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : So, Sir, what we have is this, that here we are trying seriously to discuss a matter which was really a live matter three or four years ago. Now you can put a lot of sentiment into it and a lot of eloquence and everything else that you like, but you cannot make it out to be a live issue today.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. D. CHARI : In other words, it is a settled fact ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : Was the Honourable Member ever in doubt on that point ? That again shows that what is really needed is a really good library. You Mr. Chari also were away for three or four years. Now, all these gentlemen are most anxious to obtain information. Well, you cannot pick up in one session what you missed in three or four years.

Now, Sir, I assure you that we on this side claim no more responsibility in the discharge of our duty than what is claimed by the Honourable Members opposite in the discharge of their duties. What we want them to realise is that, while on them devolves the responsibility of representing their electorates, on us devolves full responsibility, firstly, to take into consideration all the criticism that they make and I have not the slightest doubt they are made with the very best of intentions, and secondly, on us devolves the responsibility of arriving at a decision. We receive advice from various quarters, but not all equally responsible. There are quarters that could not claim to be responsible, but it is invidious to make distinctions. On us, as I say, devolves the further responsibility of arriving at a decision in the presence of the conflicting advices which we receive, our own experience, our own knowledge, but, believe me, we are actuated but by one desire, and that is to arrive at a satisfactory solution. We may not always succeed,—who ever does ?—but the desire to arrive at a satisfactory solution is always there. Even in matters connected with this difficult question of Indianization, Members of Government have held different and divergent views as to the best method. Indian public men have also held divergent views. But if Government as a whole is to arrive at a decision somebody must give way and even if the decision arrived at is not in conformity with his individual opinion the thing would not work unless he subordinated his individual opinion to the united convictions of the rest. This matter was discussed here. Government asked for notice and got it. All of us are responsible to some one. If the Government of India is responsible to you to a certain extent, you are responsible to your constituencies. The position of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is one of very great responsibility. If he, after taking into consideration all the possible criticism, comes to the conclusion that in the completely Indianized units there should be no Viceroy's commissioned officers and that warrant officers should be there, even if I disagree with him entirely, as long as he is the Commander-in-Chief of India, his view must prevail, and having given him your advice you cannot but submit to him. That is a view I wish to place before the Council. The issue before the Council is an extremely limited one. Should in the new scheme of things Viceroy's commissioned officers exist or not ? The decision arrived at by Government is that they should not. You may feel that you have certain considerations that ought to weigh with Government. Well, those considerations have been before the minds of the military authorities and keeping them in view they have arrived

[Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain.]

at that decision. It is not up to us to say that that decision must be upset as long as we are not prepared to say that all those who are responsible for that decision must give way to us or they can go home and we will get another set of people who will carry out our wishes. That, Sir, may come some day, when somebody corresponding to Mr. Haldane as the Honourable mover said is Secretary of State for War in India but today I trust, without spending any more time on the Resolution, in view of this aspect of the discussion, it would be best to record a unanimous decision on this point. The debate has revived the old controversy, and shown that these are matters on which feelings run high. Should we not leave it at that? It is no use trying to express the opinion of the House, and a division if I may venture to point out would be particularly inappropriate in the circumstances. Mind you, not that I fear that there is any danger whatsoever of the Resolution scraping through. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Viceroy's commissions in the Indianized units of the army should not be abolished."

The Question is:

"That this Resolution be adopted."

The Council divided:

AYES—11.

Banerjee, the Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra.	Mehrotra, the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad.
Chari, the Honourable Mr. P. C. D. Gounder, the Honourable Mr. V. C. Vellingiri.	Padshah Sahib Bahadur, the Honourable Saiyid Mohamed.
Halim, the Honourable Khan Bahadur Hafiz Muhammad.	Ram Saran Das, the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Hossain Imam, the Honourable Mr.	Sapru, the Honourable Pandit Prakash Narain.
Kaligar, the Honourable Mr. Vinayak Vithal.	Suhrawardy, the Honourable Mr. Mahmood.

NOES—25.

Akbar Khan, the Honourable Major Nawab Sir Mahomed.	Mitchell, the Honourable Mr. D. G.
Charanjit Singh, the Honourable Raja.	Noon, the Honourable Nawab Malik Mohammad Hayat Khan.
Chokey, the Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji.	Parsons, the Honourable Sir Alan.
Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the.	Philip, the Honourable Mr. C. L.
Crothwaite, the Honourable Mr. H. S. Devadoss, the Honourable Sir David.	Raghunandan Prasad Singh, the Honourable Raja.
Fazl-i-Husain, the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir.	Ray of Dinajpur, the Honourable Maharaja Jagadish Nath.
Gladstone, the Honourable Mr. S. D.	Russell, the Honourable Sir Guthrie.
Glass, the Honourable Mr. J. B.	Spence, the Honourable Mr. G. H.
Hallett, the Honourable Mr. M. G.	Stewart, the Honourable Mr. F. W.
Hidayatallah, the Honourable Sir Ghulam Husain.	Stewart, the Honourable Mr. T. A.
Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, the Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir.	Ugra, the Honourable Rai Sahib Pandit Gokaran Nath.
Miller, the Honourable Mr. E.	Wingate, the Honourable Mr. R. E. L.

The Motion was negatived.

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

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

**RESOLUTION RE INELIGIBILITY FOR SERVICE UNDER THE CROWN, AFTER RETIREMENT, OF PRESIDENTS OF LEGISLATURES, ETC.**

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muharamadan) : Sir, I rise to move :

“ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate steps be taken to declare ineligible for service under the Crown, after their retirement, Presidents of Legislatures, Central and Provincial, Judges of High Courts, Members of the Public Service Commission, the Tariff Board and Ministers in the Provinces.”

With your permission, Sir, I wish to take out the words “ and the Railway Board ” from the last line of the Resolution as printed.

(The Honourable the President assented.)

Sir, the Resolution which I have moved is part of a general scheme of removing temptation from trustees of public and high officials. This Resolution simply wishes that a sort of convention, if not a law, to this effect should come into being by the action of Government. It is well known that there are certain posts the holders of which are not in the ordinary sense of the word Government officials. For instance, Presidents of Legislatures are elected by official and non-official members. They are the custodians of the honour and privileges of their respective Houses. It is therefore desirable that they should be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion, and no action which can in any way be thought to interfere with their impartiality ought to be permitted. I do not wish to insinuate by any sort of reference or innuendo, that Indian people who have held the high posts of Presidents of Legislatures have been won over. But even if we admit that such cases have not come into existence so far, it is quite possible that in the future some Governments may not be so scrupulous as the governments of the present day. In making this statement, Sir, I take into full consideration the fact that in the new constitution the official bloc in the Provincial and Central Legislatures will be removed. The exigencies of party politics may demand that a President of a Legislature should be amenable to the party in power. In England, although there is no rule, the Convention is that the seniormost member of the House is usually elected Speaker of the Commons. In the Lords, the Lord Chancellor by virtue of his office is the President. We neither have definite rules nor conventions which are safeguards in the English Parliament. It seems to me to be a step in the right direction to make these people ineligible for service under the Crown. The next set of people are the Judges of High Courts. They being the highest Tribunal of justice in India ought not to be subject to temptations of any kind. I would have gone further and said that they should not be given titles, or if they are going to be given titles, they should be given as a matter of course.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. Please do not go into the question of titles. You had given notice of a Resolution and it has been disallowed by the Governor General.



**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** I will not mention titles. I will take the more deliberate path, service under the Crown. There have been instances in which even serving High Court judges and retired High Court judges have been invited to hold executive positions. That is interference in the judicial world which does not prove any good. In the third category of mine come members of the Public Service Commission. They are in a class by themselves. They have to hear appeals of all the service men who are aggrieved by the actions of the executive Government. If they are open to temptations of preferment through the pleasure of the executive, they will not be able to do justice to service men. Sir, it would not be an innovation. May I remind the House that in Madras the members of the Public Service Commission are ineligible for any other service in the Provincial Government?

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI (United Provinces: Nominated Non Official):** What does that mean, service in the Provincial Government?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** As that service is in the Provincial Service, they have debarred them from any service under the Provincial Government. And as I am asking the Government of India to take the step, they being the central authority, I have asked that the members of the Public Service Commission should not be eligible for any service under the Crown.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated: Indian Christians):** In Madras they can go on till they are 60. They are not appointed for a few years.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** That is for the Government to decide. If they find that the present rule of recruitment for the Public Service Commission is wrong, they ought to have men on a permanent basis. I am not concerned with that. My concern is that they should not be open to temptation from the executive. I come to the last category, Ministers in the provinces and—

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI:** What about members of the Tariff Board?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** I am thankful to the Honourable Member. Members of the Tariff Board. Formerly it used to be a part of the Government policy to send to the Tariff Board some of the officials of the Government. Even now there is at least one member of the Tariff Board who belongs to the Indian Civil Service. His services have been lent to the Tariff Board for the time being. Indian Civil Service officials of the Government would not come under the purview of my Resolution. Men who are appointed to the Tariff Board as such would be under the scope of my Resolution. They should not look up to the executive for any preferment. The Tariff Board has got to discharge a very onerous duty and they function not only as an expert body but also as judges, therefore they also ought to be above temptation.

Now, Sir, I come to the last, but not the least category, the Ministers in the provinces. Ministers are there because they are supposed to have the confidence of the House and because they are placed in charge of transferred subjects in which Provincial Legislatures have been given final powers. The

way in which Ministers have proved themselves amenable to official favour is to say the least scandalous.

**THE HONOURABLE NAWAB MALIK MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON** (Punjab : Nominated Non-Official) : And not non-official pressure ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM** : Sir, there are Ministers whose services have not been recognised by the Crown even after their full term of office had been served ; and similarly there are executive councillors who have come out of the Executive Council as they went in, without any embellishments from Government, but those are honourable exceptions. Most of the Ministers have made the period of office an occasion to be at the beck and call of the executive head and therefore have not discharged the confidence of the public, and this is because they think that by their action they will be making themselves eligible for further preferment in the shape of appointments.

• **THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** : And yet you are asking for reforms, under which the entire Government will be of Ministers ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM** : Then there will be no preferment in the hands of the executive as the executive will be elected representatives of the people and no outside body will be bossing us. I do say that Ministers should not be appointed Executive Councillors. I say they should not look forward to any preferment from the executive. They should always rely on those who have sent them to the Councils, those who have pushed them forward to the Government benches ; they should learn to rely on their own kith and kin, their own non-official brethren, to their own group and on account of whom they got preferment. But they forget this when they cross the floor, and begin to regard themselves as part and parcel of the foreign oligarchy which is ruling ; I want this mentality to be wiped out and swept clean from the slate.

My reason for bringing forward this Resolution is for purity of administration. If I am convinced that purity of public life can be maintained even though all these prizes are hanging before them, I will withdraw the Resolution ; otherwise I will press it.

**THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH** (Bihar and Orissa : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, at the outset I must say that I do not subscribe to the views of my Honourable friend the mover of the Resolution.

3-5 P.M. It is an accepted principle in all administrations to bring in as much of the experienced heads into the folds of the Government as possible in order to get the fullest advantage of such experienced men. Now let us examine what the Resolution demands. It recommends that persons, who have attained positions like those of the Presidents of the Legislatures, Judgships of High Courts, Memberships of the Public Services Commission, and various other allied positions, mentioned in the Resolution, should be declared ineligible for Government service after they retire. In this connection there are two very important points to be considered. The first question I would like to ask my Honourable friend the mover is, who are the persons who hold all these positions, retirement from which would make them ineligible for service under the Crown. The men who attain these positions are men of the highest calibre with very high intellectual qualifications. Now,

[Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh.]

year after year, if all these men of erudition and learning, experienced in the different branches of administration, are to be excluded from services under the Crown, then I would ask the House, as to who are the persons to be selected for posts with heavy burden of responsibilities, which require mature and cooler judgment? The next point I would like to put before the House is, that the Resolution lays down that persons holding certain positions should be made ineligible for service under the Crown after their retirement. Sir, a man generally retires from a post when he performs his duties to the entire satisfaction, not only of the Government, but also of the public, because most of those appointments named in the Resolution are tenure appointments. If the persons holding such appointments could not have discharged their duties admirably well, there would have been a hue and cry in the press and on the platform for the removal of such persons, or for not giving any further extensions after their usual period of service. Had the Resolution been worded in such a way as to exclude only such persons from higher appointments under the Crown, who have either been discharged or degraded or removed by votes of the Legislatures or against whom there have been consistent public criticisms then there would have been some force in declaring those persons ineligible for service under the Crown. But, Sir, I am surprised to find that the Resolution recommends the exclusion of a most deserving set of people from further service under the Crown only because they, by virtue of their merit, attained certain positions.

Last but not the least important point is the implication of the Resolution. I make a most emphatic protest against the implication that probably for furthering their own self-aggrandisement, men who are holding such high positions as Presidents of Legislatures would probably sell the cause of their country. Sir, if they do so, then the blame is neither on the persons, nor on the Government, but on the people through whose suffrage they attained those positions. It will not be out of place here if I say that the Honourable mover has made an omission in the list mentioned in the Resolution. I mean that he should have included non-official elected Members who should also be declared ineligible for service under the Crown, as there is a chance of the intelligent section of the non-officials voting on the wrong side of a question for getting services under the Crown. I ask my Honourable friends whether they would agree to such a proposal? I know they will not, as I myself cannot agree to such a demand because the non-official elected men are supposed to be the best and most suitable persons available in the country, on whom the country could repose trust. Had not the people of this country confidence in us, we would not have been sitting in this House or the other. On the contrary, I claim that the non-official elected Members, who are the representatives of the people, are the best men to be selected for higher services under the Crown as are the persons who have attained those positions mentioned in the Resolution. For all these considerations, I for one cannot agree to the recommendations embodied in the Resolution and I oppose the Resolution as emphatically as is possible for an elected representative in this House to do.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : May I, Sir, ask if the Honourable mover has any objection to a slight amendment?

After the word "Presidents" in the second line add the words "and Members".  
(Laughter.)

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Yes, Sir, I am ready to have it. Will the Government accept it ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT (Home Secretary) : Sir, this Resolution was wide enough in its terms when it started. It is now even wider if the suggestion of the Honourable the Leader of the House is accepted. It is what I call an omnibus Resolution. An omnibus Resolution has to be examined with some considerable care, possibly more care than the Honourable mover of the Resolution has given to the questions which arise. We have got to consider what would be the effect of accepting this. Two points, I think, may be urged against him. The first is that it is unduly restricting our field of choice in some of the most important posts under the administration. I will deal with this point in greater detail when I examine the terms of the Resolution. The second point—and that is one on which I feel very strongly—is that it shows a very unmerited distrust of our public leaders in India—people who have held high posts and people who will in future hold high posts. The Honourable mover appears to regard it as a settled fact that if a person gets into a high post he uses that post for the purpose of feathering his nest, for getting a higher post on some future occasion. That, Sir, I think the House will agree with me, is entirely unjustified and entirely unfounded. He then went on to make attacks upon Ministers who have held office under the Crown during the present constitution. Sir, I have had considerable experience of Ministers, as the Honourable Member knows, in his own province. I served for three or four years under both the Ministers there ; I have seen their work. I was also Secretary on the Reserved side of the Government, so I think I can claim to know something of the work of Ministers and of the inside working of a Provincial Government and that experience of the inside working of a Provincial Government has shown me that a charge of that kind is clearly unjustified and unfounded. There may be many others in this Council who have even better experience than I have on that point, and who will agree with me that is a charge which has to be emphatically repudiated.

Now, Sir, having dealt with that point, I would go on to some incorrect statements of fact which he made. He said, for example, that in England the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords have never held any high office after their retirement from office. I would ask him, was not Lord Birkenhead first Lord Chancellor and subsequently Secretary of State for India ? Was not Mr. Whitley the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour after he had been Speaker of the House of Commons ? Did not they hold office under the Crown after they had held those two high offices of the two legislative bodies in England ? That is a fact which he has possibly overlooked or forgotten. (*An Honourable Member* : "Lord Hailsham.") There are probably many more. The Honourable Member has omitted the reference to the Railway Board. I am sorry for that because I would have liked to make capital out of that by referring to the fact that my Honourable friend on my right would not be here if this rule had prevailed, and that in the case of another friend on my right we should be deprived of his services at an unduly early date, if the rule came into force.

[Mr. M. G. Hallett.]

Now, Sir, to turn to other public offices to which he has referred—he referred to the case of High Court judges. I admit the High Court is the highest court of judicature in India. But there is a higher court than that. There is the Privy Council. That is also under the Crown and, as perhaps Honourable Members are fully aware, it frequently happens that a judge who has to retire after long service on the High Court is promoted or transferred to that further high appointment under the Crown as a Member of the Privy Council. Instances will at once occur to all Members of this House. That is an office under the Crown. In fact, the Act under which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is constituted definitely provides for appointments of that nature. I would refer to another point, and that is, that under the new constitution—not the present constitution—it is proposed, as Honourable Members are no doubt aware, to constitute a Federal Court in India. One of the qualifications for appointment to that Court is that persons must have been for at least five years a judge of a Chartered High Court or for at least five years a judge of a State Court in India. It is contemplated to take the best brains of the High Courts of the provinces and put them into the Federal Court. If a Supreme Court is, as suggested in the White Paper, ultimately constituted, I have no doubt that appointments to it will be made in the same way. I can quote other examples of distinguished judges having held high offices under the Crown. The gentleman who was Chief Justice in the province from which I and the Honourable Member come after vacating that post for a long time held office in the India Office—I mean Sir Edward Chamier. There have been numerous other cases of the same kind. It is obviously to the good that for these high appointments under the Crown we should get the best material available, that we should select our people with care from a wide circle and thereby improve the quality of the courts to which they are appointed.

I do not know whether the Honourable Member wishes to bar people who have held temporary appointments in a High Court. That would obviously make the position still more difficult. Many members of my own Service would naturally be reluctant to take up temporary appointments in a High Court if they knew it was to be the end of their career. He has used the word “retired”. I am not quite certain exactly what the Honourable Member means.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I mean only permanent appointments.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT :** Very well, then I will drop that point. I will merely say that if he had referred also to temporary appointments, it would have reduced this Resolution to a *reductio ad absurdum*.

The Railway Board have now been left out. The Tariff Board has been briefly referred to. But I understand appointments to that Board are all purely temporary appointments, and that being so, the Tariff Board also will be ruled out, because the Honourable Member has just said that he only referred to permanent appointments. An officer of the Indian Civil Service is put on for a short period and two or three non-officials are, I understand,

associated with him. The Tariff Board is usually a *qd hoc* appointment, or at any rate an appointment which does not last more than two or three years.

Now, Sir, I come down to the question of the Public Service Commission. In the case of the chairman—not in the case of the members—I admit we have a case where, under the existing law, further service under the Crown is barred. The matter has been discussed at various times. There is considerable difference of opinion as to whether we should bar members of the Commission from further appointments or whether we should have a wide field and select the best people who are available. The Honourable Member referred to the fact that in Madras, members of the Public Service Commission are barred from further appointments except on another Public Service Commission. That is a fact. But, Sir, if he has studied the White Paper, he will find that they have left the question open, because there is the wide difference of opinion to which I have referred. The question has been taken up at various times and the Local Governments are not agreed on the point. Some think it is desirable to bar further appointments and some think it will limit the choice and make it difficult to find suitable people for these appointments. In view of that, the recommendation contained in the proposals in the White Paper is that the matter should be left to be regulated in the future by regulations made by the Governor. They can provide that members of these Commissions shall not be re-appointed, or that they shall not be re-appointed for a period of years, or that they shall be eligible for further appointments. I am personally in favour of the last alternative for we have to secure the best material available for the Public Service Commission which will exist both in the provinces and at the centre, as at present.

I will now briefly refer to Ministers. I have already repudiated the attack made on Ministers. I think there is no doubt that the Ministers who have risen to higher offices are exceptionally able people, exceptionally well fitted for these higher posts.

The Honourable Member then referred to Presidents of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, and of the Provincial Councils. There has been an instance in his own province where the President of the Council has been subsequently appointed to the High Court. The appointment to which I am referring occurred in Bihar and Orissa. I think he will admit that was a very excellent appointment, and that the officer selected fully justified the confidence that was shown in him by selecting him for this appointment after holding the post of President of the Council. There have been other instances in other provinces which are, I believe, well known to other Members of this House. It would be absurd in my opinion to bar people who have held these posts from holding any further appointment under the Crown. It would, it is true, widen our field in one sense. We will get more people to hold these posts, but we shall not get such experienced people, or people who have been so trustworthy and experienced as those who now rise to these high posts. The principle underlying the Resolution is not a principle which is followed in any other country. In England, we frequently see a Minister holding various further posts under the Crown. There are numerous examples from the history of India. Viceroys have gone home and held posts of Cabinet Ministers, almost every retired Viceroy has in fact held some further post under the

[Mr. M. G. Hallett.]

Crown. If we follow the advice of the Honourable Member, those also, I presume, will have to be barred from any further employment. I need not say more; I do not think, Sir, that this Resolution, even with the amendment which has been proposed by the Honourable the Leader of the House, has anything to commend it, and I trust it will be unanimously rejected by the House.

\*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Sir, I wish to say only a few words. When I moved this Resolution, I quite realised that all these objections would be put forward. But I thought that 35 crores of people were sufficiently wide enough for Government to select from. The real reason why Government do not go beyond the selected few was stated by the Honourable the Home Secretary in the end. It is because it was not possible to get trustworthy men, people who are trustworthy from the point of view of the executive. It is that which is our main objection to this selection which has been so far made by the Government. I need not go into that in detail. There are so many other Resolutions to come up. The Honourable the Home Secretary drew pointed attention of the House to an appointment which was recently made on the Bench of the High Court of my province, and there I agree with him entirely that the selection was in no way unjustified. With regard to Presidents. I would like to name some, but I do not wish to drag them into the mire. As far as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is concerned, that is really not a preferment. It is the same appointment, I should say. It does not mean that preferment is being conferred on them. A man who has been in the High Court for some years may be made the Chief Justice. That is also an office under the Crown, but that office, Sir, is given by way of promotion, and the same applies in the case of an appointment to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It does not mean a new appointment. And if that is the only difficulty, it can be met. But the central point of my argument was that there should be nothing in the way of a prize conferred by the executive on these people. Therefore, Sir, I do not see my way to withdrawing this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate steps be taken to declare ineligible for service under the Crown, after their retirement, Presidents of Legislatures, Central and Provincial, Judges of High Courts, Members of the Public Service Commission, the Tariff Board and Ministers in the Provinces."

The Question is:

"That that Resolution be adopted."

The Motion was negatived.

## RESOLUTION *RE* PENSIONS OF INFERIOR SERVANTS SERVING UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR SHRI JAGANNATH MAHARAJ PANDIT (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the inferior servants in the departments under the control of the Central Government be made eligible for pension equal to half their emoluments as defined in the Civil Service Regulations."

\* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

Sir, the subject-matter of the Resolution has never before been brought in the Indian Legislature for discussion though it deals with a subject in no way less important than the one discussed by this House regarding the introduction of the system of provident fund for a class of Government servants in lieu of half pension to which they are entitled at present.

Sir, I admit that the question before the House is a very thorny one. The inferior servants of the Government of India are scattered all over India and their pay, pensions and allowances are more or less guided according to the pay, pensions and allowances of similar classes of Government servants serving under the Provincial Governments. I admit that this argument is more logical as the same class of Government employees posted in a particular province, whether serving under the Government of India or the Provincial Government, must be guided by the same conditions applicable to all alike. But that is not the only consideration which should weigh with the Government of India. I think the first and foremost argument that Government will bring forward will be that these questions cannot be decided piecemeal. It requires concerted action with the Local Governments. It requires consultation with them as to whether they are also prepared to consider it favourably or whether they are prepared to bear the extra burden to be thrown on their resources if such a concession is granted to inferior servants. But, at the same time, Sir, I may make it clear that I do not like to be caught in that very trap in which the proposal of the Honourable Mr. Khaparde, regarding the introduction of a system of provident fund in lieu of pension was entangled and subsequently killed. I cannot help making a passing remark that the Proposal brought forward by the Honourable Mr. Khaparde was also a most deserving one. I confess that the Government of India was more or less favourably disposed to that proposal and even went so far as to make a cut and dried scheme but unfortunately when the scheme was brought before the Provincial Governments they refused to grant the concession as involving extra expenditure, and the Government of India had to drop the proposal altogether according to the decision of the Provincial Governments. I, therefore, do not like the same fate to befall this Resolution of mine. I take the position that if the Government of India think that the case of these inferior servants is really hard, and if the House is also convinced that the cases of these inferior servants in not getting half pension is really a hardship on them, I would ask the House and the Government of India to go ahead with this concession whether Local Governments agree or not.

Sir, it is always difficult to make a beginning but once we, in the Government of India, take this step forward today, I am positive that the time would not be far distant when Provincial Governments would try their level best to fall into line with us in this matter.

Now, Sir, I come to the real picture of the hard lot of these inferior servants which I hope will move even the most hard-hearted amongst men. Sir, these men generally enter service, say, on a monthly salary of Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 when they are boys. They give the best part of their lives in Government service and when they attain the age of 60, they are allowed a petty pension of Rs. 6 a month. By loyally serving Government for about half a century, at the time when an inferior servant becomes practically an invalid, he is allowed a pension of



[Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj Pandit.]

Rs. 6 a month to feed himself and his wife, leaving aside the question of any other dependents of theirs. I would ask the House to imagine the picture of two living human beings being fed by Government with Rs. 6 a month. This does not do credit to my country nor to the Government of this country. I would even go further and ask is it possible even to feed two cows on Rs. 6 a month? Do these loyal Government servants after their long and faithful service deserve to be treated even worse than cattle. I know that Government have got as much sympathy as ourselves on this Resolution. Sir, I do not and cannot blame the Government alone for not taking the initiative earlier in the matter because we ourselves are as much to be blamed for not bringing the matter earlier to the Government's attention.

Then, Sir, I come to the question whether these inferior servants could lay by sufficiently during their service to sustain them after pension? I would ask my Honourable friends in this House to imagine that a boy of ten or twelve entering service on a salary of Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 attains his maximum pay of Rs. 25 at the age of 35 or 40. By that time he has a family and children to support. How can any man on earth imagine that a man with a family and children getting a pay of Rs. 25 a month would be able to lay by anything out of his paltry pay after meeting all his necessaries. Practically speaking, they are underfed throughout their service and are starved after pension to death. Generation after generation these people are loyally serving Government, half-fed and dying of starvation at old age, due to an inadequate pension.

Now, Sir, Government may bring forward another very cogent argument that, if the Government of India grant such pension to their inferior servants, then there will be an invidious distinction between the inferior servants serving under a Provincial Government and those serving under the Government of India, when posted in the same province and in the same place. In order to meet this point I would like to inform the House that at present the Government of Bombay grant pension equal to half the emoluments of an inferior servant working under them. But there are several departments of the Government of India located in Bombay as, for example, the Income-tax Department, the Salt Excise Department, the Currency Offices, the Stores Department and several other offices, but the pity of it is that the inferior servant working under the Central Government in Bombay, is granted a pension of Rs. 6 whereas the inferior servant of the Government of Bombay, working in the same place and doing exactly identical work, is granted half pension on retirement. I wish to ask the Government of India whether the Government of Bombay denied the concession to their inferior servants only because other Local Governments have not extended the concession to their servants or because the Government of India did not grant the very concession to their servants.

I hope and trust that considering the suffering of this class of most loyal Government servants the House will unanimously accept the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE (East Bengal: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, the proposal embodied in the Resolution is purely and simply a humanitarian one. The hardships of these people

can better be imagined and felt than expressed in words. I ask the Honourable Members of this House to feel for themselves, how these men, whom we see all around in this very House in red liveries and khaki liveries serve the Government most faithfully and loyally yet are all throughout their service neglected by Government and pass their whole lives uncared, unhonoured and unsung. I will not be far from the truth if I say that but for the loyalty and ungrudging service of this class of Government servants, no administration can work smoothly and efficiently. They are not mere paraphernalia as they appear to be, but they are as necessary in the fabric of the Government structure as brick and mortar in building a house.

Sir, I have nothing to add to what has fallen from my Honourable friend Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj Pandit about their hard lot. As far as I know these inferior servants represented to Government times without number for the redress of their grievances but as usual with the bureaucracy, they only care to pamper the already pampered imperial services without paying any heed to the sufferings of these people. The system of bureaucratic administration is based on the principle of self-complacence. They care for the imperial services, not so much for sympathy with them, but because all bureaucrats care only for those who are most vocal and who can make their voices better heard through the Imperial Service Associations in London and through the Press in the United Kingdom. As these inferior servants are less educated and talented and less organized and less vocal the Government care for them the least, yet when service is concerned they make them work practically like slaves. I for one feel for the hard lot of these poor dumb but loyal Government servants and I am confident that the whole House as well feel for them as much. It is my firm belief that the Resolution should be accepted unanimously by the House.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN PARSONS (Finance Secretary):** Sir, I can be as brief in replying to this Resolution as the Honourable mover was: for although for reasons which I will shortly explain I cannot accept it on behalf of Government, with the general contention and objective of the Honourable Member the Government of India are in complete agreement. I have made some researches into the origin of the present pension system of these inferior servants. The amount of the maximum permanent pension admissible to them is only Rs. 4, and as far as I have been able to ascertain that rate of pension was established when their pay as a whole averaged about Rs. 6 or Rs. 7 per month. Now,—again speaking of averages,—the average pay for these men at the time of retirement is about Rs. 20. In fact, Government have recognized that changed conditions have made it necessary to raise their pay very substantially. But their pensions remain at the same rate as before; and I do not think anybody will argue that that is adequate in present-day conditions. I should like to make that clear. Government recognise that it is desirable to make an appreciable increase in the pensionary terms of these inferior servants, for whom my Honourable friend has pleaded so eloquently.

Actually, Sir, we have in recent years done something in this direction. We have given them small increases of about Re. 1 or Rs. 2 a month, temporarily year by year, supposed to be dependent on the cost of living. The matter came before me, as it happened, last week when it appeared that the criterion on which

[Sir Alan Parsons.]

these increased payments are made, namely, the cost of living index, did not warrant their continuance : but we decided to continue them even though the condition on which they were originally given was not fulfilled. I merely say this to show that Government are in earnest in this matter ; I do not for a moment claim that these small increases are sufficient as a permanent solution of the question.

Now, Sir, I am afraid I cannot accept the Resolution in the terms in which it stands. First, there is a minor point. I cannot undertake to say that Government when they revise these pensions will necessarily raise them to a half-pay standard. All I can say is that the Government of India consider that an appreciable increase in these pensions is justifiable. My second and really my main reason is this. First of all, each rupee added to pension would, on calculations I have made, cost about Rs. 1 lakh to Government and at present we are not in a position to increase our non-effective charges to this extent. But, quite apart from that, I think the Council will agree with me when I say that I do not think it would be right to improve the terms of service of existing incumbents in the service of the Government of India while existing incumbents in Government service have still not had restored to them their cut in pay. I think we must take the view that we cannot give better terms to people in Government service until we have restored to people in Government service what they have been deprived of. Those really are my main grounds for not accepting the Resolution. First, I do not think that at the moment we can afford it ; the bill will be a fairly large one. Secondly, until the cut in pay has been restored I do not think it would be right to take steps to improve the conditions of people already in service.

That, Sir, is all I have to say. Though I am unable in so many words to accept my Honourable friend's Resolution, I am sure he will not put me to the unwelcome task of dividing the House against it ; and actually I feel grateful to him for having moved it. For this is the last occasion on which I shall have the privilege of addressing this House and he has enabled me to use it in holding out some hope of an improvement in pensions to a body of men who in a humble sphere and on low wages give long and honest service to Government. (Applause.)

**THE HONOURABLE SARDAR SHRI JAGANNATH MAHARAJ PANDIT :**  
Sir, I am very grateful to Government for the kind and sympathetic attitude shown by them to this most deserving case. I am also glad that some beginning has been made and I have therefore every hope that the Government will not any more shelve the question on the score of financial burden involved in the scheme.

Sir, I will be excused if, in this connection, I compare big things with small when I say that if the Secretary of State and the Government of India could retain the present scale of pay of the superior services in these days of financial stringency, and even when, on the same grounds, the scales of pay of all other services have been considerably reduced, I do not see any reason or justification as to how, in the case of these poor sufferers, Government can any more resist their claims on the plea of examining the financial effect of their present proposals year after year, as expressed by the Honourable the Finance

Secretary. However, I sincerely hope that the Government would really and sincerely proceed further till the half pension is actually secured for these persons to mitigate their hardships.

Sir, I must say that the proposals adumbrated by Government still fall far short of the recommendation made in my Resolution but, at the same time, I must admit that I am not unmindful of the financial stress that may be thrown on the resources of the Government. But even then, I would say that necessity has no law. To my mind the meeting of this irresistible demand of these inferior servants is a necessity, and I would remind the House and the Government of the well-known proverb that "Where there is a will, there is a way". It applies all the more with thousand-fold force on the Government of India. If they could bear the brunt of such a heavy burden of army expenditure as 50 per cent. of the total revenues of India at a time when the Government of India's resources were under very great strain owing to world-wide depression, I would certainly be justified in claiming that if the Government of India will it, they can surely find out ways and means to give full effect to this recommendation. However, as some beginning has been made in the matter by Government and as I sincerely believe that Government will not relax their energies in the future for finding resources to meet this necessity, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my Resolution.

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

#### RESOLUTION RE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR INDIA.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA (United Provinces Central : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to set up a Committee of official experts and non-officials of both the Houses to draw up a five-year plan of economic development for India to give a lead to all provinces with special instructions to suggest ways and means for the betterment of the condition of the agriculturists—both tenants and zamindars—and to submit a report by the next session in Delhi."

Sir, the abnormal economic crisis is enough justification for me to bring this Resolution before the House. Even, Sir if there had not been such an economic crisis as there is at present, all the world over, the justification so far as India is concerned would be equally good. Sir, the House will remember that two Resolutions were moved in this connection during the course of a year. One was regarding agricultural development and the other about industry. This Resolution seeks to combine the two into one. Sir, it was on the 4th of September, 1933, that my Honourable colleague, Mr. Hossain Imam, moved a Resolution which ran as follows :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to better the condition of the agriculturists and to appoint a committee to find ways and means and to advise Government on this subject".

Sir, when my friend the Leader of the House got up to reply he expressed the greatest sympathy with the Resolution. He said :

"Sir, Government has the greatest possible sympathy with the object the Honourable mover of this Resolution has in view, and the Government has given expression to its views on the subject from time to time".

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

After these sympathetic words, he dealt with the Resolution in detail and said that the Government is already taking steps and those steps were in the way of calling for half-yearly reports from every province. This is what he said :

" Every year we issue a circular letter to Local Governments requesting them to survey the situation every half-year and keep us informed of it, and also to tell us what steps, if any, they have taken to ameliorate the conditions of poor agriculturists".

Sir, that circular letter to Provincial Governments was and is meant to find out the conditions prevailing in the different provinces and the methods adopted by them for meeting the situation. But in my Resolution I want that the Government of India should come forward to help and guide them in such a critical moment. Then, Sir, he could not see his way to accept the Resolution and in concluding his speech said :

" I have not the slightest doubt that the good sense of this House will say, " We want work ; work steadily, study local conditions and do the best you can under the circumstances and do not go in for shelving tactics by appointing a committee".

Sir, there is no doubt that the Resolution, important as it was, was thrown out in the House and we cannot expect a better fate for any other Resolution moved from this side of the House, however good and beneficial it may be.

Then, Sir, I will refer to another Resolution moved by my Honourable colleague, Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad. It was on the 12th March, 1934, that he moved a Resolution which ran as follows :

" That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council (1) to undertake a thorough survey of the position of Indian industries including cottage industries and to collect statistics of existing industries, in order to find out the exact position as regards the industries pursued, the quantities and values of products manufactured, raw materials utilised, number of persons employed, wages paid, motive power used and other particulars usually collected in advanced countries ; (2) to place the results at the disposal of the public and to take other necessary steps to secure a rapid expansion of industries in the country".

Sir, this was another Resolution which dealt with the industries of this country. This Resolution—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Never mind that Resolution. Will you please deal with the Resolution before the House now ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Very well, Sir, I shall do as advised by you but I just wanted to show to the House the attitude taken up by the Government.

Sir, that Resolution was withdrawn on account of some assurances given by the Government for the committee to be appointed with two economic experts. Sir, another Resolution of a similar nature was moved by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in the United Provinces Legislative Council and was discussed very thoroughly. The discussion went on for two continuous days. The Council agreed to that Resolution, although the Government expressed feelings of sympathy only. In reply to that Resolution, the Honourable Minister for Education said :

" Sir, the United Provinces, or for the matter of that, any province in India, is not able to do very much on its own in matters of this kind. Authority for the real remedies for economic depression rests with the Central Government".

So, the reply of the Local Government is that such Resolutions are to be moved in the Central Legislature and that it is for the Government of India to find out the ways and means and to guide Local Governments.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN :** For economic depression ?

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** Yes, for economic depression.

Sir, the Government may ask one very pertinent question whether this Government alone is not doing what I want in this Resolution, or whether other countries in the world are adopting those steps ? This is certainly a very important question, because the economic depression is not peculiar to India alone but prevails throughout the whole world. I would like, with your permission, to quote the steps taken by some of the important European countries to solve this problem. They are all aware of this crisis and they are doing their utmost to meet it bravely. I would refer in the first instance to Japan. We all know how Japan during the last few years has developed its industries to an extent that it has not only made itself self-contained, but is now dumping other countries for which their Governments have had to take steps. This development has happened in a very short time. Sir Henry Sharp, a former member of the Indian Educational Service, has written a book called *The Educational System of Japan*. In that book, he has very briefly narrated how Japan has tried to develop itself. He says that :

“ In Japan the Government has tried to encourage old industries by model factories and by obtaining foreign experts. It has maintained model works and industrial laboratories. It has hired out the latest machines of a costly character. It has sent experts round the provinces to encourage enterprise by lectures or practical experiments. It has imported foreign experts by the hundred.”

In this way, Japan has developed its condition. I will not go on quoting any further in order not to take up the time of the House at this late hour. We all know how Denmark has developed itself. The development of Denmark was based more on the co-operative spirit. If the same spirit is developed in India, I am sure it will solve much of the problems so far as the agriculturists are concerned. At present, the co-operative movement in India is stagnant. The House will remember that I have been moving resolution after resolution to draw the attention of the Government to this important development in the country. Sir, we all know how Russia has developed itself. In Russia, Sir, they drew up a five-year plan and worked so enthusiastically that they completed it in four years. We all know how Ireland has developed itself. They formed a Department called the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction. This was in charge of Sir Horace Plunkett. I know this name is familiar all the world over. He also worked on co-operative lines.

It is not only in India that we are demanding from the Government to take concentrated action and to draw up a five-year plan. Sir, I admit that the Government of India and the Local Governments have been doing something for the amelioration of the lot of the masses. I do admit they are doing something. But my point is that it is no use doing all these things in a haphazard way. One concentrated plan should be formed in consultation with the provinces for a limited period of years, say five or seven, and

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

Government should see that that plan is worked out and the results are seen, whether they are good or not. The scheme that I have proposed in my Resolution is not a costly one. I do not want that commissions should be appointed to go throughout India and work for years and then produce a report. We all know, Sir, that very important commissions were appointed by the Government during the course of the last few years and they have submitted their reports. When I say this, I refer to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, to the Banking Enquiry Committee—

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: The Royal Commission on Labour?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA: Yes. That is so. I refer also to the Indian Economic Committee appointed in 1925. Then I refer also to the Economic Enquiry which was made by Messrs. Bowley and Robertson.

I refer to all these efforts made by the Government because I want the facts and figures collected in their reports to be placed before a committee of official experts and non-officials, together with representatives of all provinces, and that a concentrated plan should be chalked out for a limited period to work on regular lines. Sir, we know that the attention of Government at present is mostly confined to checking the terrorists and other subversive movements. But may I ask whether

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this economic depression is not one of the main reasons for this movement? If the Government formed such a plan to remove this economic depression and unemployment, I am sure the movement would die a natural death. In saying this, Sir, I am supported by His Excellency Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, than whom there is no better authority to suggest ways and means in this behalf, because Bengal is the seat of the terrorist movement. Sir, in a famous speech delivered at the St. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta, he said:

“Our population includes many very young men, the product of an educational system built up in better days, to whom life seems to hold out no hope. Our trouble is in the main not educational but economic. I have the greatest sympathy with the young men who have attained an educational standard in advance of that enjoyed by their parents and who in spite of that, or because of it, see no future before them. Hitherto it has been the Hindu who was most seriously affected by the problem of middle class unemployment, but as the country advances the Muslim will be more and more concerned. The solution of the problem will not brook delay”.

Then further on he says:

“The province is not poor, either in natural resources or in man power, but there must I feel be some maladjustments somewhere in the system which keeps a vast agricultural population groaning under a load of debt, eking out a penurious existence, and yet in most districts for nearly nine months out of the twelve. That is of course putting the case very crudely and without qualifications which scientific analysis of the position would have to include”.

Further on he says:

“We have examined various expedients that have been suggested here and in other provincial projects on debt consolidation, land mortgage banks and the development of

the co-operative movement and so forth. On all these connected topics much valuable material has been collected and some weighty opinions have been expressed".

Then he deals with the plan and says exactly what I have urged. He says :

"These will not be separate and unconnected activities run by different sets of people without co-ordination or common purpose, but will be elements of a single plan".

That is what we want, a single plan, and all the activities in the provinces should be part and parcel of that plan. His Excellency Sir John Anderson therefore has given the same reason for checking the terrorist movement and I am sure that if such a plan for economic recovery and the removal of unemployment is adopted the terrorist movement will die a natural death.

So, Sir, in short the object of my Resolution is that all these materials which Government has so far made available should be put before such a representative committee and they should submit a report at an early date, on receipt of which the Government of India in co-operation with the Provincial Governments should chalk out a programme. (*An Honourable Member* : "The Members of the other House will be busy with the elections!") That does not matter much. But in any case this is very important work. This can be carried on without other activities. Surely the object of Government is not only to collect taxes, to pay high salaries to a particular class of officers, send people to jail who fight for the betterment of the lot of their down-trodden brethren, but to devise means for the betterment of the masses, to make the country rich and contented. The problem in India is the hungry masses, and the discontented classes, and that problem should be tackled by the Government even if they keep other things in the background.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support this Resolution. Some time back I had the privilege of raising this question here and I was told that as this matter was one which concerned the Provincial Councils so it had better be moved there. I am glad that my Honourable colleague Mr. Mehrotra has brought this matter again before the Council. Sir, he has gone thoroughly into the subject matter and left very little for me to say. But I want to impress upon the Government of India that in the present times of economic distress it is essential that we should organize and centralize our efforts in the direction of a five year plan. Such a plan has proved a success in Russia. There was anticipation in many countries that this big experiment would be an utter failure, but it proved a success and Russia have launched on another five year programme.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : You are quite satisfied ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : I am quite satisfied as to this being a fact. The Trade Agreement of which the Honourable Mr. Stewart has laid a copy in the Library shows how the Soviet after all succeeded in making Great Britain to agree to their trade demands. In India, and particularly in the Punjab, the cost of production of various agricultural produce is higher than what it is in many foreign countries. If we organize our efforts and have the same facilities of having cheap electricity and up to date appliances and in case the various units of landholders



[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

co-operate, I think we shall be able to make our lot better and to make some saving for ourselves and some saving for the Government for meeting its revenue. In these days of depression and low prices, it is now a patent fact that the zamindar cannot even afford even to pay Government revenue and canal rates. Sir, in case the Government is serious enough to help agriculturists and to help the industry, they must move in the matter so that the time may not come when owing to the lower cost of production of agricultural produce, agricultural produce may be dumped from foreign countries notwithstanding high tariffs. Even now we find that without the wheat protection we could never have made our two ends meet and would not have been able to pay Government revenue. As far as industries are concerned; we all find that Japan is acting according to her set programme. Their programme is such that it is making Japan practically to capture the world's market and every country including India finds difficulty in facing the situation which has thus arisen. I do not know how they are able to dump their industrial products cheaper all over the world. Their Government either give them subsidies or help them in other ways; all the same the fact is there that notwithstanding the heavy tariff wall Japan is successful in making a huge sale of their goods in India. Sir, without the help of a central organization it is impossible to improve our trade and improve our agriculture; and in case the Central Government moves in this direction they will be doing a great service to India and save its millions from starvation.

With these words, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, it is always a pleasure to hear Honourable Members on what is undoubtedly the most important question for any country to consider. I feel that in this particular case, I am in a very happy position. Although this Resolution is being moved today, the 5th September, 1934, as early as April, 1934, action on this Resolution was already taken. Therefore I cannot say that Government is pleased to accept the Resolution. But I can say that the Resolution was accepted several months before it was prepared by the Honourable Member or moved in this House. What does he want? A committee of experts and non-officials, not only from the headquarters but also from the provinces. He wants experts from headquarters and provinces, and also non-officials to put their heads together to consider the situation, to arrive at certain decisions and then to take steps to carry out those decisions. Well, Sir, I think it was in the month of February, 1934, that an invitation was issued to Local Governments to send their representatives and experts to Delhi, so that the question, in particular with reference to agricultural commodities and indebtedness of the agriculturist, could be discussed. That invitation was accepted, but Local Governments pleaded that they were everywhere busy with their budget sessions of the Legislatures and during the currency of those sessions it was not possible for them to send real representatives and accredited members of Government to Delhi. So we had to wait till the end of March or the beginning of April. In the beginning of April, this memorable conference was held. My ex-colleague, the Honourable Finance Member, presided over the Committee

and in fact during his absence I had to take up those onerous duties myself. One of the Honourable Members present was Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah—he represented the Bombay Government at that Conference. We spent quite a long time over it. We sat early and we sat late. I believe the Report of that Conference was made available to Honourable Members? Was it not?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA: Which of them?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: You have not read any of them?

• THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA: Only newspaper reports.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: We did, within a week of the closing of the Conference, produce a report. That was done by Mr. Taylor and was a really remarkable piece of work. Those were very busy days for the Secretariat and immediately after the Councils were over the report was published and further Honourable Members cannot be unaware of the fact that as early as the 1st of May, I believe, the Government Resolution was published in the Government Gazette and I believe the Honourable Member has seen that?

• THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA: No.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: That really is most discouraging! We hold these conferences as desired by the Honourable Members. Often we forecast what their wishes are and hold these important conferences, spend lakhs of rupees on them and with such little intelligence as we possess we thrash out the most abstruse subjects, arrive at certain conclusions, publish our reports and what is their fate?

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE: But these reports are not sent to us.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: Are you sure that you read all the reports that are sent to you? If you assure me of that it would be some solace to my injured feelings of dignity. However, I can assure you that the Government of India Resolution was sent to you and if you will tell me that you have read it, it will be very kind of you.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Sir, we did see that Resolution but may we ask, Sir, whether in the Conference you considered the drawing up of a five-year plan?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: Now, if you have read that Resolution, I am prepared to assure you, indeed I was almost going to say that I was prepared to bet, that the words, "five-year plan", which seem to possess a charm, do occur in it. And I will tell you where they occur. We have prepared this five-year plan for a marketing board. Do you remember that? (*Honourable Members*: "Yes".) Well, there you are! We went into three important matters. One was agricultural indebtedness. Every province had prepared a memorandum

[Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain.]

stating how agricultural indebtedness stood. They had also prepared a memorandum stating how they proposed to meet it. They also stated to what extent those proposals were in train. You will remember that the report said that the subject of agricultural indebtedness is so essentially a local thing in its nature that it is best to leave the method of tackling that subject to Local Governments rather than try to tackle it centrally.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: As far as I remember, Sir, you never contemplated any scheme for a five-year programme so far as agricultural produce was concerned. What you did was simply to deal with the marketing side.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: Well, that observation of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition seems to hold a still greater disappointment in store for me! I hope I am wrong! However, if he will be patient for a few minutes he will see that I am coming to that. Well, about that agricultural indebtedness, we dealt with the question (an important subject with the Leader of the Opposition) of agricultural produce. The question raised was: "What is happening to our agriculture? Are we conducting our agriculture on right lines or not? Why is it that our wheat is expensive? Why is it that other people are threatening to dump their agricultural produce on us? Is there anything wrong?" And therefore the question arose: "Is every acre of land in India being put to the best possible use or not?" Well, Sir, we could not settle that offhand but if the Honourable Members had read the Report of the Conference or even the Government of India Resolution which was printed in the Government Gazette—and I believe in almost every paper, whether English or vernacular—then they would remember that this Resolution promised another Conference which was called the Crop-planning Conference. That Conference was to be preceded by an Advisory Board meeting of experts from all the provinces.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Is it being held now?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN: No, no! That was held in the month of May and in the month of June the Crop-planning Conference was held in Simla, over which I presided and I thought it was an extraordinarily important Conference and why, I saw only the other day in an English paper very flattering remarks as to how I figured as a very important personage presiding over these very important conferences, and here are Members of this Honourable House asking if this Advisory Board is going to be held now! That really is very disappointing! It hurts one's feelings of dignity or self-importance—I do not know how to put it, but there it is! That Crop-planning Conference, I assure you, Sir, took up a great deal of my time, and I put all the stored-up experience I possessed as Revenue Member into that work and devoted hours and hours to it every day and produced a report which I believe has been circulated to all the Members of this House. Anyhow, kindly assure me that it has not? Are you sure that it has not, because I know we were in a great hurry to circulate that Crop-planning pamphlet to you so that you would know something of the good work we had been

doing. (*Honourable Members* : "We never received it.") Well, I am sorry. I will look into that matter. But I can assure you, though it hardly lies in my mouth to say so considering that I am head of the Department, I can assure you that my Department produced a report which in a brief space stated what has been done by the various provinces in the matter of agricultural development in the past 10 or 15 years, and my concluding speech in the Conference was to the effect that we had come to the conclusion that the development of agriculture in India during the past 15 years or so had not been haphazard, anyhow, but, on the other hand, had been well planned and the Agricultural Departments of various departments of the various provinces were to be congratulated on the fact that, barring half a dozen cases, we find we cannot make suggestions for improvement on the existing crop-planning,—which means that most of the crops in India are being grown on areas which are suited for them and for which areas better crops were not possible, barring linseed, for which I believe two lakhs of acres or more have been recommended. All this information was sent to every province and it was stated which particular province would be the most suitable for it—I believe the Central Provinces and Madras were mentioned.

It would take too long to even give a bird's-eye view of the ground that we covered, but I will see that, even if you were sent a copy, another copy will be sent to you and I trust you will find time to read it. So you see, Sir, that the matter which under this Resolution Government is very naturally expected by every Member of the House and every citizen of India to do is not exactly being neglected.

I have already touched on the question of agricultural indebtedness. I have indicated what has been done by the Crop-planning Conference and the Committee of experts in the matter of agricultural produce. The next step taken by us was to provide for satisfactory marketing. We found that our method of marketing, whether internal or external, that is to say, marketing within India or outside India, left very much to be desired. As a matter of fact, in 1933 we had decided upon following the advice which the Honourable Mr. Mehrotra has given today, import a foreign expert, and he reached Simla, I think, on the 1st May. He has been working since then. Only recently, our Standing Finance Committee has approved of a five-year scheme by this expert along with other experts for marketing. That scheme is to operate not only at the centre but also in the provinces. The provinces have been good enough to respond nobly to the call made on them. They have already appointed various officers to go into that matter. You will thus see, Sir, that although we do not aspire to beat Japan in the matter of dumping their goods on other countries, which is a very questionable thing to do—

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS** : Are the officers who have been so appointed conversant with the work ?

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN** : The Honourable Member may rest assured that those who have been appointed will not have been appointed otherwise. It is quite possible that the choice of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition may fall on a different person. But then, that is always the case when such appointments have to be filled. The very best advice was obtained before we made the selection.

[Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain.]

The Honourable Mr. Mehrotra may rest assured that though his advice of importing foreign experts by hundreds, I am afraid, could not very well be accepted so far as the numbers go—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : I never said that foreign experts should be imported into India by hundreds. I said that Japan imported foreign experts by the hundred.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : I thought you might mean that Japan is a small country and if it imported hundreds, India ought to import lakhs. That is why I thought I had better caution you. Although we accept the idea of importing foreign experts, we have to do it on a very, very limited scale. At present we have only one, I think, and he also, strictly speaking, is not foreign. In the past, we had six or seven financiers in the Banking Enquiry Committee and so on.

The Honourable Member's second idea was about the co-operative movement in Denmark. There again, we have forestalled him. In order to give substantial assistance to the co-operative movement in India, we got an expert co-operator in Mr. Darling, with whose name he is probably familiar, about a month ago and requested him to go to Bengal where, as the Honourable Mr. Mehrotra said, His Excellency the Governor is most anxious to work out a village uplift movement, especially with the assistance of an expert co-operator.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE : On what pay, Sir ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : Is it right for you to ask what pay he is drawing when I am trying to give you the scheme of agricultural and economic development ? In my younger days, when I was at school or at college, I may have been able to satisfy my examiners in these questions of memory. But I rely more on intelligence now than on memory for my work.

Proceeding from Denmark to Russia, which is the next place mentioned by the Honourable Mr. Mehrotra—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Japan and Ireland also.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : He mentioned Japan first, then he came to Denmark, and then he went on to Russia, not to Ireland. I have got my notes. As regards Russia, Sir, I was not prepared. I thought that Russia has not done anything so very wonderful as to be held up to us as an example to follow. I was very astonished when the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition also held up Russia as an example to follow. He said that our cost of agricultural produce was higher than that of Russia. Obviously, because the land here belongs to the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das and the Honourable Mr. Mehrotra, who take away the major part of the produce. If the land belonged to the proletariat, as it well might if they surrender their land, then there would be some parallel to Russia. Then I could control large areas and have recourse to cultivation on a

basis different from that employed by individuals, who for about six months in the year work, and for the other six months have to wait till enthusiastic industrial Ministers in the provinces provide them with cottage industries. They have to wait without work for six months in the year. This is a wastage of labour in India.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** May I explain why I referred to Russia ? In Russia they pool out the various holdings as far as their harvesting, fertilization, and other operations are concerned, and in that way they reduce the cost of production. Cannot a similar thing be done in India ?

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN :** On a voluntary basis or a compulsory basis ?

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** On a voluntary basis.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN :** I am very glad the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition has explained that he does not want what Russia has done. Russia has not got these things on a voluntary basis, nor has America for the matter of that. It is on a compulsory basis, and if the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition were told that his holdings will be taken over from him and amalgamated with those of others, and that he may or may not get anything, then he would hold an altogether different opinion. Moreover, coming from the Punjab as he does, he cannot be unaware of the fact that for the last 10 or 15 years there has been going on in the Punjab work against fragmentation of holdings. How is it done ? We have to go to each individual proprietor, propitiate him, talk nicely to him, love him, and say in a very friendly way, " Will you and X be good enough to piece together the fragments of your holdings ? Let me put the fragments of your holdings together. You will have the same quantity of land as at present ; only it will be ever so much better for you ". The poor sub-inspector and his workmen have to go round until the man becomes less obstinate. After spending thousands of rupees, you get half a dozen villagers to agree to do away with fragmentation. That takes years and years, and by the time you have finished one district, further fragmentation in the meantime has taken place. There is no use thinking of achieving quick results in this half-hearted manner.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** What I meant was that in those villages, where an experiment has to be carried on, on a fair scale, harvesting by machinery can be introduced for efficiently and cheaply doing the process in a much less time and to the better advantage of the agriculturist.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN :** I am sure what the Honourable Member is trying to do in his own area is most welcome information to the House ! I trust the great champion of co-operation, the Honourable Mr. Mehrotra, will try to follow the example of his leader when he goes back to the United Provinces the next time the wheat crop is a bumper one ! So, Sir, as regards Russia, I am afraid it is a case of distance lending enchantment to the view ! I have tried to acquaint myself with the reality and I can assure you I have not yet got anywhere near it.

[Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain.]

Proceeding, Sir, to the matter of co-operation, the Honourable Member knows perfectly well that a meeting of Registrars of Co-operative Societies was held in Delhi last March, and bearing in mind that co-operation is a provincial and transferred subject, every effort was made to make the meeting successful. Then the Honourable mover rushed from Russia to Ireland, and all the information he gave me was that in Ireland they have set up a department of agriculture. Well, if I am to believe what I read in the papers about Ireland, I cannot say that all is very well there. I do not know from where the Honourable mover of this Resolution has got hold of the idea that Ireland in the matter of agricultural development is the ideal country, that its methods are worth following and its results worth achieving. Perhaps he is in sympathy politically with Ireland? Otherwise in the economic field I do not think we have very much to learn from what the present Irish Government has been doing.

Then I go on to one or two observations which the Leader of the Opposition made. He said, centralize and organize. He seems to me nowadays in a very difficult mood. When he reads things about other countries, Germany, Italy, America, Russia, he says they are doing wonderful things. They have dictators. If we could only centralize how well off we could be. Well, that has a certain fascination for all of us. On the other hand, when I bring to his notice what it means—the surrender of individual liberty and property, the handing over of the individual will to the will of the dictator, in the best interests of the country—then he says, “No, no. It ought to be done on a voluntary basis”!

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** I mean by centralize, centralization in the Central Government.

**THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN :** I dare say. You want to have the best of both worlds! You want to have all the good that can accrue from the beneficent activities of a good honest dictator and your freedom at the same time! I cannot combine the two, either in my person or in any other person. It is much better to have a clear idea of one's capacities and limitations. Frankly, we are still clinging to our freedom and liberty. It may not be able to produce that output that one would obtain by surrendering one's liberty and discretion and property to a common pool and allow one man to administer it. Even if you and I were prepared to do that, I do not think our countrymen would be. They would rather have half a loaf to starve on or live upon and keep control over their lands themselves than surrender it either on the Russian system or any other. If I am right, and the Council agrees with me that such is the mind of the India of today, then I think that what we in our own way are trying to achieve is the most that can be done under the existing circumstances.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** I am very glad to hear from the Leader of the House the action that the Government of India is taking on the lines that I have set forth in my Resolution. Sir, it would have been better if the Government had drawn up a programme of the schemes which they are going to take up with

the Provincial Governments. He mentioned about the conferences that were held. I have read the meagre reports that came out in the newspapers, and in view of the importance of these subjects in the present economic crisis it was necessary for the Government to compile the results of all the reports together in a book and to circulate it at least to Members of both Houses. I hope, Sir, the Government when calling the next conference, will try to take up a certain number of schemes definitely and advise the Local Governments to take them up one by one. Sir, as he is in sympathy with the object of this Resolution and as he has said he is doing all that is possible I beg leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

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

**RESOLUTION *RE* INELIGIBILITY FOR SERVICE UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OF SUBJECTS OF THOSE INDIAN STATES WHO DO NOT EMPLOY BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS.**

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI (United Provinces : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I move :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the subjects of those Indian States which have passed orders against the employment of British Indian subjects in the services of the aforesaid States should not be eligible for appointment by selection to any post in any service or department under the Government of India or for sitting at any competitive examination for recruitment to the Indian Services or Central Services, Classes I and II."

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I shall thank you to be as brief as possible.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI : I have already taken note of that, Sir, having regard to the lateness of the hour.

I must say at once that nothing is farther from my intention than to discuss the internal affairs of Indian States or to say anything affecting the relations of the Governor General in Council with any Indian Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty the King Emperor. In the next place I must point out that my Resolution is not based on any want of sympathy with the administration of the Indian Princes. All that I want today is to draw the attention of this Council to the important fact that the arrangements in the matter of appointments to public services that obtain at present between Indian India and British India are extremely unsatisfactory. Whereas it is open to the subjects of any Indian State to be appointed to all those offices to which British Indians can be appointed, it is not permissible in many cases for British Indian subjects to be appointed to the services of Indian States. Earlier in the day I addressed a question on the subject to the Honourable Home Secretary, but unfortunately the information that he gave in answer to that question is so insufficient that it will be extremely difficult for me to argue my case on the basis of the information supplied by him ; but it is a matter of common knowledge, Sir, that the idea obtaining these days is that every Indian State is for the subjects of that State. That idea is good as far as it goes, and nobody need quarrel with it. We in British India also have



[Saiyid Raza Ali.]

a right to expect all important offices in British India should be filled by British Indians. But we find that it is not so. I submit that the Government should make an earnest effort, in the course of the inquiry promised by the Honourable Mr. Hallett, to find out as to what are the States which have got orders to the effect that British Indians should not be employed. I know that the order would not be worded like that. The order obtaining in an Indian State against employment of British Indians, I am sure will not say "No British Indians shall be employed". What the order will in all likelihood say will be that in all cases where subjects of the State fit to discharge the duties of particular posts are forthcoming preference should be given to them as against people of British India. I, as a matter of fact, do not know what orders obtain on this subject in various Indian States. This much I may tell the House, however, that I know two Indian States, one of which is one of the most important in India, in which there are almost specific orders against the employment of British Indians. It is not for obvious reasons open to me to disclose the names of those two States; but I have seen the orders, printed orders, with my own eyes. In how many other States similar orders are in force is more than I can say, and I think we can advantageously await the result of the inquiry promised early in the morning by the Honourable Mr. Hallett. But the important point is that either we ought not to allow subjects of the offending Indian States to be appointed to important posts in British India or we should take some other steps to secure the introduction of the principle of reciprocity between British India and Indian States.

I have watched from year to year a large number of subjects of Indian States being appointed to important posts in some of our most important services—All-India Services and Central Services, Class I. They were appointed during the four or five years either by selection or on the result of a competitive examination while I was associated with the Commission. It is true that before a man can be appointed to any post in British India he has to obtain a declaration under section 96A of the Government of India Act. But, as Honourable Members will remember, I put a question on this subject this morning and the reply was that this declaration is made on the recommendation of the Government of India by the Secretary of State in Council. My question, as Honourable Members will remember, clearly said :

"Is it not a fact that this declaration is made as a matter of course if it is found that the candidate has satisfactory conduct and character?"

By means of a supplementary question I further elucidated the information that no application from a subject of an Indian State had been turned down by the Secretary of State during the preceding year. That tells its own tale—that these applications are granted as a matter of course. Now, Sir, I submit that if that is so, we must do something to secure our own rights in Indian States. I am not unacquainted with the fact that in a number of Indian States a few British Indians are appointed to high administrative posts, but these appointments, I may at once say, are in the nature of expert appointments; people who have high administrative ability and experience are appointed to these posts and the filling of these posts by a few men from British India in Indian States proves, I submit, the exception rather than the rule; and that

itself shows that there is a very considerable amount of disinclination in Indian States to employ men from British India.

The Resolution speaks for itself. I do not think I am required to put the facts of the case at any great length before this House. In conclusion I would say that these are days when we are trying to enter into mutually advantageous agreements with Dominions and Colonies. I for one entirely fail to see why we should not take action nearer home. If we find that the present arrangement is one-sided—and there is no doubt that it is one-sided—we should take very early steps to make it of such a character that it will be mutually advantageous to both parties. There may be more than one way of doing it. I do not think I need explain that at any length. But it is not so much—let me make it quite clear—with a view to secure a few more posts to young men from British India that I have moved this Resolution in this Council. The real question is a question of principle. Any reasonable man would fail to see why there should be a one-sided arrangement and why the principle of reciprocity should be wholly absent in the present arrangement which operates all to the advantage of the subjects of the Indian States and to the disadvantage of the people of British India.

5-5 P. M.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT (Home Secretary): Sir, the Honourable mover of the Resolution is labouring under a difficulty in that I have not been able to supply him with information that he requires in order to set the facts before the House. I too am under the same difficulty in making my reply for I have not got the facts available. Such facts as I have got and such opinion as I have been able to form from various records tends to the conclusion that possibly he is making a mountain out of a molehill. I do not think the matter is one of very serious importance from the point of view of the inhabitants of British India.

As regards the question whether the States prohibit the inhabitants of British India from being appointed to the service of the State, my impression is that very few States, if any, actually prohibit them. That, I think, is the Honourable Member's opinion also. But they do adopt a rule of preference. The Honourable the Home Member ascertained last year, in reply to a question asked in another place, in regard to three of the States in Southern India, that they have a system of preference. Preference is given to the inhabitants of the particular State concerned. Well, Sir, can we blame them for adopting that practice? It is exactly the same as is done in every province of British India. If candidates are chosen in any province of India from another province, there is at once a tremendous outcry. The question however is one of a comparison between recruitment to the State services and recruitment to the All-India and Central Services under the Government of India. Well, Sir, can any State service even in the biggest States be compared with the services under the Government of India? There is no comparison between the two and I do not think it is really a relevant consideration. Now, Sir, even though in theory it might be objectionable if this practice existed, what is the actual position? The Honourable Member, speaking no doubt from his experience

[Mr. M. G. Hallett.]

on the Public Service Commission, suggested that a lot of the inhabitants of the Indian States were being recruited to the All-India Services. I regret I have not the full figures available but the only figures I have available are in regard to the Civil Service, and in that Service between the years 1925 and 1933, out of 228 Indians 18 only belonged to Indian States,—that is, rather less than 8 per cent. That is not a very large percentage, especially if we bear in mind that the Indian Civil Service does not only function in British India but functions in the whole of India, the Indian States *plus* British India—

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: How the Indian States?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: I think my Honourable friend, Mr. Wingate, on my left has something to do with the Indian States.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: That is the Foreign and Political Department.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: Well, is that not connected with the Indian States? But even putting aside that argument, is 8 per cent. of the appointments in the last seven or eight years a very serious matter? After all, the inhabitants of the Indian States number about 80 millions and we are not being flooded by a large number of candidates from those 80 millions.

Then again, take the system of recruitment for the police. It is entirely on a provincial basis and I do not think, as far as I know, that under that system of recruitment there is any chance of a subject of an Indian State getting into the police.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: Yes, there is. They do appear and they are allowed to appear.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLETT: Once again, Sir, I am in a difficulty as I have not the facts available, but I am quite prepared to accept the Honourable Member's statement on the point. However, I will undertake to look into the figures and see whether the number of candidates who are getting appointments in the Central and All-India Services is so large as to make it a practical evil which we should seek to rectify. There are however objections to rectifying it. A long time ago, about 1908, the law did not allow the subjects of Indian States to take posts in British India. Then after long discussion section 96A was enacted and incorporated in the Government of India Act. Well, Sir, the reasons which led the Government of India in 1908 to take up this question of allowing subjects of Indian States to go into the All-India Services seem to me to apply equally now. I do not see why we should go back on it. The reason was to make closer the bond between the Indian States and British India. What was said at that time was as follows:

“ We think the time has now come when the distinction between the subjects of these States and those born in British India should be removed. We do so because we consider that no opportunity should be lost for binding the inhabitants of these States more closely to the interests of British India ”.

Well, Sir, that argument applies with even greater force today. We hope that in the course of a short time the bond between the Indian States and

British India will be closer than it is today. If and when that closer link comes into effect, will it not be equitable that subjects of the Indian States should have a place in the All-India Services? I do not know when that new system will come into force—it may in two or three years, or in five or ten, but why in the short interval between now and the day when the new scheme comes into force should we do away with the system at present in force which has worked well in the past and not, I think, to the disadvantage of British India? I am, however, prepared to look further into the question and see whether the number that has been appointed has been large but my impression is that it has not been large. If it has not been large, then we are making a mountain out of a molehill. But I am prepared to give an undertaking similar to the undertaking given in another place by the Honourable the Home Member that we will see whether there is any real evil to rectify. My impression is that there is not. My own expectation is that we shall not find it possible or desirable or practicable to do anything, but as I say, I am speaking rather without full knowledge of the facts and I am quite prepared to look into these facts and see whether anything need be done. I trust that on this assurance the Honourable Member will withdraw his Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI:** Sir, I may at once say that I am not prepared to plead guilty to the charge that I am making a mountain out of a molehill unless the Honourable the Home Secretary's inquiry shows what is the number of States' subjects who have been admitted into the All-India Services and what is more important to the Central Services, Class I, in recent years. Now, my Honourable friend gave us the number of the States subjects who have been appointed recently to the Indian Civil Service. Allow me to say at once that that is extremely misleading. If he is going to make an inquiry let me point out to him as to what are the important services into which this inquiry should be made. I would like to know the number of subjects of Indian States that have been appointed either by selection or on the result of competitive examinations to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. My Honourable friend perhaps does not realise that a very large number of Indians from the Indian States have been appointed recently not to the Indian Civil Service, but to other Services. Those services about which I would like an enquiry to be made are the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the superior service officers of the Military Accounts Department, the Imperial Customs Service—that is another very important Service—the Superior Telegraph Engineering and Wireless Branches of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the Indian Railway Service of Engineers, the Superior Revenue Establishment of the State Railways. These are the departments to which so many of the subjects of Indian States have been appointed.

Now, I gladly agree with my Honourable friend that unless a good case is made out, there is no justification for taking any action between now and the time when the new Federation comes into force. But I am totally unable to agree with him that the Indian Civil Service has something particular to do with the Indian States. If you take the list of our services—I think this House can take it from me—it shows that excepting one service, there is not a single service either in the list of All-India Services or Central Services, Class I or Class II, with which the Indian States can lay claim to have any

[Saiyid Raza Ali.]

particular concern. The only service to which subjects from Indian States can reasonably claim to be appointed is the Foreign and Political Department, members of which operate in various Indian States. It is a mere accident that the Honourable Mr. Wingate is a member of the Indian Civil Service—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. R. E. L. WINGATE :** I entirely agree. It was sheer accident !

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI :** It might have been that an officer from the army, who had been drafted into the Foreign and Political Department, would have been occupying today the post which the Honourable Mr. Wingate is occupying. The Indian Civil Service as such has nothing to do with the Indian States. The only Department directly interested in the States is the Political Branch of the Foreign and Political Department, and if the Indian States claim that their subjects should be appointed to the Political Branch of the Foreign and Political Department, that claim can be considered. But I entirely fail to see what claim these subjects of Indian States have to enter various other All-India or Central Services in British India.

Sir, I do not want to argue any further. Having regard to the statement made by the Honourable Mr. Hallett, I do not think I am called upon to press my Resolution to a vote. I hope the Honourable Mr. Hallett will not confine his enquiry to the Indian Civil Service only but will include the various Services, a list of which I gave a few minutes ago. Sir, I beg leave to withdraw the Resolution.

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

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The Council then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Thursday, the 6th September, 1934.