THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

Volume III

(15th March to 28th March, 1927)

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1927



DELHI

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1927

Legislative Assembly.

`The President:

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. J. PATEL.

Deputy President:

MAULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen,

MR. M. A. JINNAH, M.L.A.

THE REVD. DR. E. M. MACPHAIL, M.L.A.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR, M.L.A.

MR. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.



Secretary:

MR. L. GRAHAM, C.I.E., M.L.A.

Assistants of the Secretary:

MR. W. T. M. WRIGHT, C.I.E., I.C.S.

MR. S. C. GUPTA, BAR.-AT-LAW.

MR. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S.

Marshal:

CAPTAIN SURAJ SINGH, BAHADUR, I.O.M.

Committee on Public Petitions:

AULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A., Chairman.

R. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.

R. Jamnabas M. Mehta, M.L.A.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. A. J. GIDNEY, M.L.A.

MR. C. DURAISWAMY AIYANGAR, M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thesday, 15th March, 1927.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

WANT OF A THIRD CLASS WAITING ROOM AT GYA ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

- 942. *Mr. Siddheswar Sinha: With reference to unstarred question No. 77 (b) of the 7th February, 1927, do Government propose to make an inquiry regarding the want of a third class waiting room at Gaya?
- Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir. It is a matter for the Agent to decide and might be brought to his attention through the Local Advisory Committee. A copy of the question and answer will, however, be sent to the Agent.

JUDGMENTS OF THE HIGH COURTS OF CALCUTTA, ALLAHABAD AND MADRAS, REGARDING BRAHMANI BULLS.

- 943. *Mr. Siddheswar Sinha: (a) Are Government aware of the evil effects of the judgments of the High Courts of Calcutta (I. L. R. Cal. 17, page 852). Allahabad (8 All. 51, 9 All. 848), and Madras (11 Mad. 145) declaring Brahmani bulls as res nullius?
- (b) If the reply to the aforesaid question be in the affirmative will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken or intend to take to remedy the evil effects of the aforesaid judgments?
- The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Government have seen the judgments mentioned, but the matter relates to a subject which under the Devolution Rules is primarily the concern of Local Governments.
- Mr. K. Ahmed: Are Government aware that these Brahmini bulls do a lot of mischief and are responsible for a great deal of damage to the public and shopkeepers in the market places all over India?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am aware that stray cattle occasionally do damage.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will the Honourable Member kindly inform five they are not res nullius, to whom do they belong?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That is a proposition of law about which the Honourable Member probably knows more than I do.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do Government propose to all w Mr. Siddheswar Sinha or his friends to take charge of them?

GRANT OF A PERMANENT UNRESTRICTED AUDITOR'S CERTIFIC TE TO MR. C. M. SIVA PRAKASAM.

- 944. *Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Öhetty: 1. Will Government be pleased to state:
 - (a) whether they have recently received a memorial, dated 25th October, 1926, from one Mr. C. M. Siva Prakasam, the holder of a restricted Auditor's certificate under the Indian Companies Act, 1913, in the Presidency of Madras appealing against the orders of the Madras Government refusing to give a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate to him under the rules framed by the Local Government under section 144 (2) of the Indian Companies Act, 1913?
 - (b) whether the Government of India refused to comply with the request of the memorialist for the grant of an unrestricted certificate?
 - (c) whether the Government of India have authorised the Madras Government to grant a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate to one Mr. G. Narasimham who is not a holder of a Government diploma in Accountancy granted by the Diploma Board in Bombay?
 - (d) whether the Government of India have power to interfere in the matter of the grant of such certificates with the Local Government, and if so, under what provision of law?
 - (e) the circumstances under which the Government of India were pleased to authorise the Madras Government to grant a certificate in one case and refuse it in another?
 - (f) the reasons which precluded the Government of India from considering favourably the memorial of the said Mr. Prakasam?
- 2. Are the Government of India prepared to reconsider the case of the said Mr. Prakasam and issue orders to the Madras Government for granting Lim a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate similar to the one granted to Mr. G. Narasimham?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: 1. (a), (b) and (c). The unswer is in the affirmative.

- (d) The functions assigned to the Local Government by the Indian Companies Act, 1913, appertain to the central subject "Trading Companies and other Associations" with the result that in the exercise of those functions the Local Government acts as the agent of the Government of India in accordance with Part IV of the Devolution Rules and is therefore subject to control by the Government of India.
- (e) and (f). I refer the Honourable Member to the rules published with the Madras Government's Order No. 1891-Home (Judicial), dated the 4th August, 1920. Upter these rules neither of the gentlemen mentioned was eligible for a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate. Mr. G. Narasimham was exempted as a special case.

² No, Sir.

Changing of the Timings of Certain Trains of the East Indian Railway.

945. *Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh: Has the attention of Government been drawn to the great discomfort of passengers from Monghyr who have to start from that station at 4-20 A.M. and wait at Janualpur more than 3½ hours to catch the "41 Up Express to Agra Cantonment via Sahebganj Loop"? Do Government propose to change the timings (by a corrigendum slip or public notice) so as to make train No. 10 M (vide page 55 of the new Tifne Table from March, 1927) leave Monghyr at 7-48 A.M., instead of at 8-30 A.M. as at present, and thus enable the passengers concerned to reach Jamalpur at 8-8 A.M. and avail themselves of the 41 Up Express aforesaid at 8-18 A.M.?

CHANGING OF THE TIMINGS OF CERTAIN TRAINS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

946. *Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh: Do Government know that mail delivery takes place at a late hour in Monghyr due to the fact that though the "41 Up Express to Agra Cantonment via Sahebganj" carrying mails from down country reaches Jamalpur at 7-58 A.M., the connecting train No. 9 M (vide page 55 of the new Time Table from March 1927) leaves for Monghyr as late as 9-20 A.M.? Do Government propose to remove the said grievance of the Monghyr public as well as of the passengers concerned by ordering changes in the timings in order that train No. 9 M may start from Jamalpur at 8-30 A.M. instead of at 9-20 A.M. as at present?

CHANGING OF THE TIMINGS OF CERTAIN TRAINS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

- 947. *Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh: Do Government propose to so change the timings of 47 Up Bhagalpur-Gaya Passenger as to make it start from Bhagalpur at 15, instead of at 15-25 as at present, and so enable the pessengers concerned to avail themselves of 15 Up Express to Delhi via the main line? Is it a fact that under the present arrangement, the Express is missed by the passengers concerned by reason of 47 Up Bhagalpur-Gaya Passenger arriving at Kiul Junction only 12 minutes too late (vide pages 23 and 48 of the new Time Table from March, 1927)?
- Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I propose, with your permission, Sir, to answer questions Nos. 945-947 together.

It is quite impossible for the Government to take any part in the arrangement of time tables. Copies of the questions and this answer will be sent to the Agent.

WANT OF A PROPER WAITING SHED AND URINAL FOR PURDAH LADIES AT KIUL JUNCTION.

1948. *Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh: Has the attention of Government been drawn to the great discomfort felt by purdah ladies travelling intermediate class due to the want of a proper waiting shed and urinal for them at Kiul Junction, in view especially of the fact that passengers have generally to wait there from one to seven hours to eatch corresponding trains? Do the Government propose to supply the aforesaid deficiencies at an early date?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The answer to the first part of the destion is in the negative but a copy of the Honourable Member's question will be sent to the Agent, East Indian Railway.

GRANT OF PERMISSION TO DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE TO RETURN TO INDIA FROM AMERICA.

- 949. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: 1. Will Government please state:
 - (a) if they received any communication from the Home Government regarding the grant of permission to return to India of one Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who is at present residing in America and is a lecturer in the State University of Iowa?
 - (b) if it is a fact that in February, 1926, in the House of Commons, a question was asked about his permission to return to India by Mr. J. Batey, Labour Member for Durham, to which Mr. H. S. Amery replied that he could at any time obtain a certificate to enable him to travel to India?
 - (c) if it is a fact that in spite of his persistent efforts he could not succeed in getting permission to return to India to see his aged mother?
- 2. Do Government propose to make an inquiry into the matter and facilitate the return to India of the said Doctor?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I would refer the Honourable Member to the long reply I gave in this House on the 31st January last to the questions of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh and Mr. D. V. Belvi on the same subject.

TRAINING COLLEGE FOR RAILWAY OFFICERS AT DEHRA DUN.

- 950. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that a Central College for the training of the railway officers is going to be started at Dehra Dun in preference to the Chandausi School already existing?
- (b) Is it a fact that the running expenses of the school at Chandausi would have been cheaper? Is it a fact that Chandausi has been condemned as difficult of access and lacking in facilities?
- (c) In what way is Chandausi more difficult of access than Dehra Dun and what more facilities are there for a Railway College at Dehra Dun?
- (d) What would be the cost of the establishment and the maintenance of the College at Dehra Dun?
- The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) It is proposed to start a training college for railway officers at Dehra. The School at Chandausi was intended mainly for the training of subordinates and in the existing school there is not sufficient accommodation to provide for officers in addition to the subordinates.
 - (b) and (c). Presumably the Honourable Member refers to the running expenses of the training college if located at Chandausi, as the existing school at Chandausi will continue for the training of subordinates for which it was intended. The expenses of running a training college at Chandausi would not have been much lower than the estimated expenses of the

Debra college. The Chandausi School was not originally designed to meet the requirements of a training college, the place having been chosen for the location of the existing school primarily so that an immediate start in the training of railway officials could be made as there were buildings available which could be converted. Chandausi is difficult of access being situated away from the main line, lacking in ordinary facilities and amenities and is subject to great heat whereas Debra Dun has a very good train service from all parts of India, enjoys a good climate and affords suitable sites for a college on land in Government possession. Further the presence of the Prince of Wales' Military College and the Forest Research Institute and College makes it a suitable location for a new institution such as it is intended to establish.

. (d) The preliminary approximate estimate for the College is Rs. 20,63,500 and the annual working expenses (excluding interest, depreciation and maintenance of buildings and equipment) is approximately. Rs. 1,79,000 per annum.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Is it intended that the Chandausi school will be only for Indians, and the Dehra school for Europeans and Anglo-Indians?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Not at all. Chandausi is intended for subordinates and Dehra for officers.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member kindly tell us, in the interests of economy and nothing else, whether it is possible to have both these schools at Dehra instead of one for subordinates and junior officers at Chandausi and the other at Dehra?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I think it would be entirely against the interests of economy,

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will the Dehra College be open to Indians also?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly, Sir.

PARTICIPATION OF 36 CLERKS OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT, RAWAL-PINDI, IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

- 951. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Will Government please state if the statement made in the Forward's issue of December 18, 1926, page 9, under the heading "Indian News" in brief that "notices have been served on 36 clerks of the Postal Department, Rawalpindi, for having taken part in the election campaign of a particular candidate for the Legislative Assembly," is a fact? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Yes. Because such action is a breach of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.
 - Mr. Chaman Lall: May I enquire if any action was taken against these clerks?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The action taken against the clerks is that stated in the question asked by my Honourable friend, Ahan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.

- Mr. Chaman Lall: Do I understand that the action taken is that notices were served but no particular action was taken against these clerks?
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitma: As I understand the position, the matter is under the consideration of the Postmaster-General.
- Mr. Chaman Lall: Is he aware that in 1923 similar action was taken against the Officer Commanding the Sialkot Division and that Government contented themselves by warning the gentleman concerned? Will the Postmaster-General take similar action?
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I cannot give the Honourable Member any assurance on that point. These particular employees definitely contravened the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apparently in the interests of the Honourable Member.
- Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member whether he is aware of the case of the Officer Commanding the Salkot Division who also definitely contravened the Government Servants Conduct Rules, and whether Government merely contented themselves with warning him, and will Government now indulge in a differentiation?
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: There is no question of differentiation. These people have contravened the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and the action to be taken against them is, so far as I understand, now under the consideration of the Postmaster-General. I have nothing further to add to that at the present moment.
- Sir Hari Singh Gour: 1 would like to ask the Honourable Member whether these Government Servants' Conduct Rules were made before or after the Reforms of 1919.
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I should like to have notice of that question. I cannot say specifically when the change was made.
- Mr. Chaman Lall: Is the Honourable Member aware that the Government Servants' Conduct Rules do not mention the Legislative Assembly at all but only the Council.
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Government Servants' Conduct Rules specifically mention the Legislative Council but obviously the rule would apply to the Legislative Assembly also.
- Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Is the Honourable Member aware that higher officers than these are taking part in these election campaigns against Swarajist candidates?
- The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I am not aware of that. Probably my Honourable friend, the Home Member, may know something about it.
- Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Will the Honourable Member kindly let me know to what extent the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apply to officers in the Executive Council, officers who are Secretaries and who are distinguished servants?
- The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: It eapplies to all Government servants. I would like an early opportunity of amending the rules so as to cover the case of the Legislative Assembly.

Sir High Singh Gour: As the Honourable Member has the rules in his hands, would he inform the House as to the date when these rules were amended?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: If the Honourable Member will put down the question, I will give him the date of amendment.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I simply asked the Honourable Member who is in possession of a copy of the rules.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh: Is the Honourable Member aware that officials in Bihar took a very active part in the last election?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am not aware of it. Has the Honourable Member made any complaint?

Mr. Chaman Lall: In view of the reference made to me by Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, I ask your permission, Sir, to make a personal statement. I wish to declare on the floor of this House that I had no part or lot in the issue of the manifesto in question. I should like to add that I was not even aware of it until the trouble started between the Postmaster-General and these clerks.

CONTROL OVER THE PUBLIC EXHIBITION OF CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS.

- 952. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government please state in what way Government controls the public exhibition of cinematograph films in India?
- (b) Is it a fact that they are in correspondence with the Secretary of State on this question? Have they come to any decision on the question of controlling undesirable films?
- (c) What countries do the majority of such undesirable films generally come from?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Control over the exhibition of cinematograph films is exercised by the constitution of authorities under section 7 of the Cinematograph Act, for the purpose of examining and certifying films before public exhibition. Boards of Censorship have been set up at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Rangoon.

- (b) The Government of India have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on this question and certain additional safeguards are now under consideration.
 - (c) The majority of films exhibited in India are of American origin.

NEW TAXES IN AGRA CANTONMENTS.

'953. *Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article headed "New Taxes proposed for Agra Cantonmentss" which appeared in the People's Herald of Agra, dated 12th February, 1927? If so, will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that any extra taxation is to be put into operation in the Agra Cantonment area?

- (b) If the answer is in the affirmative, do Government propose to delay the passage of such an order till an inquiry has been made into the matter?
- Mr. G. M. Young: (a) and (b). Government have not seen the article, nor are they aware that any extra taxation in the Agra Cantonment area is contemplated. I am making inquiries, however, and will inform my Honourable friend of the result.

LAND MORTCAGE BANKS.

- 954. *U. Tok Kyi: (a) How many Land Mortgage Banks have been started in India?
- (b) Have the Government of India received any proposal from the Government of Burma for the starting of Land Mortgage Banks?
- (c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to sanction the proposal?
- Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) The information asked for is not available but if the Honourable Member so desires it will be obtained from Provincial Governments and supplied to him.
 - (b) No.
 - (c) Does not arise.
- U. Tok Kyi: May I ask, Sir, is it the intention of Government to make Land Mortgage Banking a transferred subject?
- Mr. J. W. Bhore: In view of the recent Resolution passed in another place the question of Land Mortgage Banks is now under consideration.

OPENING OF NEW BRANCHES OF THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA IN BURMA, ETC.

- 955. *U. Tok Kyi: (a) Has not the Imperial Bank of India opened 100 new branches all over India during the past 5 years? If so, how many of these are in Burma?
- (b) Has the Imperial Bank of India ever recommended Government to establish a New Public Debt Office in Rangoon? If so, will Government be pleased to state if it is their intention to establish one there in the near future?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Yes; three are in Burma.

- (b) Yes. I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the letter from the Managing Governors of the Imperial Bank No. 1482, dated the 27th April 1926, which is included in the correspondence regarding the recommendations of the External Capital Committee which was laid on the table on the 31st January 1927. The matter is under the consideration of Government.
- U. Tok Kyi: Will the Honourable Member give the names of the three places where such branches have been opened?
- The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Unfortunately I have not the list here, and I am afraid I could not pronounce all the names if I had!

- AVAIRBILITY OF THE FUNDS OF THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS FOR THE LOCAL MONEY MARKET. ETC.
- 956. *U. Tok. Kyi: (a) Is there any proposal before Government that the funds of the Post Office Saving Banks may be made available for the local money market and particularly for co-operative banks?
- (b) If there is, will Government be pleased to state whether or not they are prepared to accept it?
- The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member is presumably referring to a suggestion referred to in the correspondence on the subject of the recommendations of the External Capital Committee which was, recently laid on the table in this House. The funds of the Post Office Savings Banks are merged in the general balances of the Government of India. These balances are, except for the small amounts held at tresuries where there are no branches of the Imperial Bank, held by the Imperial Bank and are available to the local money market.
- Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Sir, may I know whether the Government have at present any proposals under consideration to fund these deposits separately?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That subject is one of those which are under consideration on the general question of funding advances and reserve funds.

REDUCTION OF THE ENTIRE STAFF OF FOOD INSPECTORS ON THE GREAT-INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

- ... 957. *Haji Chaudhury Mohammad Ismail Khan: (a) Is it a fact that the Government have brought under reduction the entire staff of the Food Inspectors including the Chief Inspector on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?
 - (b) Was the Traffic Manager consulted in the matter?
- (c) Was Mr. Abdul Hafiz, B.A., the only Mussalman Food Inspector in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Commercial Department in receipt of a salary of Rs. 500 per month?
- (d) Is it a fact that since the removal of this office, there is no other Mussalman in this grade in the Commercial Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?
- (e) Is it a fact that the name of Mr. Abdul Hafiz was placed by the Railway Board on the waiting list of traffic probationers?
 - (f) Is it also a fact that he was recommended for this appointment both by the Chief and Deputy Managers in recognition of his services as Chief Food Inspector?
 - (y) Do Government propose to reinstate Mr. Abdul Hafiz as a traffic probationer on any of the State Railways?
- Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f). Government have no information.
- (e) No. His name was circulated to Companies Railways in October 1923 for employment in the Superior Traffic Department.
- (g) Recruitment in India for the Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways is now made in accordance with the regulations published in the Gazette of India, dated 17th July, 1926.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDIAN AUXILIARY AND TERRITORIAL, FORCES COMMITTEE.

- 958. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if their process of consideration of the recommendations of what is known as the Shea Committee is completed and if so, how they propose generally to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee?
- (b) Will Government be pleased to state what scheme they have evolved to commence military education in schools as recommended by the Shea Committee, so that it may be continued in universities and colleges and be concluded in the Indian Territorial Force, for the purpose as propounded by the Committee of spreading military training and the inspiration to military service among the manhood of India?
- 4 Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Government have completed their consideration of the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, and forwarded their own recommendations to the Secretary of State on the 24th of June last. Until they receive the orders of the Secretary of State, they cannot indicate the nature of their proposals to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee.
- (b) I presume that my Honourable friend is referring to the passage in paragraph 26 (a) of the Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, which runs as follows:

"We think it desirable that physical training accompanied by some form of military discipline should be adopted as part of the routine of all schools. We commend to the educational authorities in all provinces the desirability of employing for this purpose military pensioners as instructors."

This was not one of the specific recommendations of the Committee to the Government of India but in the nature of a suggestion to Provincial Governments, with whom the decision lies whether to adopt it or not.

TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE AUXILIARY AND TERRITORIAL FORCES.

- 959. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to supply information on the following points:
 - (a) the total number of rank and file and of commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Auxiliary Forces in India;
 - (b) the total population of the community which is eligible for enrolment in the Auxiliary Force and the proportion it bears to the number recruited in the Force;
 - (c) the total number of rank and file and of commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Territorial Force; and
 - (d) the total population of the community which is eligible for enrolment in the Indian Territorial Force and the proportion it hears to the number recruited in the Force?

Mr. G. M. Young ..

(a) Officers •	•					1,242
Other ranks	•		•	•		80,680
(c) Officers .	•	•				441
Other ranks.	•		4			15 977

Of these 96 officers and 3,905 other ranks belong to the University Training Corps.

- (b) and (d). Recruitment to both the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces is subject to age limits, and the figures asked for by my Honourable friend could not be obtained, except by holding a census especially for the purpose.
- Sir Hari Singh Gour: I have a supplementary question to ask. Is it a fact that the Secretary of State has fixed a maximum of 20,000 as the limit for the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces or for either of them?
 - Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir, 20,000 is the limit for the Territorial Force. Sir Hari Singh Gour: When was that limit reached, Sir?
- Mr. G. M. Young: I cannot give the exact date, but it is the limit at present.
- Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is it a fact that a very large number of applications had to be refused on the ground that the maximum fixed had already been exceeded or reached?
- Mr. G. M. Young: If my Honourable friend will give me notice of that question, I shall be glad to answer it.

RESORT TO COMPULSION IN THE RECRUITMENT OF THE AUXILIARY FORCE.

- 960. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: (a) In the recruitment of the Auxiliary Force is there resort to compulsion of some kind or other and if so, in what form?
- (b) Do Government propose to introduce similar compulsion in the recruitment of some of the branches of the non-regular military forces in India?
 - Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The answer is in the negative.
 - (b) Does not arise.

PROVINCIAL AND URBAN UNITS OF THE INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE.

- 961. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: (a) How many provincial units of the Indian Territorial Force have been so far formed and in which provinces?
- (b) How many urban units have been so far formed and in which provinces and how many in each province, and what is the strength of each urban unit in rank and file and in officers, commissioned and non-commissioned?
- (c) How many provinces, if any, and which are they, where no provincial units of the Territorial Force have been constituted?
- (d) If there are cases where provincial units of the Territorial Force have not been constituted why have they not yet been constituted?
- Mr. G. M. Young: (a) 20 provincial units have been formed as follows:
 - Madras 3, Bombay 3, Bengal 3 Companies, United Provinces 4,
 Punjab and Delhi 5, Bihar and Orissa 2 Companies, Burma 1,
 North West Frontier Province 1, Ajmere-Merwara 1, Coorg
 - (b) No urban units have yet been formed.
 - (c) Central Provinces, Assam and Baluchistan.

(d) I am afraid I have not been able to obtain a full answer to this question, which involves the examination of records in the time at my disposal; but I will inform the Honourable Member as soon as possible.

University Training Corps.

- 962. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: (a) Will Government be pleased to state in connection with how many universities the University Training Corps have been constituted and which are those universities?
- (b) Are there any universities, in connection with which no such corrs have been formed and if so, which are they and why have they not been formed?
- (c) Did any of these universities apply for permission or help to the Government for constituting University Training Corps, and if so, was the required permission or assistance given and if not, why not?
- (d) What is the total strength of each University Training Corps in rank and file and in officers?
- Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Eleven, namely, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Rangoon, Patna, Delhi, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow and Aligarh.
- (b) and (c). Yes, the Universities of Dacca and Nagpur and the Andhra University. The applications were received later than those of other universities, and are under consideration.
- (d) I lay on the table a statement showing the exact number of officers and other ranks in each Corps.

Statement showing the strength of the University Training Corps.

Bombay Battalion	Officers .	•	•	20
	· Other Ranks	•	,	623
Calcutta Battalion	Cofficers .	•		9
	Other Ranks	•	٠	656
United Provinces Battalion	∫ Officers .	•	•	28
	· {Other Ranks	•	•	502
Lahore Battelion	∫ Officere .	•	٠	9 T
	Other Ranks.	•	•	599
Madras Battalion .	Officers .	•	•	15
•	Other Ranks	•	4.	612
Burma Battalion	∫ Officers .	•	•	<u>s</u>
	Other Ranks	•	•	500
Patna Company	(Officers	•		2
	Other Ranks .		•	159 e
Delhi Company	∫ Officers	•	, •	, 1 , ,
	Other Ranks	٠.		165

University Training Corps.

- 963. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to state:
 - (a) if there are any University Training Corps which are supposed to have reached their natural limits of expansion and if so, which are they;
 - (b) if any arbitrary limitation has been placed upon the natural capacity of expansion of University Training Corps in general or of any particular Corps and if so, why; and
 - (c) if there is a University Training Corps in the Central Provinces and if not, why not?
- Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The establishment for a University Training Corpa-Battalion is 664 all ranks, and for a Company 165 all ranks. The Honourable Member will see from the statement which I have laid on the table that the Calcutta Battalion and the Delhi Company have both reached full strengths. The Bombay, United Provinces, Lahore and Madras Battalions, and the Patna Company are almost at full strength; and the Burma Battalion is over 75 per cent. of strength.
- (b) The only arbitrary limit consists in the fact that the total strength of the Indian Territorial Force, which includes University Training Corps, is at present limited to 20,000.
- (c) There is no University Training Corps in the Central Provinces. The application for the formation of such a Corps in the Central Provinces was received too late for provision to be made for such a corps within the allotted number of 20,000.
- Dr. B. S. Moonje: Supposing the application were renewed, is there any possibility of permission being given?
- Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir. I think I have stated in my answer to a previous question that it is now under consideration.

University Training Corps.

- 964. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to supply information of each University Training Corps according to the religion and the caste of the rank and file and of the officers, stating the numbers of each religion and each caste?
- Mr. G. M. Young: Members of Universities, for whom University Training Corps are constituted, are eligible for enrolment irrespective of religion or caste; and I am therefore not in a position to furnish the Honourable Member with the information he desires.

FORMATION OF TERRITORIAL CAVALRY SQUADRONS, ETC.

- 965. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to state if they propose to establish in suitable places Territorial cavalry squadrons and other units of the more technical arms such as artillery and Engineer Field Companies, Signals, pioneers, etc.?
 - Mr. G. M. Young: Until the decision of the Secretary of State on the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee's and the Government of India's proposals is received, Government can make no announcement about future developments in the University Training Corps.

- Government of India expect the Secretary of State to come to any decision on this question?
- Mr. G. M. Young: I am afraid the Government of India have fixed no time limit for the Secretary of State.

EXPENDITURE ON THE TRAINING AND MAINTENANCE OF THE TERRITORIAL AND AUXILIARY FORCES DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS.

966. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to state the total amounts of money spent in the training and maintenance of the Indian Territorial Force and of the Auxiliary Force respectively year by year during the last three years?

Mr. G. M. Young: The information is as follows:

Auxiliary Force—1923-24—Rs. 78,53,692; 1924-25—Rs. 69,87,059; 1925-26—Rs. 74,81,490.

Territorial Force—1928-24—Rs. 18,00,070; 1924-25—Rs. 21,87,891; 1925-26—Rs. 23,54,274.

UNSTARRED QUESTION AND ANSWER.

USE OF AERO-PHOTOGRAPHY FOR PURPOSES OF SURVEYS.

- 190. Sir Victor Sassoon: Have the Government of India considered the use of aero-photography for purposes of surveys and do they propose to consider the question of consulting Provincial Governments as to the advisability of using aircraft for purposes of topographical settlement and large scale city surveys?
- Mr. J. W. Bhore: The matter is engaging the attention of the Government of India.

THE GENERAL BUDGET-LIST OF DEMANDS-contd.

SECOND STAGE—contd.

Expenditure from Revenue—contd.

DEMAND No. 88-ARMY DEPARTMENT-contd.

- Mr. President: The House will now resume further consideration of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's motion on Demand No. 88.
- Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I desire to support the motion of my Honourable friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. At the same time I also associate myself generally with the remarks which fell from my friend, Mr. Jinnah, who I am sorry to notice is absent from the House this morning. My friend, Mr. Kunzru, has been at considerable pains to convince this House that the military expenditure in India is excessive. Like my friend, Mr. Jayakar, I have no mind for statistical matter. From my boyhood I have been taught to despise statistics because with statistics you can prove anything. But, Sir, the

principal test of the size of our Military Budget is our frontier policy and the foreign policy of the Government of India. The Government of India has, strictly speaking, no foreign policy of its own; it is only a sort of sub-agency of the Foreign Office in Downing Street. I have no doubt, however, that our little Foreign Office at Simla does a lot of useful work for His Majesty's Government for which we receive very little or nothing.

But, Sir, the main work of the Foreign Department is found in the Frontier Province of India, the province of my friend, Nawab Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qaiyum. There for many years we have been pursuing a most ruinous policy, the policy known as the forward policy. I do not belong to the school of backward policy. I do not believe in the moveback to the Indus; and I do not believe either in the forward policy which we have been pursuing for many years to the ruin of our Indian finances and to the bad name of the Indian people. Only recently, Sir, a distinguished English journalist was visiting this frontier at the invitation of the General Staff. What is his verdict? He says, "Go further on; the Finance Member has been niggardly." He calls it a policy of peaceful penetration; he says, "Go to Wana and be near what is called the scientific border of India—the Durand Line." I am not enamoured of this proposition. Why should we interfere with the tribal independence of people who inhabit the land between us and Afghanistan? It has been a wanton interference with their rights; and what are we going to give them in return? We are going to give them in return the gift of primary schools. At whose cost? At the cost of the Government of India, of the Indian people. Suppose, Sir, we go to Wana; we will be within a very short distance of the Afghan frontier. What will happen? The Government of India will be called upon to be ever watchful, ever vigilant, and to waste more of our money on our Frontier and to ruin our Indian finances. My policy is—and I think it is a policy with which this House should agree—let us stabilise, not at 1s. 6d. or 1s. 4d., but let us stabilise at Razmak and sit tight there before we make a further advance.

What is the key-note of our Frontier policy? To be prepared for a possible invasion from Russia? Does anybody in this House expect it? I will give it in the words of the Director of Military Operations who is now the head of Military Intelligence at our Army Headquarters. This is what he told the Calcutta people last year. At his lecture last year at the Saturday Club, Colonel Saunders gave it as his considered opinion—and it is the opinion of the majority of the military authorities—that the Russians are developing plans for an offensive and that Great Britain would have to defend India by force of arms within a period which he put as within ten years hence. This is the key-note of our military and foreign policy. Does anybody in this House expect a Russian invasion? The only invasion of which the History of India tells us is the invasion of India by Great Britain: and Britain did not come by the North West Frontier but by the sea and has established an Empire of which we are all proud. But, Sir, the present policy we are pursuing on the Frontier is a ruinous policy and is a policy which should be condemned by the unanimous verdict of this House. A large number of Members of the first Assembly went to Razmak and the Frontier; they came back overjoyed; I was sorry for them and for the Government of India.

Mr. K. C. Roy.]

One more word on this subject. The Incheape Committee had to deal with our military expenditure. [They had no right—Sir Purshotamdas will correct me if I am wrong—they had no right to discuss the question of military policy; but the Frontier policy was so important that Lord Incheape thought it fit to visit the Frontier before he came to any conclusions about the military expenditure of India.

Now, Sir, I come to the pet theory of Mr. Jinnah, the Indianisation of the Indian Army. I am willing here to acknowledge the great advance which the civil administration of this country has made in the domain of Indianisation. If you walk over to the two blocks of buildings over there, you will find that there is not a single department which has not been Indianised. There is at least one department over which my friend, Mr. Bhore, ably presides, which is fully Indianised to-day. If you go to the Legislative Department you will find it fifty per cent. Indianised. There is not a single department including the most confidential departments of the Government of India—the Home and Foreign Departments which has not been Indianised to no small extent. But what do you find if you go to the Army Department and the Army Headquarters? Not a single Indian holding any responsible position of any importance. They are clerks. After centuries of British rule the military authorities have not been able to produce an Indian Staff Captain for the Indian Army. Go to the Commands and you will find the same thing; go to the Districts and you will find the same thing; go to the Brigades and you will find the same thing. If this is not a scandal, I want to know from this House what a scandal is.

Then, Sir, my friend Mr. Jinnah spoke in a tone of great optimism about the Sandhurst Committee. I am not an optimist. I think the question of granting King's commissions to Indians is a subject matter over 100 years old; and in my own experience I know that Lord Curzon wanted absolutely to block the way by creating what he called the Imperial Cadet Corps. The Imperial Cadet Corps has very rightly come to an untimely end and it was really at the Delhi Durbar when His Majesty announced personally that the King-Emperor's commission was open to his Indian subjects that some rights were given. happened since then? We have got partially what we know as responsible government in this country. My friends on the other side may say whatever they like: I am proud of what we have got (An Honourable Member: "Are you?") and I believe in it: I believe in the sincerity of the British people. So far as it goes, it is a small concession. But what did Mr. Montagu do in respect of the Indianisation of the Indian Army? Some of my friends—I believe Mr. Ranga Iver was one—quoted from his speech: and he gave the directions given to the Esher Committee. I am sorry to say that it was a negative direction and the result has so far been rightly megative. This is what Lord Esher wrote:

"We also desfre to mention that we have been requested, in considering our recommendations, to avoid, if possible, framing them in such a manner as may hereafter prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion Status; and we observe that the Indian Constitutional Reforms recently approved have in view the relevation of the control of the Secretary of State as and Parliament over the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State, as well as of Parliament, over the

Our late lamented friend, Sir Krishna Gupta, was very sorry that no positive mandate was given, but, Sir, the Government of India did not

sit idle. As soon as the new constitution came into being, first came the Shea Report, then the 8 units scheme and lastly the second line of defence scheme. The Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee will, I am sure, take some more time to see the light of the day, and probably by that time we shall have another Commander-in-Chief, another change in the British. Government, possibly, we may have a change in the Viceroyalty, and it is very likely that the Sandhurst Committee's Report will be delayed till after a further examination by the Royal Commission which will come out to examine our Indian constitution in 1929. This is my firm conviction.

As regards the Territorial Force, what has happened? We are only trying to provide a second line of defence for our Indian army, and not for the British army. Sir John Shea, who is known for his sympathy, presided over a Committee some time ago, and reported on the question. And the Report is now lying for the last 4 or 6 months with the Secretary of State. Even in a small matter like this, the organization of a second line of defence for the benefit of India only, the Governor General has no voice. Although, according to our law, the Governor General is the supreme authority in all these matters, who is really our master? Our master is not the Governor General; our master is not the Commander-in-Chief; but our master is the Army Council at Home, the Imperial General Staff, and lastly the Imperial Defence Committee. Unless a strong effort is made to secure a complete orientation of the relations which exist between us and His Majesty's Government over the military arrangements, there will be no progress either in the reduction of military expenditure or in the Indianization of the army.

Sir, the last point that appears to me as the most important is the one raised by my friend Mr. Ranga Iyer, who is not present here. What happened? The Esher Committee put us almost in the wrong. did they actually do? They recommended that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be appointed, on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, by His Majesty the King, and not on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India or the Governor General of India. Then, Sir, the same is to be said about the Chief of the General Staff whose name was mentioned by Mr. Jinnah yesterday, General Skeen. I have a high regard for General Skeen. He is one of those military men who is held in great esteem, whose record of service may be compared with that of an Edwards or a Lawrence. He is an exceptional man; all the same, what is his position? He is appointed by the Chief of the General Staff. Where does the Government of India come in? They do not come in anywhere at all. We are under the complete authority of His Majesty's Government, and I know the feeling—they do not want to budge an inch. If the India Council presses them very hard, then they go to the Army Council; if they show any sign of reluctance, then they go to the Imperial Defence Committee. This •has been my experience, and I think this has been the experience of some of the most distinguished Indians and Europeans, who have interested themselves in military matters.

Then, Sir, I shall read to the House an extract showing the attitude of mind of the average English officer, high or low, towards the question of Indianization. Here is the opinion of a very distinguished military

[Mr. K. C. Roy.] authority who commanded the Indian Army Corps in France. General Sir James Willcocks, whose recent death we all deeply deplore, says:

"It is this. Whatever you do as regards the inhabitants of India, whatever form of Government they may eventually possess, so long as the Union, Jack floats over Hindustan, do not reduce the present status of the British officer. You will find Indians as brave, loyal gentlemen and splendid comrades, and hence you may find it difficult to refuse equality of command; but you must make this a cardinal principle, for no argument decked in rhetoric will alter the fact, that you can never replace the British officer in the Indian Army."

This is the universal opinion among the British officers in this country. I have very rarely met a British officer who is sympathetic to Indian claims because it affects his own right, his own position and his hereditary right to command. What is to be done in this matter, Sir? I have very carefully thought over this matter, and I place my considered opinion before the House. We must do what other civilized countries have done. I mean no reflection on His Excellency the Commander-in Chief: he has been associated with India for generations (Applause); he is a man who is universally liked by the entire Indian army, and I yield to none in my respect and admiration for him. But, Sir, one thing is absolutely clear. To-day, we must bring our military system in line with other civilized countries of the world. We must establish the supremacy of the civil authority over our military authorities. We must establish an Army Member, who must be a civilian, who must come from the Indian Civil Service. Unless you establish the supremacy of the civil authority over military affairs, I do not think we shall ever be able to make any progress. At the same time, Sir, we must keep the Commander-in-Chief, because the Commander-in-Chief is the idol of the Indian army. We must find out a system by which the entire army policy will be dictated not by the Commander-in-Chief, who is the executive head of the Indian army, but by the administrative head who must be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

We want an Army Council for India to be created by a Royal Warrant. We have one called the Military Council. But in all civilised countries they have what is commonly known as the Army Council. Our Military Council consists of departmental heads and a civilian Financial Adviser, Mr. McLeod. But what is the composition of the Army Council in England? It is really composed of 6 persons, and speaking from memory, it is composed of 8 civilians and 3 military men. Why cannot you have a similar Army Council here? Let us have a strong civilian element in the superior control of the Army, then and then alone the Indian view point in military affairs will be established.

Then, Sir, we have a Defence Committee here, of which the Vicerov is the President; there is also the Commander-in-Chief, there is the Chief of the General Staff, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Member and the Law Member. They are either in the Executive Council or in the Army Council. Then what is the composition of the Imperial Defence Committee in England? The Prime Minister is the solitary permanent member, and he can choose anybody he likes. Why do not you have the same system here? We must have a leaven of Indians, trusted Members of the Central Legislature, as members of the Defence Committee; then and then alore the Indian view point in respect of our foreign and military policy will prevail. We have already got three Indian Members in the Executive Council;

they, of course, do their best in shaping our policy but they have got to be strengthened and buttressed, and we can do that by establishment of an Army Council, by reorganising the Defence Committee of India, and by creating a civilian Member for the Army Department.

Lastly, Sir, we have heard a good deal about the Indian Territorial Force. What is the Territorial Force in England, may I know? Su, it has been recognised in all civilised countries that the Territorial Force should be placed in charge of a civilian. When the Territorial Force was first created by Lord Haldane, to the best of my recollection, it was put in charge of the Financial Secretary to the War Office, an elected Member of the House of Commons, but now I think it has gone to the portfolio of the Under Secretary of State. There is the Director General, General Jeudwine. What are we doing in India? The administration of the Territorial Force in India is vested in the Adjutant General's Department. this right? I am sure that the Territorial Force will not progress unless it is placed under civilian control. This was recognised by my friend Pandit Malaviya many years ago; he went to the length of suggesting the appointment of an Indian Member of the Vicerov's Executive Council as a Member to look after the Territorial Force or in the alternative the appointment of a civilian member to the Military Council for the same duties. But of course, in our race for constitutional advance we have forgotten all about it. But I am reminding the Honourable Pandit that this is what he said many years ago and it stands true to-day. Sir, unless this House takes an intelligent interest in the military policy of this country and secures a complete orientation of the headquarters administration of the Indian Army, there is neither going to be constitutional advance nor advance in our military affairs. Our friends on the other side are very anxious to get constitutional advance; so are we. But what is the value of a constitution which must be defended by a foreign army? Such a constitution no honest Englishman can give and no honest Indian can take.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Sir, I rise to support the amendment before the House. We are, Sir, on the last day set aside for Demands for Grants. number of heads of Demands for Grants is about 79 and during the last 4 days I do not think we have discussed more than 5. If I mistake not. this is the fifth one. The total amount which this House will be called upon to vote away by 5 o'clock this afternoon runs into rupees 31 crores and 82 lakhs. We have till now, including the present Demand, only touched Rs. 12 crores. I am aware, Sir, there is a very strong feeling in several quarters of this House that the number of days which have been set aside by His Excellency the Viceroy for the Demands for Grants is much too small. (An Honourable Member: "Hear, hear.") One minute. Whilst I am of that opinion, I really feel that this House is responsible for such a large amount as about 20 crores going under the guillotine and I mention this, Sir, even at the risk of being a little irrelevant in speaking on this amendment, because I feel very strongly that, if a few constituencies asked of their elected Members here, why such a large amount was allowed to go under the guillotine, it would be very difficult for many Members who may be put this question to render an account of what they did during the time of the Demands for Grants. I would like, Sir, to mention one or two concrete instances of risk in this. Ever since the New Delhi scheme was started in 1921 and put before the Assembly for their vote and most of it was votable. I have looked in vain through the various discussions on the

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[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

Demands for Grants to see any particular budget period when the demand for a Grant for New Delhi ever was reached by the Assembly. A more tragic instance, Sir, is in Bombay, where I know that the Development Department having been the last one to be started always used to come right at the end of the Demands for Grants. And although owing to very strong feeling all through Bombay that, if the Development Department Demand for Grants did come up, very substantial cuts would have been made, unfortunately owing to want of arrangement or want of discipline, whichever you like, it was never reached and the Bombay Council is now being told with some justification at least that they were partly at any rate responsible for the Development Department mess. I therefore appeal to this House not to lose sight of the fact that, whilst the number of days allotted may be small, it is up to the House to show that they can discuss more than 5 heads of Grants in 5 days for after all, if this is the best that can be done in 5 days, namely, disposing of 5 or 6 heads of Grants, in order adequately to dispose of 80 heads of Grants, does anybody think we want. the best part of 20 days for Demands for Grants? (An Honourable Member: "30 days." Another Honourable Member: "80 days.") In a way both these figures I think are unreasonable. And I do not think it is right for us to overlook this because I am very much afraid, Sir, that the way in which this particular Session we have handled the Demands for Grants cannot be said to stand to the credit of the businesslike methods of this House.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): If you have another half a dozen parties with half a dozen leaders in this House it will take more than three months then.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: And if Mr. Kubeerud-Din Ahmed will interrupt a little less perhaps we will be able to shorten that time appreciably

Sir, the military expenditure of the Government of India is one which stands out pre-eminent as to the extraordinarily superficial powers which this House has on one of the largest spending departments of the Government of India. (An Honourable Member: "Question.") Sir, according to the budget figures, the Army estimate is put at rupees 54 92 crores this year. Of that the only amount which is subject to the vote of this House is Rs. 5 lakhs 98 thousand, just under one-tenth of one per cent. of the total expenditure on the Military Department of the Government of India. Even supposing this House wanted to show its utmost dissatisfaction with cither the policy or any of the details of the Military Department, we could , not touch more than one-tenth of one per cent. of the total military expenditure of the Government of India. I hope that it will be borne in mind that of all the various departments, the Military Department at any rate requires a special day set aside for it, on either the Demands for Grants or in any other manner that is possible, in order that the various details and the policy of that Department may be fully considered and dealt with by this House. Sir, I do not wish to take any more time of this House than may be absolutely necessary. I wish to refer to one or two special items of interes', which I see have not been touched by any of my predecessors who have spoken on this item. To this expenditure of rupees 55 crores, I see that the Finance Member in his budget speech gives one paragraph, and he mentions casually there the provision of 5 lakhs of rupees to create the Royal Indian Navy. Due either to the enterprise or to the sense of proportion of the editor, I have, Sir, here cuttings from the Indian Daily Mail

which give telegrams from Reuter regarding some questions in Parliament about the Royal Indian Navy Bill introduced there:

"Mr. Beckett asked whether the Indian Legislative Assemblsy would be consulted before they (Royal Indian Navy) were sent away from India. Mr. Bridgeman expressed the opinion that Mr. Beckett could find there were ample safeguards in the Bill."

A little later, Sir, we have it from Lord Winterton that "he commended the Bill to the House because to the best of Lord Birkenhead's belief it was desired by the people of India."

Now, I wonder, Sir, whether we want any Navy for India which can be outside the vote of this House and which could not be touched in point of its annual expenditure. I understand that a Bill in connection with this Royal Indian Navy will be brought up later at the Simla Session, but I cannot let this opportunity pass without putting it on record, at any rate as my personal opinion, that I would have no paraphernalia added to the Military Department if it is not subject to the vote of this House. I would rather go without any Navy or any Air Force or any part of the armament required for the defence of India, if this Assembly cannot be trusted by Government to vote the necessary money for it on the merits of such requirements. I see from the Indian Daily Mail of the 9th instant that in reply to a question asked in Parliament "whether the Legislative Assembly did not do what the Government wanted, the Vicercy would have the authority to override the Assembly", the Speaker intervened and saved the Government Member for having to give a reply which might have let us into approximately what is intended.

Whilst I yield to none in my aspiration for a Navy for India, I strongly feel that it would be wrong for this House to sanction anything which in point of expenditure would be outside the reach of this House. It is bad enough to have the military expenditure of rupees 55 crores, Sir, outside the reach of this House and to have only 5 lakhs submitted to us for our vote. We have more than enough to do before we can get Great Britain and the Cabinet to remove this unnatural, unjustified handicap, but we do not want a single pie more added to this by our vote by creating either a Royal Indian Navy or anything else. Not even, Sir, with the temptation and inducement that a few Indians may find employment there. I therefore feel, Sir, that at the very first opportunity available I should like to put it on record—and I hope that it will have the endorsement of this side of the House at least—that we want no addition to our Military Department if we are not to vote the money for it.

Next, Sir, is the question of Aden. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief dealt with this in his speech before this House on the 3rd of this month. His Excellency, Sir, if I may say so, expressed great solicitude in his speech and told us that Aden was never a paying proposition and that in giving £250,000 a year towards the military expenditure of Aden for the first 3 years and £150,000 a year after that—presumably, I understand, permanently—His Excellency, by inference I make out, is of opinion that India is striking a very good bargain. Now, Sir, the question of how India has been made to carry the burden of either Persia or Aden or any of the other very convenient places for Imperial domination in the East is a long and an old one and I do not wish to deal with it to-day. All that I wish to submit to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is, if this is so good a proposition or arrangement for India, why was India made to bear the expenditure of Aden, both military and civil, for the best part

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.] of a hundred years? Sir, Aden has been made what it is to-day-attractive. promising and a very useful point for Imperial power—owing to the enterprise of Indians. I know that in deference to the very strong agitation set up in Aden and in India the civil administration has for the moment been left with the Government of India. But I am not at all sanguine that it will long be left there and I have very grave apprehensions that the Colonial Office may extend its very strong arm even to that part of Aden's administration. I cannot sufficiently deplore. Sir, the manner in which India has been saddled with military expenditure in connection with Aden till now. and especially during the war period; I feel that in not consulting the Indian Legislature regarding this latest arrangement, the Government of India have, if I may say so, been guilty of a breach of promise, because, in 1922 and 1924,—in reply to question No. 144 in the Assembly on the 7th September 1922 and question No. 809 in the Council of State on the 9th June 1924-it was promised both in this House and in the other place that nothing. would be done regarding Aden without the Legislature of India being consulted beforehand. Our helplessness comes home to us when places which India and the Indian tax-payer develop for the best part of a century are taken away from our control without the knowledge and the consent of the Legislature. It remains to be seen whether it has been done with the consent and approval of the Government of India even. But even if the Government of India did agree to it, which I would be rather surprised to hear, I say that that would not mean that the tax-payer of India approves of it. But what is to be done? There is no remedy at the moment except a protest. It is a mercy that they do not take away the civil administration too from the Government of India for the Colonial Office. All that one can say is that this is hardly the policy which can inspire confidence or ensure the co-operation of the people here or the tax-payer of India, because, after all, it was due to India that the representatives of the tax-payer of India were given at least an effective voice in this matter before the arrangement was completed. The thing, Sir, is notified to us as a fait accompli and all that remains now to do is to point out how unfair these sorts of arrangements are and warn the representatives of the Indian tax-payer here that they should be no party to any enterprise in the future which may leave them at the mercy of the Colonial Office or of any other Department of His Majesty's Government.

Sir, the Finance Member says that the disappearance of post-war charges for demobilised officers accounts for a saving of 64 lakhs but, he savs, this is counterbalanced by the extra provision necessary for the expansion of the Air Force. This again, Sir, is a matter which we have to accept without any demur, and absolutely, I suppose, without any recourse at change in what is now put before us. Where is this, Sir, going to end? There will be new armaments, there will be new methods of destruction, and there will be new scientific discoveries made from year to year. In spite of India saving all this up-to-date machinery, we are told that not only can the number of men in the troops here not be decreased but it is very necessary that an increase should be made in fighting troops at the opportunity. This practically means that whilst the War was responsible for almost doubling of the military expenditure which was close upon 30 crores before the War but is very close upon 60 crores now, within the next 10 or 15 years this might mount up to anything between rupees 70 and 75 crores. This, Sir, I am

afraid is really developing into not only a great joke on this Assembly but a crue! joke. After all, if you can trust the people of this country to be solicitous of their own safety there can be no objection to putting before this House for their vote on the merits of the question any proposals for increase required in the military expenditure either for better protection or for protection with more up-to-date material over the borders of India or for the purpose, if you like, of internal peace. When, Sir, railways in India were few and far between and transport was comparatively scarce and primitive, when there were no aeroplanes and none of the other deadly weapons available, a certain number of men were necessary in India to defend her frontiers and for internal purposes. When the railways have now multiplied, and Government have aeroplanes and the rest of the up-to-date materials that they have, they still find that they want the same number of troops both for frontier protection and, as is stated in His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech itself, for preservation of peace within.

Now, every year the Indian public are not getting better arms, but more arms are being taken away from them; stricter Arms Rules have been promulgated, and so far as the civil public are concerned, they are practically becoming less capable of doing any harm owing to the way in which arms have been taken away from them. Is there any justification for urging that the personnel of the troops must be preserved and even increased for the sake of internal peace? I feel that this aspect of it is so serious that unless with an increase in, say, the Royal Air Force, a corresponding decrease in expenditure is not ensured, there will be no end to this. And what I am afraid of most is that, in trying to keep Bolshevism away from across the borders, Government will really by higher taxation invite Bolshevism to start from within owing to the terrible effects of the high taxation and the very serious effects of it on the people as a whole. I cannot help feeling that those who are very anxious to increase our military armaments as a source of defence against aggression from across the borders really overlook the serious risk to which they export the civil population here owing to greater burdens which are bound to fall if this policy regarding the Military Department is allowed. to continue. And there what can this House do? They can only talk, they can only express their own disapproval in strong and unequivocal terms.

I was really surprised when I heard the Honourable the Home Member say yesterday, "If your ideal is a national army, would not the cost of that be the same as the army that we are maintaining at present," he said, "with so much efficiency." Irrespective of the fact that a national army would mean that the money spent on it would be mostly spent on the personnel in the country and to that extent would not be a drain on the country—irrespective of that, I am surprised that such an important Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Cabinet should overlook the difference between the cost of the British troops and the cost of troops that may be recruited from within India. I will only name a few figures which are taken from a very authentic source, namely, the report of the Inchcape Committee. A British private costs Rs. 2,503 a year, an Indian sepoy costs Rs. 631 a year. A British officer British cavalry costs Rs. 11,294 and Indian cavalry Rs. 14,277—that is the British personnel of the Indian army. A British officer. British infantry costs Rs. 10,277 and Indian infantry

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.] Rs. 18,992. As against this an Indian other, Viceroy's Commission, Indian cavalry costs Rs. 2,524 and Indian officer Indian infantry Rs. 2,124. The difference is more than five times, and whilst one may even grant that there is a little higher efficiency with the British personnel-even granting it for the sake of argument, I ask whether that is not the efficiency which should be aimed at by the Government of India themselves for the Indian officers? And when is a start for this to be made? The difference, Sir, on the financial side of it alone is so attractive and so enormous that, after all, if these Vicerdy's Commission holders--Indian officers-did so well during the last war, it cannot be said that any serious risk is being incurred in pushing on at a fuster pace than is being done at present, with the Indianisation of the officers' grades in the Army. I therefore cannot help coming to the conclusion that on the merits of it, from the point of view of rupees, annas and pies alone, there is nothing which can be urged against Indianisation.
The whole question is, Sir, one of policy of His Majesty's Covernment and of the War Office and it is there I suspect that the Government of India have been absolutely helpless. If, therefore, this part of it cannot possibly be remedied, I fail to see how any reasonable chance exist of a decrease in the military expenditure, and to my mind, the risk of a substantial increase in the military expenditure stands considerably magnified. I feel that where such important savings can be made by a change in policy, in which unfortunately at the moment we have no effective voice, it is a sheer waste of time to touch upon a few small items which may strike one here and there as points in which savings can be made.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari cum Kristna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Why do you then want more time for discussion?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I wish to touch upon one or two of these. I will only mention them, I do not want to go into details, because Mr Prakasam has rightly reminded me that it will take more time. The Fort Sandeman Railway is one which the Inchcape Committee recommended to be built. The cost of camel transport in the last accounts which were submitted to that Committee came to about Rs. 30 lakhs and it was estimated that if a railway were built it would have cost about Rs. 35 or 40 lakhs. Owing to certain peculiar vagaries of red tape which always exist in any Government office, and which exist in the Government of India Secretariat in a larger degree, the railway was put off from year to year. I should like very much to know what has happened to this scheme or what is the amount which the Government of India in the Army Department continue to spend on the cost of transport to Fort Sandeman.

The capitation grant is a question which had very many objectors to it even amongst Englishmen on the Welby Commission. That grant to-day stands at the considerable figure of £25 per head of British troops in India. It would be pertinent to enquire of the Government of India whether any effort has been made to have a decrease effected in this figure, and, if not, when they expect to move in this matter at all. Or is it that £25 per head is to be taken now to be the normal rate at which the Government of India propose to pay the War Office? There is only one word by which the capitation grant can be adequately described, and

that is, in the words of Mr. Buchanan who was on the Welby Commission, that nobody in India believes that it is a fair grant to charge to the Indian tax-payer. The sooner it is removed the better for the sake of the good name of England herself.

I have no doubt that we have a very, very long way to go before the military policy can be moulded in a manner which will satisfy us. feel that I should suggest one thing, although very small and trifling and may not satisfy some on this side of the House. I should like to ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief whether he has any objection to having a committee elected by this House attached to his Department, so that regarding the various items of expenditure we may at least understandafter all, even in the other civil departments these committees are merely advisory committees—we may at least understand some of the various increases in expenditure or delays occurring in getting reductions in many directions in his Department. The question of surplus stores is an item which strikes one very prominently in this connection. We are told that the residual surplus of stores still left is considerable but the value of it is nil or, more accurately, those stores are unsaleable. What is the total cost of these stores which have now turned out to be absolutely unsaleable? Does it go into crores or is it only a few lakhs? Surely no harm can be done by an advisory committee like the other departmental committees teing consulted and allowed to go into such details because they will remove to my mind a good deal of misunderstanding or misconception, if any at all, on this side of the House regarding some of the details of the Military Department.

Sir, I would not like to take up more time except in reply to my friend Mr. K. C. Roy who asked whether consideration of the military policy was excluded from the terms of reference to the Inchcape Committee. Sir, the terms of reference to the Inchcape Committee were fairly wide, but I will read the short preface which I put on to the note which I submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in connection with Indian military expenditure:

"While considering the expenditure of the Government of India on Military Services, on the Indian Retrenchment Committee I was greatly impressed with the necessity of going beyond the mere details, into the causes which appear to have been at the root of the phenomenal growth of Military expenditure. This resulted in the preparation of the following Notes. As it did not perhaps fall strictly within the four corners of the terms of reference to the Retrenchment Committee (and this is the view which Lord Inchcape and my other colleagues on the Committee took) it was not embodied in their report and I submitted it separately to His Excellency the Viceroy."

I feel, Sir that no pin-pricks and no small cuts here and there regarding the military expenditure, even if the whole was made subject to our vote, would give us the relief which we seek in the immediate and best interests of India and the Government of India. It is a complete change of outlook in the whole policy which alone can bring India to the point where every civilised nation has a just right to be. I feel that it is useless to oriticise the personnel concerned with the Military Department but at the same time it would be wrong and amount to failure in our duty if we did not, year in and year out, mark our complete disapproval of the method and the manner in which the Military Department is being carried on owing to the policy laid down for it.

Mr. P. B. Haigh (Bombay: Nominated Official): I had no intention, "Sir, of speaking on this motion for reduction and I should not have done

[Mr. P. B. Haigh.]

so had it not been for the speech made yesterday by my Honourable friend from Bombay, Mr. Jayakar, on the question of the Territorial Force. I listened to his speech, if my Honourable friend will allow me to say so, with the very greatest interest and respect, as I always do listen to the speeches he makes in this House. I know something of the political career of my Honourable friend opposite and every word that he says here in the House is entitled to a careful hearing as the words of a man who speaks sincerely and from his heart and I trust that he will believe that I have no intention of carping at anything he said. I merely wish to the best of my ability to give him a direct answer on some of the points that he has raised.

I do not presume to address this House on the general military policy of Government. It is not a matter with which I am in any way competent to deal. I merely wish to speak on a few points in connection with the Territorial Force which have come under my personal notice as a district officer. It may be that some Honourable Members opposite may inquire why I should venture to intervene at all, as I have no connection either with the Army Department nor am I a soldier. Well, Sir, it was my privilege during the War to serve for three years as a subaltern officer in an Indian regiment and I may add for the benefit of my Honourable friend opposite that I am proud to say that it was a battalion of the 5th' Mahratta Light Infantry, a battalion of which the then Adjutant was the brother of my Honourable friend the Army Secretary; his name is still one to conjure with in that regiment. The burden of Mr. Jayakar's speech and to some extent of Mr. Jinnah's speech on the same subject was this. He said—what have you done? You have not tried to do-anything. What you have done is a sham. You have instead of encouraging the Territorial Force tried to humiliate them. Mr. Jayakar gave us some of his experiences in connection with the formation of the University Training Corps. With all respect to Mr. Jayakar I cannot help feeling that he may perhaps have misread the actual state of things. It must be remembered that for those who attempt to undergo military discipline for the first time, even as amateur soldiers, some unpleasant shocks are in store. I remember very well, as I have no doubt many of my Honourable friends on this side do, my early experiences as a private in a University Corps. It is 27 years ago since I first enrolled as a private in that distinguished corps which no longer exists now—the Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers—known irreverently as the Bugshooters-and I shall not easily forget the first week we spent in barracks in Aldershot, in extreme cold, with inadequate blanket arrangements and very rough food. I remember very well the first morning after our arrival. When the tea for our breakfast was served, it arrived mixed up with sugar and milk in a large horse bucket and we dipped in our tin mugs into it. Well, we got used to it and I think it is quite possible that some of Mr. Jayakar's young friends might have found the inevitable hardships of amateur soldiering a little too hard to begin with. (Mr. M. R. Jayakar: "I do not complain of it.") There must have been a misunderstanding on both sides. After all he is speaking of what happened several years ago. That day is past. We heard yesterday from the Army Secretary himself and again this morning in answer to a question that the ranks of the Officers' Training Corps in the university battalions are now practically

full. The days of those misunderstandings have gone by and I do not think we should dwell on the unfortunate incidents that happened in the past.

Now let me turn to the ordinary branch of the Territorial Force, the Territorial Force proper as designed to form the beginnings of a second line for the Indian Army. When the Act first came into force I was Collector of North Kanara in the Bombay Presidency; not a military district, not a district from which many recruits have been ever drawn for the regular army. But we had on the extreme north of that district, north of the Kalinadi, a group of villages inhabited mostly by the caste of Konkani Mahrattas and I thought we had better make a beginning with them. I can assure my Honourable friend that I was as pleased as he was when that Act was passed and I was anxious to do what I could as Collector of the district to help the Territorial Force to be a success there. We called together a meeting of the patels. We got the Commandant of the Battalion to come down from Poona to attend a meeting. We got a translation made of the speeches that were made in this House by Colonel Nevill, I think, and a précis of that was printed in Mahratti and distributed. We had a little money left over from the recruiting fund from the War and from that we put a man on special duty of the rank of circle inspector (I think you call him patwari in the North) and he went round the villages; and we got the assistance of two Mahratta school masters who were given leave by the education authorities and we made a regular campaign. A non-official committee was formed, the President of which was my dear old friend who is no longer living, Diwan Bahadur Yennemadi. Well, Sir, we succeeded in inducing about 70 recruits to come forward, mostly Mahrattas, some Bhandaris and one or two other castes. We also made an effort—this is for my friend Mr. Ruthnaswamy-to enlist the assistance of the Roman Catholics who are numerous on the coast, and I got the priests to promise to hold forth on the subject after Mass at the churches one Sunday. Well, I regret to say, Sir, we only got two recruits from that community. We had a promise from the headquarters of the battalion that if we could raise even 25 men to form the nucleus of a platoon they would be taken. But unfortunately we never got more than two and so we had reluctantly to decline. We had every assistance from the military authorities in Belgaum. It was pointed out that Kanara was a remote place and many of these recruits might hesitate to come even as far as Belgaum for the first year's training. It was not so long after the War and there was an uneasy feeling amongst the parents of these young fellows that if they once left Kanara they might be sent to France or Russia or goodness knows where. So the District Command very kindly arranged for us to have the first month's recruit's training actually at Karwar. A campwas formed there; arrangements were made for rifle practice and the whole of the first year's recruit training of the Kanara Company was carried out in the neighbourhood of Karwar itself. And if I may be allowed to make one suggestion to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, I venture to think that it would materially assist r cruiting if it were possible at all events for the recruit training to take place in the civil district to which the recruits belong. I realize of course that it is necessary to embody the battalion in one centre, and for the Bombay battalion the natural centre is Belgaum. But if it were possible for recruits to do their first year's training in centres near the district to which they belong, I think

[Mr. P. B. Haigh.]

it might facilitate matters, and I venture to make this suggestion to His Excellency here.

Well, Sir, in course of time I had to leave Kanara and I went to Poona, the heart of Maharashtra, the place where, Mr. Jayakar says, if anywhere, you must find genuine military enthusiasm. And what did I find? There was hardly a man who had joined the Territorial Force; hardly a man. There is a non-official committee. It numbers amongst its members a gentleman who was at that time a Member of the Legislative Council, who had promised openly to do his best to bring recruits. In fact he said: "I will bring you men". I am sorry to say that they have done practically nothing and the Force is moritund. "What have you done?" says Mr. Jinnah. Well I say to Mr. Jayakar: "What have you done?" What has my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar done? Has he ever found a single recruit in the Poona district for the Territorial Force?

- Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What are the careers open to them, that I may go round to preach to them and ask them to join the regiment?
- Mr. P. B. Haigh: I must point out to my Honourable friend that service in the Territorial Force or in the Militia is not a career. It is one of the privileges open to a citizen to serve in a national army. What are the conditions under which he has to serve? The Honourable Mr. Jayakar has suggested it is a humiliation. These men serve under exactly the same conditions as sepoys in the regular army. Does he mean to say that that is a humiliation? Will Mr. Jayakar go into any of the Mahratta battalions: will he go to Belgaum to the training battalion of the Mahratta Light Infantry and say to those men, "You are humiliated by serving in this way?" He dare not do it. They would repudiate the suggestion at once, and very justly.
 - Mr. M. B. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): When I spoke of humiliation I was referring to racial distinction. There is no humiliation involved in drinking tea from buckets. We would welcome such a hard life. (Applause.)
- Mr. P. B. Haigh: I notice that Honourable Members applaud. Where is the racial distinction that exists among the ranks of the Territorial Force? (An Honourable Member: "Where is it not?") (Dr. Moonje also rose to interrupt.) I do not give way to Dr. Moonje; let him look in the book. (Laughter.) I say, Sir, that there is no consciousness of racial distinction and inferiority among the sepoys of the Regular Army, and sepoys of the Territorial Force are treated in the same way as members of the Regular Army. Now, Sir, I do not want to say this in a carping spirit. I want to let bygones be bygones. I give an invitation to my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar. When we both go back to Poona at the end of this Session, will he come with me round the district? Will he come and speak on behalf of recruiting? Will my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar come over to Poona and help us? Will he speak as eloquently as he spoke here the other day. and speak this time in his own language and get these young fellows to come forward? They do not realize what a territorial army means. The very idea of a citizen army is totally new. They think a soldier is a man who follows the profession of arms for a certain number of years and devotes his whole time to it. We want the whole idea explained to them. The

non-official committee at Poona have done practically nothing. Are you going to leave it to the foreigner, the foreign Collector, to go round and explain to your young men what service in a Territorial Force means? I ask Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Kelkar and their friends in Poona to come round the district and help me. I do not want to make any invidious distinctions between officials and non-officials in this respect. The Collector of the district is just as much interested in the progress of his district as non-official Members like Mr. Kelkar, and I invite Mr. Kelkar, when we get back to Poona, to come round and see if we cannot do something to make the Territorial Force there more of a success. "There is no place," says Mr. Jinnah, "there is no place in the national army for the citizens of this country". Well, there are 3,000 and some hundred odd places vacant still, as he will learn from the figures given by my Honourable friend. There is place in the ranks still for many of the young men in the Poona district and other parts of Maharashtra, and I want my Honourable friends opposite to come forward and help to fill those ranks. They call themselves Responsivists and I hope that they will show they are by responding to this appeal. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): Sir, I think the House owes a debt of gratitude to my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas for drawing attention to the manner in which the House has dealt with the Demands for Grants. I would like to add, Sir, that our little group have done our best to assist the House in coming to a discussion on every grant if possible. We arranged with other leaders of parties a time table; we arranged for the order in which the principal Demands should come forward; we arranged, or thought we had, for a short time limit in order to give all Members a chance. I very much regret, Sir, that the good work we and the other leaders thought we had organized has broken down. We were not successful, and I put it to the leaders of parties that it is due to the desire of individual Members to speak at very great length. I would ask the leaders another year to try and exercise some control over their Back-Benchers in order that we may get on with the business.

Sir, I, like my Honourable friend Mr. Haigh do not propose to debate on the particular matter of the general policy and expenditure of the Army Department. Because I feel I am not altogether qualified. But Sir, there are one or two points to which I would like to make a brief reference. Haigh has drawn attention to the complaints put forward by my Honourable Jayakar, in connection with the University Corps and the Territorial Forces. I do not quite understand what is the particular complaint or grievance that Mr. Jayakar has; he has told the House to-day that he does not complain of the hardships that the young men or boys have to put up with when in camp of drinking out of buckets or taking their tea out of buckets as explained by Mr. Haigh. Then what is it that he complains of? I understood it was humiliation. Now, Sir, I can quite feel with him on that score, because when I first became a volunteer, I think 43 or 44 years ago, in the city of London; in the London Scottish Corps, I felt very humiliated every time I went to a squad drill. We had two or three drill sergeants with a most wonderful vocabulary of abusive terms that it was possible to imagine, and when I went away after an hour's drill, if wishes could kill, they were dead men. Now I ask Mr. Jayakar if it is in matters of that sort that he finds complaint, because I assure him that it is very common in the training of the youths of the

[Sir Darcy Lindsay.]

country to form a second line of defence force. They are not soldiers, and it is only for a few hours in the week that they are put to squad drill—they do not understand it exactly in the same way that an enlisted soldier does. I would ask Mr. Jayakar to think the matter over again and see whether the system is so very much to blame.

Now, Sir, with reference to my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, I did not quite appreciate what appeared to be a little sneer on his part at what my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, had put before the House a few days ago when he asked us to exercise those virtues of faith, hope, charity and love. I think what the Honourable Finance Member had in view was that the House, when making speeches, should exercise a little more charity. I know how easy it is to throw mud at other people and become somewhat violent in terms, but it is not pleasant for the other side, and it is not pleasant for many listners; and I would also put it to Members that it is not likely to advance their cause towards the goal that they wish to attain. I have it, Sir, in a letter from a very old friend of many Members in the House; he was a Member of the House only quite recently; and he writes to me from London:

"Some of us here are doing all we can to create a favourable atmosphere here"

—he was referring to the appointment of the Royal Commission—

"for it must be remembered that any Bill following the Government of India Act has to go through the British Parliament. Public opinion in England is nuzzled about India. The new spirit of Locarno and of the Imperial Conference inclines it to be friendly to Indian aspirations, and then it gets a sudden set-back, and we are asked to explain communal tension, riots and speeches and votes in the Assembly."

And he concludes:

"It is up to all of us to do what we can to ensure that in 1929 the atmosphere in England will be what it should be, and this depends largely on what happens in India generally and in the Assembly in particular during the intervening period. You have all got a difficult task before you, but knowing the calibre of the men who have to shoulder the burden, I am by no means without hope and look forward to a large measure of co-operation between all parties and the Government as soon as the excitements of the elections have died down."

Now, Sir, that is the position I put to the Members on the other side—and do you not think that it is worth while trying another method of inducing Government to do what is wished for?

(At this stage a small tile fell from the ceiling.)

An Honourable Member: This is New Dehli.

Mr. President: Order, order. Sir Darcy Lindsay.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: Be less abusive to Government. The Government—I think the House are really ready to admit—are doing a great deal for the advancement of India (An Honourable Member: "Are they?"), and they never get any credit for that (Hear, hear). Are there no good detds which you can put down to the credit of the Government? (Mr. T. C. Goswami: "Very few.") If that is your view, it reminds me, Sir, of a very old story I heard about a sailor who felt that he was dying, and he wished to obtain absolution. The priest heard the story of his life, and it was so very bad that he said, "I can't give you absolution. Cannot you think of at least one good deed that you have done?". The sailor thought

for a long time and said, "Well, once I did convert a Jew to be a Christian", and the priest said, "Perhaps that is a good deed, and if you will recount the circumstances, I may see what I can do." So the sailor explained that on a voyage a passenger fell overboard, and he went away with a boat to pick him up, and he was the man who got hold of him, and when he held his head up, he saw he was a Jew, and he said to him, "Jew, will you be a Christian?", and the Jew said, "No", so he put his head under the water. Then he pulled him up again, and repeated "Jew will you be a Christian?", in a feeble voice, the Jew said, "Yes," and with that the sailor said, "Very well, die a Christian", and let him go. Now that story reminds me of my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, in his support of the Government for the Steel Protection Bill.

Mr. President: Order, order. I would like the Honourable Member now to come to the point, namely, the military policy of the Government of India.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: Well, Sir, I was interested to learn my Honourable friend Mr. Roy's views on the Frontier policy, and I was particularly pleased to hear him say "Stabilise on Razmak". As far as I am aware. Sir, that is what the military authorities have always proposed to do. I thought that was their advance policy. I was up in that district two years ago and it is certainly what I was told. The idea was to stabilise on Razmak and have a mobile force there to advance on Wana or the Afghan Frontier, if necessary.

There is one other matter that I would like to refer to in connection with the speech made yesterday by my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer. If I heard him aright, he said that I and my fellow Members in the group are tied to the end of the Government string. I deny, Sir, any such imputation. We are entirely free to vote as we please and we are in no way tied to the Government string. In any case

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): All that I said was that the Honourable Member who leads the group and sits on the Front Bench dances to the tune of the Government in regard to the military policy, and he is doing so now.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: I deny that. We have absolute freedom to hold whatever views we please and we are in no way tied to the Government or the Government strings.

Mr. E. B. Howell (Foreign Secretary): Sir, so far as I am aware, my Honourable friend Mr. K. C. Roy did not mention the subject of the Government's Frontier policy as one of the grounds which he put forward for criticising the Demand now under the consideration of the House. Therefore, Sir, he has the advantage of taking me unawares: he has stabbed me in the back; but he has done it very amiably and pleasantly, quite in the Mahsud fashion. Sir, I am glad that he did so and I am grateful. For the Frontier problem is one of the great problems that India has to face and the attention of this House cannot be too often or too seriously drawn to it. Besides, Sir, I have been spending the last three years in Waziristan in charge of that policy which he denounced so vigorously and I have become quite accustomed to this sort of thing. Now, Sir, what is the primary object of the Government's policy on the Frontier? I leave aside the larger questions—Russia and so forth. I am talking only of the actual guarding of our borders. Sir, the object of that policy is nothing but the protection of the lives and the properties of those who dwell in British India, whether they are Englishmen or English women

Mr. E. B. Howell.

or Indian, Hindu or Musalman men or women. Our object is that they should go about their lawful avocations in peace and security. Now, Sir, my friend Mr. Roy said that at some time and in some place—he did not mention when or where—Government had been pursuing a ruinous forward policy. May I ask him if I am correct in assuming that he was referring to the last few years, since 1920?

Mr. K. C. Roy: The Waziristan expedition.

Mr. E. B. Howell: Waziristan since 1920. He also mentioned in that connection that he had no belief in statistics, because with statistics you could prove anything. That may be so, Sir, but I say, without them you can prove nothing. (Laughter). I would like, if the House will bear with me for a few minutes to give some facts and figures which relate only to the two districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan that adjoin Waziristan. They are for the years 1919-20 onwards. In those two districts in the year 1919-20—that was the year of the Afghan War—there were no fewer than 324 raids into British India from Waziristan: 149 British subjects were killed, 197 wounded and property to the value of Rs. 12.7 lakhs was carried off. In the next year the number of raids was 233; 106 persons were killed, 188 wounded and property worth Rs. 1.6 lakhs was carried off. In the next year, 1921-22, the number of raids dropped to 129; 50 persons were killed and 108 wounded and property worth 8 of 1 lakh was carried off. In the next year the corresponding figures are 78 raids, 33 persons killed, 42 wounded and 4 of 1 lakh of rupees of property carried off. In the next year, 1928-24, there were 45 raids, 26 persons were killed, 10 were wounded and again property worth Rs. 4 of a lakh was carried off. In the next year, 1924-25, there were 21 raids, 18 persons were killed and 18 wounded; 1 of a lakh of rupees worth of property was carried off. Last year there were 11 raids, 10 persons were killed 1 was wounded and 01 of a lakh worth of property 1,000 carried off. that is. \mathbf{Rs} . \mathbf{the} amount of property Was carried off. I think, Sir, these figures speak for themselves. At the same time, Sir, I would like also to give you figures of Government's military and civil expenditure in connection with Waziristan. I have not got the figures for the years 1919-20 and 1920-21. So I will begin with the figures for 1921-22. In that year military expenditure amounted to Rs. 772 lakhs and Rs. 47 lakhs was spent on the Jandola-Sorarogha road. The civil expenditure was only 8.8 lakhs. The civil expenditure, should explain, was low, because at that time the militia had been disbanded and the Khassadars were not yet organised. In the following year military expenditure fell to 747 lakhs and civil expenditure rose to 45.9 lakhs, which marked the inauguration of the Khassadar system. There was a slight increase in tribal allowances and the expansion of the two Scout Corps, who are responsible for maintaining the safety of certain parts of Waziristan. In the same year the expenditure on road building and hutting at Razmak was 108 lakhs. In the following year, 1923-24, military expenditure fell to 455 lakhs, while civil expenditure rose to 60 lakhs, at which point it has since been stable. 86 lakhs were spent again on road construction and hutting at Razmak and elsewhere. In 1924-25 stability was attained in military expenditure also at 283 lakhs, while civil expenditure remained approximately the same, 58.7 lakhs; 48 7 lakhs were spent on road construction. Last year the military expenditure again stood at Rs. 281 lakhs, with 39 lakhs for road construction.

Now, Sir, I think these figures really are a proof that the policy that this Government have been following, whether it is a forward policy or not—I will come to that in a moment—has certainly not been ruinous. I am, Sir, I think, qualified to speak on this head, because I have myself been in Waziristan for the last 2½ years in charge of that policy. My friend Mr. Row denounced it as a "forward policy" and in the same breath he said "Sit tight at Razmak and do not go to Wana." Sir, as a matter of fact, though he may not be aware of it, Razmak is nearer the Afghan frontier than Wana. How you can get to Razmak without a forward policy I cannot imagine. However, Sir, we are at Razmak and we are not at Wana. It is a tenable argument, one may say that the tribes of Waziristan are sufficiently bound down from doing mischief to us in British India by the presence of a force at Razmak. That, Sir, is an arguable proposition, but it is a very long way from Razmak to Wana, and a very difficult road in parts. Perhaps Mr. Roy does not know it, but I do, having walked that distance this spring with the column.

Mention of roads brings me to an item which I mentioned over and over again in giving those figures just now, and that is the system of road construction in Waziristan. I do not propose to bother the House with details, but I would like nothing better than to take a party from the House over those roads. (Some Honourable Members: "No, thanks, we do not want to go.") Those roads, have acted, Sir, exactly in the same way that the roads built 200 years ago by General Wade in the Highlands of Scotland acted. They are acting as civilizing agents. I know many Mahsud-Wazir maliks who own their own motor cars. They may perhaps take up 15 or 20 passengers most of them armed with rifles, but they do come out of their own country and go into the bazars of British India. They go to places like Tank and Bannu, they do buy things there, they do meet their fellow men and they do get away from that spirit of "Here is a stranger, heave half a brick at him" which is said to have been the traditional attitude of Englishmen not so very long ago.

aware. Sir, the House is probably Perhaps you may be that when Government first occupied Wana it did so at the request of . the Wazirs themselves, and when I was there with the column in May last, there was one subject which no Wazir could be kept off. They all said with one voice, "For God's sake come back to Wana". I may mention one more thing, Sir. I say it in no spirit of vain glory. When I left Waziristan, the Mahsuds gave me a garden party at Tank. This they paid for themselves. So did the Wazirs at a place near Bannu. They would no doubt have done the same for any one else. They are not accustomed to paying for things themselves. They are accustomed take what they want. But they conducted the whole business of the garden party admirably and they made perfect hosts. At those garden parties Malik after Malik made speeches, responsible Maliks representing the tribe. They said. "Never have we had better relations with the British Government than during the past few years and we trust that present conditions may go on." Of course, Sir, I am not such a fool as to believe everything that Wazirs or Mahsuds say to me, but I do ask the House to believe that those sentiments were on the whole more or less sincere.

Sir. I would now like to turn to another subject. It is not really primarily my business, but perhaps the House will bear with me. I refer to my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas' remarks on the subject

[Mr. E. B. Howell.]

of Aden. I would not deal with that topic but for the fact that he alleged breach of promise in this matter. Now, Sir, that promise was given by Sir Denys Bray, in whose place I am for the moment standing. Sir Purshotamdas chose to use the phrase "breach of promise." I understand that that phrase is generally used in conection with promises of marriage. I think in this case it was not very apt. For the marriage between Aden and India remains undissolved. He may have intended breach of faith. I deny that charge, which is peculiarly obnoxious to a person in my position. The promise made by Sir Denys Bray was that the House would be consulted before a decision was taken. From the very fact that Sir Denys Bray gave that promise, it is clear that it was not a promise relating to the incidence of military expenditure, but to the future control and administration of Aden, and it is also perfectly clear that it really meant an adverse decision. In this connection I submit that the decision has not been an adverse decision, but on the contrary a very favourable decision indeed. Therefore I maintain that there was no breach of any undertaking whatever. May I provide the Honourable Member with a few facts in regard to Aden?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Is the Honourable Member aware that the Government of Bombay actually dropped the Bill

Mr. E. B. Howell: I am not giving way to you, Sir.

Sir, up to the year 1900, India, from which place an expedition went forth in the year 1839 to occupy Aden, treated Aden as part of India.

Then came the Welby Commission as a result of which the Home Government contributed a sum equal to half the military expenditure on Aden at that time. That went on until the War, although of course actual expenditure no doubt increased in that period. In the year 1917 the Home Government informed the Indian Government that they wished to retain in their own hands direct inilitary and political control at Aden. They have done so ever since. I take it what the House is interested in is the fate of the settlement and the Indians in that settlement, who by the way scarcely number 3,000 out of a total population of 56,000. That is what the House is interested in, not the Arab tribes in the hinterland. After 1917 came the end of the War. Throughout the War His Majesty's Government bore all extraordinary expenditure in connection with the War and the Indian Government continued to pay the cost of the garrison less the annual contribution of £72,000. With the re-establishment of peace conditions came a new arrangement. The Home Government continued to contribute this £72,000; India continued to pay the cost of the pre-war garrison less this contribution, and the remaining expenditure with an enlarged and more expensive garrison was shared equally between the two Governments. The actual burden which fell upon India this last year for which I have figures, 1924-25, was 40 lakes odd. Now, Sir, we have come to a fresh agreement. We are going to pay, as His. Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told you, £250,000 for 3 years and after that £150,000 or one-third of the total expenditure, whichever is less. I maintain, Sir, that that is a favourable bargain and I do not see how anyone who can do a little arithmetic can question it.

Mr. T. U. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, with regard to Aden, the excuse which has been pleaded by the

Foreign Secretary that, because the decision which was arrived at without consulting the Assembly and therefore I repeat in disregard of a promise given to this House—in his opinion is not adverse to India, therefore there has not been any breach of faith

- Mr. E. B. Howell: My point was that there has been no decision.
- Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Why has the Bombay Government dropped its Bill?
 - Mr. Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Why did His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief make that announcement here if there was no decision arrived at?
 - Mr. T. C. Goswami: If there is no decision the whole of the second paragraph of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech which I have before me has no meaning absolutely. That plea which Mr. Howell has now taken up is so flimsy that I shall not insult the intelligence of the House by trying to repudiate it. Sir, a little incident which took place a few minutes back, (pointing to the ceiling from which a brick had fallen) which the most ingenious advocate defending the architect of these buildings could not dare to bring within the plea of "Act of God," set in motion some thoughts in my mind. This architecture of New Delhi at once appeared to my mind to typify the military organisation of this country. It is a huge, colossal, gaunt and graceless system. It has all the appearance of strength if only because it has been reared on extravagance; but, in the course of time and when the time comes to test it, it will—and it gives me comfort to contemplate—give way. I suggested the other day to the Honourable Member in charge of Public Works that the uncompleted buildings in New Delhi might be made over to the Archæological Department. Sir, I look forward to the day when this archaic system of military administration in this country will be consigned to the archives.

We have in the Commander-in-Chief's speech, delivered on the 3rd of March, a virtual repudiation of the Inchcape Committee's recommendation of the fifty crore limit of military expenditure. In past years I was at great pains to point out to this House the concealed items of military expenditure; so that I have always questioned the accuracy of those figures of 56 and 57 crores as representing the total military expenditure. In the present Budget, even on a superficial examination of the Demands for Grants, I find there are items, for instance, under Demand No. 74, North-West Frontier Province, involving Rs. 280 lakhs and under the Demand, Frontier Watch and Ward, involving Rs. 119 lakhs; and then there are items under Civil Works which really are military expenditure. Sir, if you add up the concealed items of military expenditure, the total military expenditure of this country stands at a much higher figure than is presented to us in the Budget. Of course this year the Waziristan scheme, which used to pervade so many of the Demands for Grants in past years, does not appear. At the same time I must say that even in this Budget, if we add up the concealed items, the total military expenditure will be found to be a good deal in excess of the pretended total.

I thought, when I went away yesterday from this House, that it would be unnecessary for me to refer to the University Training Corps.

[Mr. T. C. Goswami.]

But speeches of Honourable Members to-day make it necessary for me to emphasise again the differential treatment between the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force; and the grievances of the University Training Corps men, at least so far as the Calcutta University Corps is concerned, are not of the nature which have been ridiculed by Sir Darcy Lindsay and the Honourable gentleman over there. It is really a humiliation

Mr. P. B. Haigh: May I intervene for a moment

Mr. T. C. Goswami: I do not give way, Sir

Mr. P. B. Haigh: I wish to protest against the insinuation (Cries of "Order, order.")

Mr. President: The Honourable Member refuses to give way. Is it a matter of personal explanation?

- Mr. P. B. Haigh: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I had no desire whatever to ridicule the grievances of these young men at all; I merely pointed out that in the entirely novel circumstances they might be inclined to attach undue importance to and put an unfavourable construction upon what I may call the incidents of amateur soldiering. It is the last thing in my mind and I disclaim altogether any desire whatever to ridicule the feelings of these young men who have had the patriotism to come forward and join the University Training Corps.
- Mr. T. C. Goswami: I do not grudge the Honourable Member the privilege of his supplementary speech. But I do submit that it is not a matter about which you can justly be light-hearted or which you can with any decency ridicule,—namely, the susceptibilities of educated young men. I know these University Training Corps are used only for the purpose of furnishing guards of honour to Governors and the Governor-General—a most humiliating thing. Then, it was pointed out that they were not given rifles; they were not trusted. Is that not humiliation? In what manner can you more effectively humiliate men who have self-respect, men who come from respectable families, men who have received education and have learnt to think for themselves. Sir, I again repeat that to ridicule high sentiments of self-respect is a crime.

Then, as regards Indian Sandhurst it was my opinion before the Sandhurst Committee, of which my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, was a member,—it was my submission before that Committee that we should turn our eyes away from the fascinations of the English Sandhurst, that we must cease to think of sending our boys to Sandhurst. It was pointed out by an Honourable Member at the other end of the House yesterday that of the Indian boys who had been to Sandhurst, some were disqualified. Now, Sir, I have no hesitation in saying that I have very grave suspicion as to the reasons why some of our boys failed to complete their training. It is a suspicion which is shared by many people in this country, and it is my deliberate conviction that we should not send our boys to Sandhurst and that the substantial contributions which, as Mr. Jinnah pointed out yesterday, we pay to Sandhurst, to Woolwich and to Chatham, ought to be withdrawn. We should have a military training college in India and we must turn our eyes away for ever from Sandhurst.

Then, Sir, there is the question of troops being sent out of India. I am speaking on the subject as a general subject. I think this House ought to condemn unequivocally the sending of troops out of India for purposes which are not directly connected with the defence of India....

- Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to raise this question on this cut? It is a big question which will take some time to discuss. If the Honourable Member however desires to raise it now, I have no objection.
 - .Mr. T. C. Goswami: I was only mentioning this matter because I thought it was a matter of military policy.
 - Mr. President: If the Honourable Member wants to discuss it, the Chair has no objection.
 - Mr. T. C. Goswami: I accede to your suggestion, Sir, that I should not go at length into the subject. I only wish to put it to the House that our soldiers should not be used as hired assassins.

Sir, it is our belief that this huge military organization is kept up not merely with a view to protect India from outsiders, but rather with a view to suppress our liberties. That is my belief, and that is a belief borne out by facts which I have observed, that great preparations have been made to meet certain contingencies, certain eventualities. For instance, great preparations have been made in case the threat of civil disobdience is put into operation; and the whole policy with regard to aerodromes and seroplanes, with regard to the dispositions of troops in different parts of the country seems to have been based on an imaginary campaign of civil disobedience in this country. Sir, this is not a view which is very farfetched. We have the history of Mesopotamia in our minds. There aeroplanes and bombs were actually used for the purpose of enforcing payment of taxes, and I have heard from military officers whose names I cannot disclose, that similar preparations have been undertaken in this country; so that we pay not merely to keep the British garrison here, not merely for training English troops in this country at the expense of India. but we pay for our own enslavement and for the perpetuation of our impotence. That is where the Military Budget hurts me most. It is not that 50 crores • is not a small amount; it is a large amount, but I think that India could have to a certain extent overlooked this heavy expenditure had it not been for the painful fact that it means the perpetuation of our impotence. That is how the Military Budget hurts me terribly.

Lastly, permit me to say, that by the attitude of Government in not taking this House into their confidence, in continuing to withhold from this House detailed information with regard to military expenditure and general policy, they are driving us more and more to desperation, and they are making the country feel that it is useless to argue with the power that rules the land to-day, that perhaps other methods are necessary—methods other than those of argument and persuasion. That is a feeling which it may be dangerous to foster in this country. Sir. after all even a pampered child of fortune like Great Britain has in ordinary prudence to look forward to times less propitious than the present, and after all wars in Europe may

[Mr. T. C. Goswami.]

become inevitable, and it may become necessary for the Commander-in-Chief, instead of making the sort of speech he made on the 3rd of March, to come, and upon bended knees and with folded hands to ask for contributions from India, contributions in men and money. Such things have happened before, and such things may happen again.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, before speaking on the main question, I should like to reply to the Honourable Mr. Haigh's reference to Mr. Jayakar and the Territorial And in doing so, he will believe me when I say that my association with the Territorial Forces of at any rate one University is intimate and I am conversant with the needs and requirements of the Territorial Forces of that University. Sir, 4 years ago, when I applied on behalf of the Delhi University for the leave of His Excellency, the then Commander-in-Chief, for instituting a Territorial Force, after two years of negotiation a company was sanctioned and within a fortnight we produced boys sufficient to fill two companies and the result was that Mr. Burdon, the then Army Secretary, said that since the first company was a success, sanction would be given for the creation of another company. So that we had on the waiting list something like 185 boys who were awaiting the decision of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for enlistment in the second company. But as soon as the first company was formed, my boys all came to me in groups and complained to me that the discrimination that was made between themselves and the members of the Auxiliary Force was to the following effect. I complained of it to the then Military Secretary and it has been the subject of reference on the floor of this House; and the Honourable Mr. Haigh will bear me out if he consults the military authorities that the thing that galls members of the University Training Corps is this, that, while the members of the Auxiliary Force are regarded as the second line of defence of the British Army and their treatment and equipment therefore approximates to that of the British Army, the members of the Territorial Force are regarded as the second line of defence of the Sepoy Army and their equipment, therefore, approximates to that of the Indian sepoy in the Indian Army, the result being that during the first year, the members of the Delhi University Training Corps were merely given drill like school boys without any arms and accoutrements and the complaint which the Honourable Mr. Jayakar has made from far-off Bombay is a complaint which can be verified by reference to the members of the Delhi University Training Corps. That is what is wrong with the Territorial Force connected with the universities of India.

Sir, passing on to the main subject, I am not here concerned with either the Indianisation of the Army or with the various questions which the Honourable Members of this House have raised; and when I rise to speak here on this subject I speak with a heavy heart because I feel that a decision has been come to by the Army Council and the War Office and possibly the British Cabinet against which both this Assembly and the Government of India feel powerless. Let me give the Honourable Members the facts. Immediately after the close of the Great War the Secretary of State for India appointed a Committee for the purpose of making recommendations regarding the Army in India. That Committee was presided over by Lord Esher, and in the forefront of the report of that Committee it was laid down as one of the principal recommendations of the Committee that the objective of the Army of India was to treat it as a unit of the

Imperial forces. Well, Sir, since the report of that Committee was published the Members of the first Assembly raised & debate on that question and a Committee, with the consent of the Government of India, was appointed to examine the proposals made by the Esher Committee. Honourable Members will find, if they turn to the report of the Esher Committee, dated the 22nd June, 1920, and the subsequent Resolutions of the Assembly, dated the 28th March, 1921, how far the Government of India and the elected Members of the House were in entire agreement as to the main object and policy in regard to the military in India. While the Esher Committee had recommended that the Army in India must be regarded as an instrument of Imperial policy, the Government of India and this House conjointly decided that the main policy of the Army of India is the defence of India. Consequently, at that time, the Government of India, presumably with the consent of the then Secretary of State, fell into line with the wishes of the Members of this House and a series of Besolutions were then passed on the date I have given enunciating the policy regarding the Army in India and the ways and means by which that policy was to be carried out. Honourable Members will be interested to learn that in formulating those Resolutions we were mainly guided by the report of Sir Krishna Gupta who was a member of Lord Esher's Committee. Let me recapitulate the main recommendations which Sir Krishna Gupta as a member of the Esher Committee made dissenting from the majority report. He said that "the superior ranks of every branch of the army, including the Artillery, Air Force, Engineers, Transports and Supplies, etc., should be freely open to qualified Indians." Then he went on to say that these should be drawn not from the wealthy families, but the best qualified candidates irrespective of birth or creed. "As in every other best qualified candidates irrespective of birth or creed. country, so in India, it is the educated middle-classes which must furnish the largest contingent of officers." Then Sir Krishna Gupta pointed out that "no effort should be spared to make the Territorial Force a success and a real adjunct to the regular army." "The practice". he said, "of officering the Indian Army by regular periodical drafts from Europe is not only very costly, but it is harmful to the best interests of India", and then he suggested that "steps should be taken in due course to establish in India training and educational institutions for all branches of the Army", and then he pointed out that "Our proposals must add largely to the army expenditure, which is already high, and the only way of introducing economy without impairing efficiency is gradually, to increase the Indian element in the ranks as well as in superior positions". Sir, these were the main recommendations of the Indian member of Lord Esher's Committee and every one of those recommendations were confirmed by the unanimous vote of the House in which the Government joined. We expected and we presumed that the Government of India could not have lent their support to all these Resolutions without the previous concurrence of and consultation with the Secretary of State and the subsequent history of these Resolutions shows that the then Secretary of State must have really approved the concurrence of the Government of India to the Resolutions of the Assembly. For we find that in order to give effect to these Resolutions the Government appointed a Departmental Committee and also appointed another Committee popularly known as the Military Requirements Committee and both of them submitted their report. We waited for two years to give effect to the recommendations of this House and when we found that there was delay and disquieting rumours began to reach us from England as to the intervention of the War Office we

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.] moved another Resolution on the 4th July, 1928, asking the Government to give effect to our considered Resolutions. On that day Mr. Burdon let the cut out of the bag and let me give you the insissima verba of the Honourable the Army Secretary. He said:

"His Majesty's Government, taking, as needs they must, a serious view of the high responsibility which rests upon them, are not prepared to risk the efficiency and traditional reputation of the Indian Army by embarking on any large and revolutionary change, such as would be involved by immediately replacing British officers in large numbers by Indian officers, without—without I say—having the proof of some well chosen experience that the risk will not be unduly great. Accordingly, for the time being, Indianisation has been limited, so far as formations are concerned, and apart from the employment of individual officers, to the gradual substitution of Indian officers for British officers in eight selected units of the primary combatant arms—cavalry and infantry."

In plain prose this means that His Majesty's Government had overruled the combined recommendations of the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly on the first and foremost principle which enunciated the policy which we wanted the Secretary of State and the Government of India to accede to, namely, that the policy of the Army in India should be restricted and confined to the defence of India. The War Office, on the other hand, who had always been struggling to use the Indian Army as a pawn in the Imperial game, overruled not only the Government of India but also the Secretary of State for India, and it is against this that this House has been complaining during the last four years. What is the good of our appointing Committees for Indianisation here and Indianisation there? The first and foremost principle that we want the Government of India and the Secretary of State to accede to is that the sole objective of the Army in India is the defence of India and nothing more than and nothing beyond the defence of India. Are the Government prepared to accede to this policy? Have the Government any information that the Office have not overruled all their recommendations far back as 1921 on the principle which I have submitted for the consideration of this House? And that, I submit, principle upon which this House should give a united vote. Sir, so far as the Government of India are concerned, I have no quarrel with them because they have been fighting at least up to 1922 and possibly till 1923 the battle for India. It is the War Office that has been overruling the Government of India and the considered decision of Members of this House. This fact was brought home to this House in a remarkable way about 3 years ago when the Under-Secretary of State for War declared in the House of Commons that, while the Government of India concurring with the Incheape Committee had recommended the reduction of 10,000 white troops, the British Government were unable to accede to their recommendation and that if they bad acceded to their recommendation, it would add to the cost of the British tax-payer. The result was that the British Government overruled the combined recommendations of the Incheape Committee and of the Government of India and presumably of the Secretary of State for India and that not for the interest of India but because it would increase the taxes of the British tax-payer. That was the statement which was made by Colonel Guinness, the Under-Secretary of State for War, in the House of Commons and one of us drew the attention of the Government of India to that fact. Now, Sir, what we want is to reaffirm the policy which we have all along struggled for, namely, that the policy of the military in India should be limited to the defence of India and we should therefore in passing the motion that we do, be understood to reaffirm the

series of Resolutions which this House unanimously passed as far back as the 28th March, 1921.

The second point that I wish to make in this connection is that

Mr. President: Is the Honourable Member going to take long?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Say about 15 minutes.

Mr. President: He must continue after Lunch.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, the first point, therefore, that I make is that the military policy of the Government of India is controlled by the War Office and the further development of the Army that has taken place in India has been for military purposes without advertence to the requirements of India. That accounts for the establishment of the Royal Indian Navy, the Air Force and the order for the re-armament of the Indian Army and the retention of the British garrison in India at the post-mutiny ratio of two to one. Honourable Members will realize that during the War His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was in direct communication with the War Office. That power has since been taken away from the Commander-in-Chief. He can directly communicate with the Imperial General Staff, but no longer with the War Office. The point that the House wishes to make, therefore, is that it should once more enunciate the policy which it did in 1921, that the aim and object of the Army in India is the defence of India.

The second point I wish to make is with reference to the Territorial Forces. The Secretary of State has fixed the maximum number of 20,000 as the strength of the Territorial Force, though there is no corresponding fixation of a maximum in the case of the Auxiliary Force. That, I submit, is a discrimination against which this House has protested, and justly protested. The Honourable Mr. Haigh, speaking this morning in reply to my friends, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Jinnah, pointed out the difficulties that the Cambridge University Corps had to experience in his early undergraduate days when he had to draw and drink his tea from a horse bucket, but he forgets altogether that the Universities in the United Kingdom are entitled to a hundred commissions as against one King's commission and one Vicerov's commission open to the University Training Corps in this country. Now, Sir, members of the University Training Corps here will gladly take tea from a horse bucket if they had the chance of receiving the same number of commissions as are open to the undergraduates of the Universities in England; and that, I submit, is a distinction which should not be lost sight of when Honourable Members opposite speak of the humiliation to which members of the University Corps confess in this country.

One more point, Sir, and I have done. We have always protested against the army expenditure in this country being a non-votable subject. The distinction between the votable and non-votable part of the Budget was the subject of a Resolution in this House which was carried with the consent of all the non-official Members and in which the non-official Europeans joined, and I submit that the military discussion this afternoon has more than ever convinced the House that if this House is to

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.]

exercise its powers and responsibilities in regard to the military expenditure of this country, it must be given a voting power for the purpose of curtailing the military expenditure the appallingly growing military expenditure of this country. The Indian tax-payer has to pay the taxes; the Army is maintained nominally for the benefit of India, but really for ulterior military purposes, and I therefore submit that this House must record its emphatic protest against having to pay the army charges by throwing out the votable portion of the Army Budget.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore cum Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move that the question be now put.

(Several other Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: I am sure Honourable Members would like to hear the Commander-in-Chief before I accept closure. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Sir, I am afraid in the time at my disposal it will not be possible for me to deal with the very many considerations that have been brought out in the debate during yesterday and to-day. I had hoped that the Army Secretary might have been able to give Honourable Members certain details of information regarding them. I will not keep the House long, Sir, and I will make my remarks as brief as I can. Mr. Jinnah in talking yesterday took great exception, I gathered, to the fact that I in speaking on the Budget had not made mention of any definite military policy as that of the Government of India. In my speech I had, however, mentioned the fact that during the last 12 months, that is during my stewardship of the Army of which Mr. Jinnah was talking, I mentioned that it had been an extremely quiettime, that things had been absolutely normal on the frontier, that things there had been I might almost say abnormally quiet, while internally, though troops had to be used on many occasions, there was nothing which happened either externally or internally to cause any change whatever in the military policy of the Government of India. That being the case, I am quite certain that Mr. Jinnah would not wish, nor do I contemplate that this House would for a moment tolerate, any department of the Government of India recapitulating from time to time what the policy of the department was. I think, however, that perhaps when Mr. Jinnah spoke about my not mentioning any particular policy. I gathered from the remainder of his speech that he really had in view the fact that I had mentioned nothing about Indianisation, while he also took exception to my not agreeing to any reduction of the Military Budget. As regards the matter of Indianisation, Mr. Jinnah I think knows as well as I do and as well as anybody else does, the reason why I was unable to make any reference to it. He had been told, I think privately, and had certainly been told in answer to a question, that the whole matter, that the report of the Sandhurst Committee was at the time before the Secretary of State, that the question of the publication of this report had been under discussion between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. He probably knows that when it gets home it is not a matter of the Secretary of State personally being able to read the report and saying "I agree to publication." He has to refer probably to other departments of the Home Government. Many questions have

to be decided and he cannot in any short period sanction publication. In any case, he knew that the report of that Committee was before the Home Government, that we had been discussing the question of publication and that the matter was sub judice. That being the case, he must have known that my mouth was closed regarding it. The same reasons apply to the Shea Committee on the Territorials. That also, the House has been informed, has been submitted to England. It is under discussion with the Secretary of State, and pending his giving approval to it, our mouths here are closed in regard to an expression of opinion on it.

Then, the other matter to which Mr. Jinnah took exception was, I think, the fact that in my budget speech I had stated that it was impossible for us to reduce our expenditure below what the present Budget shows. As a result of that statement, I heard expressions used that the Army Department has refused to accept the cuts recommended by the Incheape Committee. To make matters quite clear, I should like to state exactly what the position is regarding that. In the speech I made in this House on the Budget last year, I stated-I think it coincided with the day I was speaking—that the last of the three British regiments which the Incheape Committee had recommended was to leave India was embarking at Karachi for England; on the departure of that unit, the very last of the cuts, the definite cuts recommended, thoroughly gone into and recommended on principle after expert advice by the Inchcape Committee. was actually carried out. Before the Inchcape Committee met the Military Budget was Rs. 672 crores. As a result of the cuts made the Budget has been reduced this year to 54.98 crores; further reductions have been considered and the cuts recommended by the Inchcape Committee have been absolutely loyally carried out by the Army My distinguished predecessor—and I should like to take this opportunity of sincerely conveying my grateful thanks to Mr. Jinnah for the way in which he spoke about Lord Rawlinson-Lord Rawlinson stated there and then that he was unable to accept any further reduction to 50 crores. The Army Department having definitely accepted and carried out all the definite recommendations were not prepared further to go into what I described as the "pious aspiration" of the Inchcape Committee to reduce further to Rs. 50 crores.

Mr. Chaman Lall: I do not wish to interrupt His Excellency, but may I know where Lord Rawlinson said that?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I will give the information to the Honourable Member. Lord Rawlinson definitely refused to accept that suggestion, for there was no definite recommendation made; it was merely an expression of hope that the Army Budget might be reduced to that figure and if I remember aright—I hope to get the words presently,—Lord Incheape himself said "provided that prices decrease". Prices have not since gone down. We still have to pay abnormal prices for our food, for our clothes, for our barracks, for our equipment and for our weapons and our transport. If I may, I would like to read one paragraph from the Incheape Committee's Report:

We do not, however, consider that the Government of India should be satisfied with a military budget of Rs. 57 crores, and we recommend that a close watch be kept on the details of military expenditure with the object of bringing about a progressive reduction in the future. Should a further fall in prices take place "—

I would ask the House to note those words:

"—we consider that it may be possible, after a few years, to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, although the Commander in Chief does not subscribe to this opinion."

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

That is the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief and that is the statement made by the Inchcape Committee. I hope I have made that quite clear. I do wish the House to remember that we have loyally accepted the detailed recommendations that were gone into detail by detail. That is the point and possibly the House will realise what was at the back of the mind of Lord Inchcape when he expressed that further hope, that we should further reduce the Military Budget, but prices have not fallen as he anticipated they would do.

I gathered from Mr. Jinnah's speech that he recommended the Army in India to follow the example of the American Army as regards its number and mobilisation. I gathered from him that he would like to see us develop into what the American Army practically is, a skeleton army. They do not keep up standing units like we do. They keep a skeleton which can be expanded in time of war.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I did not suggest that we should follow the American model, but the policy laid down in the Government of India Act, 1920, and the policy which I read from Mr. Burdon's book that you should proceed with your Territorial Force and make it your second line of defence.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I gathered, Sir, that Mr. Jinnah had suggested that America could put a million men into the field within two months, and he implied that we might follow the same principle as regards the Indian Army. I am sure that if he had thought the matter out fully he could not possibly have suggested that we in India could contemplate following America. If we had a skeleton army and relied on them for the defence of our border, I am afraid that it would not be the skeletons of soldiers but skeletons of an innumerable number of civilians which would strew the plains near our borders.

We have reduced the army very considerably since the War. One of the speakers yesterday afternoon referred to a remark made by Lord Curzon during the war, which rather implied that India was prepared to send very large forces, if necessary, to any part of the Empire. Before the War, we could, if hard pressed, send something like more than eight divisions abroad. The most we can now put into the field without very much mobilisation is four divisions. Four divisions is a very small force indeed. Fortunately the last two years have been quiet, but there have been times when the foreign outlook has been sufficiently disturbing to make one wonder whether it would not react on our North-West Frontier, and that we might perhaps become embodied, and if we were I can assure you that our military advisers would spend sleepless nights wondering if our force was sufficient.

America can always take her time. She has no difficulties like we have, and no vulnerable fronties to defend. As it was, America entered the Great War in April, 1917, and one year later, in April, 1918, there was not one single American Division that had landed in France. They did land there in July, 1918; one Division was then able to take its place in the line. I have the greatest respect and admiration for the American Army in which I have many real good friends and comrades. I never had American troops actually under me, but I had them serving alongside of me and I had many general and other officers whom General Pershing very kindly sent to act on my Staff and to work with some of my Army Corps and Divisions.

One could quite see their keenness and bravery, their feelings of comrade-ship, and their very fine physique, but one had to reclise they were not fully trained. I think some Honourable Members of this House will have read Ludendorff's book on the War. Ludendorff in talking about Americans gives them credit for what I have myself said just now—for their courage, their energy and their determination to fight; but he also does point out the fact that their troops were not sufficiently trained to make them as formidable enemies as some other of the Allies fighting against them. I trust the House will realise that we cannot in India take a year—where we are given days and sometimes minutes, where we never know how quickly we may have to defend the North-West Frontier, we cannot afford time to mobilise. I am sure my Honourable friend there from the North-West Frontier Province will entirely agree how essential it is to be ready to defend ourselves almost at a moment's notice: if we get a telegram to-night we may have to fight to-morrow morning.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Yes, I remember when we had to move troops in lorries from the Khyber to defend Tal in 1919.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Yes, I am very glad that they were available then, otherwise Tal might very well have fallen.

There is only one other point about which I should like to say a few words, and that is as regards the Territorial Force and what Mr. Jayakar To me it was a very great grief to hear what Mr. Jayakar said about his feeling of the position of the University Training Corps in Bombay. I had not heard it before and I have always tried to keep in touch with troops and to see how things are going on. Later, after his speech, I met Mr. Jayakar and asked him if he could give me details of any of the humiliations that he said were being suffered by the people there. He told me he could not give me details then but he kindly promised to get me these later. When I have got them I will certainly look into them and see if there is anything to be done. I am hoping that other University, Training Corps are not situated in the same way. I say that because only a few weeks ago I had the real pleasure and the privilege of going round the Benares Hindu University with my old friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—an old friend of 15 years' standing. The Pandit when I was there naturally showed me his Cadet Corps. I saw the boys and I thought they turned out very creditably. They used their arms well, and as far as I could see they were happy and contented. I spoke to many of them and asked them if their work was going on all right or if they wished to make any representations. Their only complaint was that we could not give them enough vacancies and they asked me to increase their number. That certainly does not bear out the point brought out by Mr. Javakar that the cadets in his University were trying to cut their connection with the Corps and were refusing to stay on. I therefore do hope that other Universities are not in the state described by Mr. Javakar and I fully believe they are not so. As regards the Lahore cadets, I was there a couple of years ago; I went round with the Governor and I heard no complaints whatever. We all know that in these cases a great deal depends on personality. It may be that the individuals we have sent from time to time, the officers doing duty with any particular Corps. do not carry on entirely satisfactorily either because their sympathy is not with the men or the sympathy of the men is not with them. If that is so, I should be very glad to look into any case brought to my notice. . I would sesure[H, E, the Commander-in-Chief,]

the House that I can quite understand the feeling of Mr. Jinnah and others that the two Reports they have asked for are not available; but I think we must think of the position of the Secretary of State at the other end. He is not, as I said just now, an autocrat. He cannot read the Report and say "Carry on!". It has got to be put before other departments, and we know that the Home Government has been very busy lately. Sir Austen Chamberlain has been to Geneva once or twice, and a great deal of work has had to be done. I am quite certain it is not due to malice aforethought that the Secretary of State has so far not been able to publish these Reports.

- I can assure my friends and every Member of this House that we in the Army Department are out to do our utmost to work in sympathy with the House and with the people of India. I believe our Indian friends realise that. Only this morning before I came here I spent two and a half hours with an Indian regiment in the New Cantonment. and I can assure you, Sir, that we of the Army Department are anxious to do our utmost to help the House in any way we possibly can.
 - (Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.) Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 1.000." The Assembly divided.

AYES--63.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr. Abdul Matin Chauchury, Maulyi Abdullah Haji Kasim, Khan Bahadur Haji. Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sesha.
Belvi, Mr. D. V.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das,
Chaman Lall, Mr.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Mr. B.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha

Das, Pandit Nilakantha. Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath. Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra. Ghazanfar Ali Khan. Raja. Goswami, Mr. T. C.

Gour, Sir Hari Singh.

Gulab Singh, Sardar. Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand. Ismail Khan, Mr. Tyengar, Mr. A. Kangaswami. Ivengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.

Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata,
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.

Khin Maung, U. Kidwai, Mr. Refi Ahmad. Kikabhai Premchand, Mr.

rt Kunzru. Pandit Hirday Nath.

Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dhirendra Kanta. Lajpat Rai, Lala. Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M. Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad. Moonje, Dr. B. S. Mukhtar Singh, Mr. Nayudu, Mr. B. P. Nehru, Pandit Motilal. Neogy, Mr. K. C. Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar. Prakasam, Mr. T. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir. Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim. Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur

Makhdum Syed. Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham. Roy. Mr. K. C. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M. Sarda. Rai Sahib Harbilas. Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan

Bahadur. Shafee. Maulvi Muhammad.
Shah Nawaz. Mian Mohammad.
Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Rem Narayan.
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Tok Kvi. II Tok Kvi, U. Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai. Yakub, Maulei Muhammad.

NOES-44.

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

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

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: I do not know if any other Honourable Member wishes to move the motion standing in his name.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I have got a motion standing in my name. Sir, I beg to move. (Cries of "Withdraw, withdraw".)

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to move it or not?

Location of Troops in Muzaffarpur.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Yes, Sir, I wish to move it. I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The object with which I have brought forward this motion is to protest against the location of troops in Muzaffarpur. I may say at the outset that I propose to be very brief. A company of British infantry has been stationed in Muzaffarpur eff and on for about the last six years, and this arrangement has been made permanent. We attempted in the Bihar Legislative Council, as well as in this House, to find out the reasons for this move; but we have not been successful in our efforts. So far back as the 25th July, 1921, the Bihar Government said, in reply to a question in the Bihar Legislative Council, that "the move was made by the order of the military authorities to relieve a temporary congestion at Dinapur", and that "the Local Government had nothing to do with the move." Then, Sir, on the 24th January, 1922, the Local Government, in reply to a question in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, said that "the troops had been sent with the knowledge and approval of Government"—evidently meaning the Local Government of Bihar and Orissa—and "they did not

[Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh.]

propose to withdraw them". I asked a lot of questions in this House, Sir, during the last three years, in February and in March, 1924, and subsequently, but got no satisfactory reply. In 1924 I sent notice of a Resolution signed by no less than 38 Members of the Legislative Assembly, recommending the withdrawal of the troops from Muzaffarpur; but the Resolution was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General, under Rule 22 (1) of the Indian Legislative Rules "on the ground that it cannot be moved without detriment to the public interest." Then, Sir, I sent notice of another Resolution asking for the publication of the papers in this connection, but strangely enough, that Resolution also was disallowed by the Governor General on the same ground. I saw His Excellency Lord Reading in 1924 in this connection, and also wrote to him a letter from which I shall read out one short paragraph. This is what I said:

"There is a general apprehension in the minds of the people that this project owes its origin to a dexterous move on the part of a few local Indigo-planters, who wield considerable influence with some of the officials of the Government of Bihar and Orissa."

And further on, I said:

"This apprehension gains ground from the fact admitted by the Government in the Assembly on the 1st February, 1924, that out of many public bodies which presented addresses of welcome to H. E. Sir Henry Wheeler at Muzaffarpur on the 24th July, 1922, the Bihar Planters' Association was the only body to express its appreciation at the location of troops in Muzaffarpur, and to suggest that 'the present policy should be continued'. I asked for papers to be laid before the Assembly, which might have thrown some light on the dark corners of this case, and brought out the true facts. But the Government have thought it proper to withhold the papers on the plea that they are of a confidential nature. This, I submit, is hardly calculated to allay the popular apprehension or to remove the impression, however wrongly founded it may be, as to the origin of this step."

I received a reply, Sir, from the Army Department, which was couched in the usual stereotyped form. The District Board and the Municipal Board of Muzaffarpur passed Resolutions protesting against the permanent location of troops in Muzaffarpur. A public meeting was also held there presided over by Maulvi Muhammad Shafi, M.L.A., and a similar Resolution was adopted. I understand that copies of these resolutions were sent through the usual channel for being forwarded to the Government of India. but it appears from the reply of Government to a question put by me in this House that the resolutions were withheld. Cases of friction between the troops and some of the inhabitants of Muzaffarpur take place off and on, and some of these cases were admitted by the Government themselves in reply to certain questions put by me here, and in reply to certain questions put by my friends in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. I am not going to weary the House with a narration of all the incidents, but I would like the Government to state why this step was taken, why so much money, probably about 5 or 6 lakhs, have been spent in the construction of barracks, and why they are not prepared to place all the papers before this House for consideration.

Mr. G. M. Young (Army Secretary): Sir, I have a very short answer to give to the Honourable Member's motion. The troops were sent to Muzaffarpur on the recommendation of the Local Government for internal security purposes. They have been there for some years now and apart from the very few minor incidents which the Honourable Member did not specify for obvious reasons, there has been no complaint about

them and they are still required to be there for internal security purposes, and that is also the reason why the Government are not prepared to lay the papers on the subject before the House.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 400." The motion was negatived.

. (Other amendments on the paper under this Demand were not moved).

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 5,78,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

(Mr. Chaman Lall rose in his place).

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member want to speak?

Mr. Chaman Lall: I beg to oppose this motion. Sir, it is not without hesitation that I rise to oppose this motion and I do so in view not only of the trend of the debate which has gone on for two days on this question, but in view of the important interests that are involved in regard to the military policy pursued by the Government of India. Perhaps, Sir, I am wrong in saying: "the military policy pursued by the Government of India" because it is my firm belief, in spite of the statement of my friend Mr. Howell, that the military policy of India is not dictated by the Government of India but by the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. (Hear, hear). It is a policy which, as I shall show presently, is a policy in the interests of the Imperialistic designs of Great Britain, not in the interests of the people of India. Sir, the question that is before us is as to what this policy entails for the people of India and for the general tax-payer, and the question is whether we, on this side of the House, are prepared to accept without challenge all the implications involved in regard to the military policy pursued by Great Britain in India. The military policy, involving a tremendous expenditure, running into crores of rupces, must necessarily have as its end the adjustment of the ratio of the revenues of this country to the ratio of military expenditure. Such would be the case in any self-governing country. But that, Sir, I submit, is not the case here. What is the principle that should guide the expenditure for our Army? The principle should be that its expend ture should not eat up an enormous portion of our revenue, should not entail a very heavy burden upon the tax-payer, particularly when the tax-payer is unable to afford the expenditure that is involved. The second principle, I submit, is that the growth of military expenditure should be in consonance with the growth of the revenues of this country, and I find that in the policy that is pursued by the Government of India neither of these two principles are kept in view but that additional taxation is levied from the people of Ind's with the sole object-I say it advisedly-with the sole object of providing more money and more funds for the military policy pursued by the Government of India. Let me for a minute give a few details in regard to the statement that I have made. In 1900 the net revenue of the Government of India was in & sterling 89.767 and the military expenditure was £15°876. In 1920 the revenue was £86.826 millions and the military expenditure was £44.480 millions. In these two figures what is most prominent is this, that within

[Mr. Chaman Lall.]

20 years between 1900 and 1920 the increase in the net revenues of this country was 117 per cent. One would expect that the increase in military expenditure would (if necessary, but the necessity is not shown) keep pace with the increase in the revenues of the country, but we find according to these figures that whereas the increase in the net revenues of this country was only 117 per cent. the net increase in the military expenditure was no less than 190 per cent. Taking the latest figures, the accounts estimates for 1925-26, the net revenue was 188-32 crores and the military expenditure was 60.3937 crores. The ratio of military expenditure to the revenues of this country is no less than 45 per cent. I have before me the figures of military expenditure in Great Britain and the ratio between purely military expenditure and the net revenues of Great Britain works out to somewhere between 5 and 6 per cent., whereas in India the ratio works out to 45 per cent. of the revenues of this country. the slightest doubt that that principle which I enunciated at the very beginning has been drastically violated by the military experts and the Government of India in this country, and violated for what purpose? purpose is obvious. The purpose is not, as my Honourable friend, Mr. Young stated, merely the defence of the people of India. The purpose is to keep a standing army in this country not only to keep the people of this country down but also to use at for Imperial purposes. If I am challenged in regard to that statement I have only to refer, as I did refer on a previous occasion, the Government to a despatch issued sometime ago by the Government of India, and that despatch clearly stated that the policy pursued in regard to the Army in India is a policy which is purely for the purposes of sustaining British Imperialism in the East and the This is what Mr. Buchanan has said:

"In so far as the military defence of India is concerned, India pays everything and the United Kingdom nothing, and yet the maintenance and the military defence of India is one of the greatest of Imperial questions. The military strength of India is the main factor in the strength of our Empire in the East. In virtue of that strength Great Britain is a great Asiatic power."

Then the Government of India in 1896-1897 spoke with great frankness and this is what they said:

"Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, in armaments and fortifications to provide for the security of India not against domestic enemies."

—not against domestic enemies as my Honourable friend, Mr. Young stated—

"or to prevent incursions of warlike people of adjoining countries but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of these great and costly measures reaches far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is an Imperial policy. We claim, therefore, that in the maintenance of the British forces in this country just and even liberal views should be taken of the charges which should lagitimately be made against Indian revenue."

Now, Sir, in view of this categorical statement made by the Government of India themselves let no man on the Government or official Benches have the audacity to tell us that the Indian Army is kept merely for the purpose of defending the people of India. The Indian Army, as they themselves admitted some time ago, is being kept for Imperial purposes and, if we have that one central fact in mind, we shall understand the reason for the tremendous increase in military expenditure in this country and the reason why the British Government wast to keep a huge standing army with all the expenditure which it entails on India. Now, Sir, there are historically two schools of thought. As is well known to Honourable Members, there is the cautious school of thought in

forward school of thought. is the military matters and there mind. forward school of thought to any Indian military history, has had the ascendancy for a very long time and it was that ascendancy which led to the appointment of various Commissions to investigate the question of military expenditure and the need for keeping a huge army in India. Honourable Members are aware of the Simla Army Committee, and the Simla Army Committee definitely declared that the question to be faced is—is India for the Army or the Army for India? It is my definite opinion that the verdict cannot be otherwise than that it is not the Army for India but India for the Army. Now, Sir, the forward policy that was pursued by the forward school is the policy which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has enunciated not only on the floor of this House but also in the other House. I am quite well aware that not one worl was uttered by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in regard to the various details of that policy on the floor of this House but underlying his whole speech was the spirit of that forward policy, and when he translated himself to the other House His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was exceedingly frank. apparently took the cue from my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford who threatened us with very many dangers from the outside world and when I asked him what those dangers were he was discreetly silent; but His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said in the other House that the danger was the danger from no other foe than Soviet Russia. He said that as long as Soviet Russia is practically upon our borders we cannot reduce our army. Now, Sr, that plea is not a new plea. It is not a new argument. It is the chief mainstay of the forward school and has been used by the forward school for nearly half a century for launching on their policy of keeping a huge standing army in India. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said incidentally that the Army was not Imperial purposes. He said:

"I heard, I think, a remark also that our army in India was kept up to the present level owing to our 'political ambitions', the 'political ambitions' of the United Kingdom. The political ambitions of the United Kingdom, Sir, do not apply to this country. I can assure this House and I can assure the Honourable Member who made that remark that there is nothing in the way of political ambitions behind us when we decide on the necessary military establishments."

Now, I would ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, did he speak in his individual capacity when he made that remark or was he trying to justify the Imperial policy of Great Britain? As I have already quoted from andespatch of the Government of India, the policy of Great Britain is otherwise. It is not purely for the defence of India. It is purely for the defence of the Imperial interests of Great Britain in the Far East. His Excellency then want on to say:

"I may say we have to keep a strict watch on the North East Frontier also; we know what the Bolshevik propaganda is doing not only in Afghanistan but also in China. The time may come—God forbid that it comes soon—but the time may come when the Bolshevik menace may come upon us. We have seen that the Bolsheviks never seem tired of their propaganda work; both in Afghanistan and in China they are corrying on an enormous amount of propaganda and if we were deliberately to reduce our army in India I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that India would suffer and suffer in a way from which she might never recover."

Now, Sir, Honourable Members will also realise that this bogey of Bolshevik. Russia is a bogey that is trotted out every time in order to still the voice of those who claim that drastic retrenchment must take place in the military expenditure of this country. I assert, and I am sure that I shall have the voice of India behind me when I say that we are not

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frightened by this bogey that was trotted out in the Council of State by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. There is no truth whatsoever behind the assertion that Bolshevik Russia intends to menace the borders of India. We know from recent facts that Bolshevik Russia was the one country in the world which gave up its Imperialistic commitments in Persia and in other parts of the world. Is there another country in the world which has been able to realize so frankly and openly that selfdetermination for other nations ought to be the honest policy of all great countries? Bolshevik Russia realizes that, and are we to be told now, Sir, that a country which has acted in that manner towards the Persians, which has acted in that manner towards the Chinese, is a country which 4s going to menace the frontiers of India? And forsooth! because of this menace we are going to keep a huge army in this country. No, Sir. I submit that this is a false fear which is being instilled into us. I do not say that the Commander-in-Chief does not honestly and sincerely believe that there is a danger. It is his business to believe that there are dangers. He is there in order to keep dangers in view. But we know perfectly well that all this is being done with the purpose of enabling the Imperialistic policy of Great Britain to reach fruition. It is being done of set purpose and we are being made to pay for the policy of our masters.

Now, Sir, His Excellency also said that our lives may not be of much account. Of course we know that Indian lives are not of much account, and I shall have a word to say on another occasion in regard to that matter when I come to the question of the use of Indian troops abroad. But the one central fact that emerges from all this is that we are at the present moment in an absolutely impotent state in regard to the greater portion of our revenues. We are being made to pay enormous sums year by year over which we have no control. 55 or 56 crores of rupees come out of the pockets of the tax-payer. All that we are asked to do is to come here and discuss a minor vote of 5 or 6 lakhs. We are told it is no business of ours. It is no business of ours to deal with our own money; it is no business of ours to meddle in the policy which results in the expenditure of this vast sum of money. But we are told on the other hand that even the question of Indianization is a question which is the chief concern of the Secretary of State for India. Now, Sir, I have a definite charge to make against His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and that charge is this, that he has very lightly treated the Legislative Assembly. He said that the reason why he did not touch upon the question of Indianization in this House was that his mouth was closed regarding Indianization. May I ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief if his mouth was closed about the question of Indianization, was not his mouth also closed in regard to the question of Europeanization? Did not His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief bear testimony to the fact that the main problem that was troubling him was the question of recruitment of our boys as he called them.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: May I mention, Sir, I have no recollection of saying "our boys". I said "English boys". My mouth was closed in regard to the point raised as the matter was sub judice, as I have no doubt the House knows. It was known to Mr. Jinnah when he asked me the question. There was no question of English boys being sub judice with the Secretary of State.

(An Honourable Member: "What is the difference between our boys and English boys?")

Mr. Chaman Lall: Now, Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief says that he was referring to English boys. Well, I did not mean to quote His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; what I mean is that he was referring to English boys. There was a question of English boys and of the Europeanization of the Indian Army. That was the question His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was discussing. Let me quote His Excellency:

"We have not been getting boys from Sandhurst in the numbers we want. One can only imagine that the cause of it is that service in India is no longer as popular and does not hold out the attractions it did for the youth of England. There are many reasons for it. The Civil Service, as we know, a year or two ago was placed in the same difficulty, but I am glad to say, has now somewhat overcome its difficulties. We sincerely hope that ere long English boys will again come forward to join the Indian Army, an army in which I have served all my life, and to which I am proud to belong."

Now, Sir, could not His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief bave said a word equally in such general terms as he talked about English boys, about Indian boys as well? It was up to His Excellency the Commander in Chief to have taken a chapter out of the life of the late Lord Rawlinson. For what did Lord Rawlinson say? He devoted the best part of his speech to the question of Indianization. I regret to say that it was the last speech that Lord Rawlinson delivered on the floor of this House,--he devoted the best part of that speech to the question of Indianization. Was it wrong to ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to devote at least a few general remarks to the question of Indianization? But neither on the floor of this House, Sir, nor on the floor of the other House did His Excellency refer to this matter. He did not refer to it because I consider, as Mr. Jinnah has pointed cut, that there is no real serious intention on the part of Great Britain to Indianize the Army. For if they were to Indianize the Army, Sir, the result would be obvious: their power would weaken, and not only weaken in this country but the Imperial power of Great Britain throughout the East would weaken; and as my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, pointed out, it has been reckoned by statisticians that at the rate at which they are intending to Indianize, it would take centuries; one statistician has computed that it would take at least 365 years to officer the Indian Army with Indian officers at the rate at which we are going. Is that a state of affairs to which we are going to commit ourselves? And I desire, Sir, in moving the rejection of this motion, to pass a vote of censure upon the Covernment for the military policy that they have pursued, and I desire that the elected Members of this Assembly should place it upon record that they will be no parties to the policy that is being pursued by Great Britain? What are the implications of this policy, Sir? Let me take the question of Aden once more. It has been said by the Honourable Member representing Government when my Honourable friend Mr. Goswaini was speaking that there was no decision—there was no "decision '-in regard to Aden, and therefore there was no change in the policy. May I remind that Honourable gentleman of the actual words used by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and ask him whether he does or does not find in those words the announcement of a decision? These are his words:

[&]quot;These conversations regarding Aden have now at last come to a conclusion. All the details have not yet been definitely settled, but it has been decided"

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-mark the words, "it has been decided"-

"that the Home Government shall from the 1st of April this year be responsible for the military and political administration in Aden."

"It has been decided": if that is not a decision, I would like to know what a decision is.

Mr. E. B. Howell: May I rise to a point of personal explanation, Sir? 'Political administration at Aden' means the control of the Aden Hinterland and of the tribes who live there. This has been in the hands of His Majesty's Government since August 1917, and there has been no change.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Precisely! May I ask the Honourable Member, Sir, whether that was not an unofficial transfer of control to the authorities in Great Britain in 1917? May I ask, Sir, whether only an unofficial and temporary transfer was then made? Is it not a fact that from now onwards, what was but a temporary measure is going to be a permanent measure, and whether that does not involve a very important change in policy? May I ask the Honourable Member whether that is correct or not? What is the good of coming to us on the floor of the House and trying to humbug us with mere words and phrases? The fact remains that you have transferred the military and political, control permanently, a control which was formerly in our hands. What have they done? They talk about the transfer of the control of the civil administration of Aden itself, the settlement itself. I would ask the question, what about Little Aden? What decision have you come to in regard to Little Aden? What decision have you come to in regard to Sheikh Othman? Those were two territories which were purchased. I believe—I stand subject to correction by my Honourable friend if he contradicts me—purchased with Indian money. What is the decision of the Imperial Government in regard to these two territories? We have not been told that. In the most casual manner His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief comes to this Assembly quietly and announces that a decision has been arrived at. What are we here for if we are not trustees of our own people and of the territory that belongs to us? What are we here for? To be trifled with in this manner? I ask Honcurable Members to note the manner in which the great affairs of this country are being handled by not only His Excellency the Commander in-Chief but by all the advisers of the Indian Government. Now, Sir, I want a definite verdict from the Government in regard to this question. It is said that there was no breach of promise, no breach of promise in regard to Aden. I want to remind my Honourable friend over there once again of what that promise was. As the Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas referred to 1921, referred to the statement of Sir Denys Bray. I want to remind the Honourable Member over there once again of the statement that was made, of the statement that Sir Denys Bray made to us then:

"They had not arrived "

he said.

"at any conclusion in regard to Aden and they were awaiting the Spinion of Atten

They were awaiting the opinion. May I ask Honourable Members opposite, did they take the opinion of Adan? Did they take the opinion

of India? When in 1921 they announced that they were still awaiting the opinion to be given to them, did they take any steps to obtain that opinion? I say deliberately, Sir, that they have broken their promise that they gave us that they would take the opinion both of Aden and of India, and without taking the opinion either of India or of Aden they have transferred an important bit of territory because of its strategic value to the military authorities in Great Britain. This is the manner in which, Sir, we are being trifled with here.

Let me come to another aspect of this problem of Imperial policy. Let me come to the question of the Indian Navy which was so ably dealt with by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. What is this question, Sir? We are being given the great advantage of what is going to be known as the Royal Indian Navy. We are going to have the privilege, the great privilege, of calling this Navy our own; and we are going to have the further pr vilege of being able to put one out of 820 million people in this country, one out of 820 million people, in the course of one year as an officer in that Navy. Is that correct, Sir? I want to ask Government. We are going along with it to be foisted with expenditure in regard to this Navy, which will not be votable by this House. The Indian tax-payer will have to pay the money, but the Indian tax-payer will not have the right to call the tune, and what is the reason? Again in pursuance of that same policy of Imperialism in the East, the decision has been taken that this Indian Navy will be used not merely for patrolling our waters and for our defence, but it has been announced by the British Government that this Navy will also be used for war purposes by the British Government. We have to pay the cost of this Navy and Great Britain is going to make use of it. Let me read a reply that was given in the House of Commons to Mr. Ammon. The reply was:

"That the Indian Navy Bill had provided for the possibility that the Royal Indian Navy might be placed at the disposal of His Majesty, and might be employed for purposes other than the purely local defence of India."

Now, Sir, I want to ask Honourable Members here, I want to ask, if there is a single elected Member, who has the interests of his country at heart, who will be a party to this bargain of giving us the great name of what will be known as the Royal Indian Navy and filching us of the wealth of this country in order to support the Imperialistic measures of Great Britain. (An Honourable Member: "Don't ask Sir Darcy Lindsay.") Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. B. Das, says "Don't ask Sir Darcy Lindsay". I am not asking Sir Darcy Lindsay, but I am asking the masters of Sir Darcy Lindsay; incidentally they happen to be my masters as well.

Now, Sir, let me revert once again to the question, the third question, and that is the question of Aviation, in connection with military policy. The other day I was attacked by my Honourable friend Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra for saying that this was only a left-handed move for obtaining still further power for the military machine, namely, the grant for Civil Aviation. I have in my hand an article written by Lala Lajpat Rai and I am glad to say, Sir, that I am entirely supported by him in what I surported was a policy, a deliberate policy, of adding more strength to the military machine in India.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But he did not support you at the last election.

Mr. Chaman Lall: My friend, Mr. K. Ahmed, says he did not support me at the last election. My friend knows that I am here in spite of that.

Now, Sir, I come back once again with your permission to the question of the ratio between taxation on the one side and military expenditure on the other. The figures have been given to us as regards reduction of expenditure from 67 crores down to 54 crores. That is one way of looking at it but not an intelligent way. Another way that I want Honourable Members to view it is in regard to the ratio between taxation on the one side and military expenditure on the other. In regard to the ratio figures for 1927-28 I think taxation amounts to Rs. 78,69-56 (thousands) taking revenue under principal heads, and the ratio of military expenditure I worked out is something like 71 per cent. of taxation.

I want an answer from the Honourable Members opposite. Can they give me an example of any country in the world where such a state of affairs exists and exists in a peaceful country, comparatively speaking compared with other countries? And what for? Some imaginary Russian bogey that exists in the minds of these who subscribe themselves as belonging to the forward school of military politics.

There is one other fact that I should mention. In a very valuable memorandum published by an ex-Member of this Assembly, figures have been worked out which show that the large increase in taxation that has taken place in recent years is not for the benefit of the people but because more and more money is required for mil tary purposes. I refer Honourable Members to the memorandum prepared by Sir Dinshaw Wacha. At page 7 they will find that the excesses in taxation in recent years amount to 34.47 crores which have been almost entirely absorbed by the military machine in India. In other countries such taxat on would have been utilised for the benefit of the people of India, for better sanitation, education, housing, but in this country it is util sed for the better prospects of British officers, for more passages for them, better machine guns and howitzers to keep the people down and to frighten them with some imaginary Russian bogey. I do not wish to weary the House with regard to those statistics, but Honourable Members will find the figures in this valuable memorandum.

I do not desire to harp any longer on this question of policy, but I must mention two or three very interesting facts of historical value. There was once upon a time a Committee in regard to which I have made mention, the Simla Army Committee. They pointed out that the Army in India was for two purposes, one is the defence of India and the other is defence from aggression from outside. Now it has been alleged by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that the great question is the question of security. This is the insurance that people in India pay, that is, the military expenditure is the insurance that the people of India are paying for their own safety. I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Dinshaw Wacha in this respect, where he said:

"No doubt a reasonable and judicious expenditure, compatible with the ability of the country, may be granted in order to safeguard the frontiers. So far the expenditure may be considered as a sound premium on insurance. But the proposition that such a premium can be unlimited will, I fear, be not approved by any sound economist or financier. A premium on insurance effected is limited by the ability of the insurer and no more. It is a proposition which needs no demonstration. It would be most improvident for any insurer to insure his life for £25,000 when he is not in a position or able to provide the necessary premium thereon beyond £10,000. Such a way of insuring

life will sconer or later land the insurer in bankruptcy even though he may make shifts for a time by raising the balance by borrowing. What is true of the individual in ordinary business life holds equally true, I venture to observe, of any Government. I for once cannot but express my dissent at so palpably spacious an argument as that urged in the Explanatory Memorandum on behalf of the Government."

Now, Sir, I consider that of interest to the country. In view of the military policy of Great Britain, in view of the Imperialistic implications of that policy in regard to India, in view of the fact that we are paying a tremendously huge premium even for ordinary insurance, I say, we would rather not pay the premium for a safety that is no safety to us, that we would rather utilise the enormous sums that are being wasted on military expenditure, that we would rather preserve that money for the betterment of our people, instead of which this money is being utilised for the Imperial purposes of Britain. I desire that all Honourables Members who have the interests of their country at heart should register their verdict by a vote of censure against the Government for pursuing this policy.

I have one word more to say, and that is to remind again those who believe in the forward policy in military matters of what Lord Morley has said:

"I do not think your case could be better put, or more ingeniously, only forgive me for saying that all this military analogy from Fortress and Glacis strikes me as essentially misleading, or at any rate narrow and partial; and the result of it is to make the Government of India, as it always is, and always will be (except when by the mercy of Heaven there is an accidental Secretary of State of the opposite persuasion in power), virtually and by the natural drawbacks of the position what I will call for short and without offence Jingo."

That is the word with which I would describe Honourable Members sitting opposite. That is the word I would describe the Government of India with. That is the word with which I would describe the military policy of Great Britain in India; and I say no man who loves peace, no man who loves his country, no man who has the true interest of his own people at heart, will ever subscribe to the policy that is being pursued by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, by the Government of India and by the Government of Great Britain. Sir, I move the rejection of the motion before us. (Applause.)

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I do not rise at this late hour to inflict a speech upon the House. I rise to make the postion of this side of the House clear in regard to the opposition to this Demand. As the House will remember, it has now been ruled that you cannot move a total cut and the opposition to the Demand itself has taken the place of a total cut. Now I know that among certain Honourable Members even on this side there is a sort of nervousness when a total cut or anything taking the place of a total cut is before the House. I wish to explain that whatever reasons there may be for their not taking part in a total cut, those reasons do not apply to the opposition to this Demand. But I must not be taken to concede that a total cut is open to any objection. Sir, the psychology of such a cut has not been understood by Honourable Members who are not inclined to vote for it. The other day, my friend Mr. Muhammad Yakub, although in full agreement with us, held himself unable to vote because the motion took the form of a total omission. Again, my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford on another point also made the same observation.

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He did me the honour to agree with me in what I submitted to the House; but he said he was prevented from voting because I had gone too far in proposing a very big cut-almost a complete cut. Now, what is there in the amount of a cut? It does not in the least matter to the Government whether you cut down a hundred rupees or a thousand rupees. or ten lakhs of rupees for the matter of that. But we have to consider what it is that we wish to bring home to the Government by moving a motion of that character. It was on the Railway Board Demand that, my friend Mr. Muhammad Yakub made that observation. Now, the object plainly was that we were not willing to vote a single rupee because we entirely disagreed with the whole policy of the Department which we are attacking. It is only to express the extent of our dissatisfaction that the motion takes that form. Here again there is the military policy of the Government. By moving or rather by opposing the motion for the Grant what we say is that we entirely and totally object to that policy. But that is not the position that every Honourable Member need take and I am going now to lay before the House one consideration and one only which, so far as I have observed, has escaped the notice of the House. That is a matter which I look upon as conclusive and I expect that my friends, even of the European group, will also see eye to eye with me on that point.

Now, Sir, what is the amount which is votable? Rs. 5,89,000; and we are proposing cuts of a thousand rupees, a hundred rupees and so on. If I satisfy the House that even ten times of the amount which has been submitted to our vote is wholly unjustifiable, will they still desist from voting with me simply because it goes to the extent of the whole sum that has to be voted? I am sure, not. Now, let me explain the point. The point is this: His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been quoted—and I think it will now be a classical phrase—that he cannot afford to do with one man less or one rupee less in carrying on the military administration of the country with efficiency. Now, Sir, we have the same sentiment expressed in different words in the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member. He says:

"Only the sternest economy and the strictest vigilance can now prevent our military budget from showing a tendency to rise rather than to fall, and the present level of expenditure seems to be very nearly the minimum absolutely essential to maintain in a state of full efficiency an army of the strength at present authorised."

Now, what is the state of things? As I was turning over the pages of this Military Budget, my attention was attracted to a most remarkable figure and I wish to draw the attention of the House also to that figure. We find on page 4—expenditure under the head "Army"—Part I—Standing Army: Under sub-head 8, there is a lump cut for probable underspending. And do you know what is the amount of that cut? It is no less than 80 lakhs of rupees. Now, what does that show? That shows that the estimates and the Budget have been prepared in such a way as to enable those who have got to spend this money, to throw it away with both hands and yet never come to the end of it. There will most probably still remain no less a sum than 80 lakhs of rupees unspent. Then there is a Note to this. That is also very important. The Note says:

[&]quot;In preparing the Budget Estimate for 1997-28 under the revised heads of classification and with reference to the rearrangement of controlling officers, double praying the discovered."

It was somehow by the merest chance discovered that there was a double provision:

"the exact amount of which cannot be stated as the Budget Estimate for 1926-27 is not susceptible of recompilation fully under the new heads. Of the tetal lump cus of Rs. 80 lakhs in 1927-25 for probable underspending, the Military authorities have undertaken to keep the expenditure within 40 lakhs of their detailed estimates and the balance represents short spending as anticipated by the Finance Department. A lump cut of Rs. 12 lakhs was taken by the Finance Department in the Budget for 1926-27."

So that, while the military authorities were also content to keep it at 40 lakhs, the Finance Department thought that it was an underestimate, and that probably the amount underspent would come to something like Rs. 80 lakhs. Now, Sir, if we had all the materials available to us, we could further test how this amount would be underspent. But what do I find? The whole of the military budget is framed in a different way altogether to the way in which the General Budget is framed. When you want to look into the details, when you wish to make any comparison between the past years and the present, you find that the columns of Accounts for 1925-26, Budget Estimates 1926-27, and Revised Estimates 1926-27 are all blanks from beginning to end. That is as regards the standing army. I am quite sure that the Honourable the Finance Member will find some explanation of this 80 lakhs. But how am I to find it out for myself? How am I to understand this Budget? Unless I understand this Budget, I say that I am fully justified in refusing anything on the Demands which have been put to our vote.

Then, Sir, I shall briefly deal with the statement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that it is impossible to do with a single man less or with a single rupee less. I need only point out that it has been possible and quite easy indeed for us to send out large numbers of men to serve outside India. Well, if for our own purposes we cannot do without one man less, how is it that we have from time to time been able to send large numbers of men outside for purposes with which we have nothing to do—not purposes, at any rate, of the defence of India? Now, Sir, these are the points to which I wanted particularly to draw the attention of the House. I would ask the Finance Member to explain to the House how is it that, when you can put down no less a sum than Rs. 80 lakhs under the head underspent, why should we allow you these 5 lakhs and odd thousand rupees that you have put to our vote? Why cannot you manage with the many crores that you have got and as to which we are not consulted at all?

Now, Sir, as I have thought fit to rise and speak on this occasion, I should like, before I sit down, to make one or two general observations in regard to the speeches that I have heard to-day. My friend Mr. Howell in justifying the military policy on the Frontier, gave as evidence and proof positive of the success of that policy that he was entertained at a garden party and was assured by the Mahsuds that things had very much improved and that they did not want any change in the policy I am sorry my friend is not in his seat. But that reminded me, Sir, of an incident which occurred in the course of the inpeachment of Warren Hastings in the House of Commons. It was said on his behalf that numerous entertuinments were given to Warren Hastings which showed that India was quite pleased with him, that the Indian people had no complaints against him. To this Edmund Burke's reply was—India was a country where they worshipped small-pex; what wonder that they gave

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these entertainments to a man they wanted to get rid of? I think, Sir, that the same remark would apply to the great majority of the farewell parties given to retiring officials (An Honourable Member: "And addresses.") and the addresses. They do not imply anything at all in this country. At best they simply amount to a polite way of getting rid of the undesirables. (Sir Hari Singh Gour: "Of making friends with the crocodile.") Then I must not omit to notice the remarks of my Honourable friend, Sir Darcy Lindsay, the veteran leader of the European Party. Now, Sir, I am free to admit that there has been a certain amount of laxity in the conduct of the debates, the reasons for which it is not necessary for me to enter into, but it hardly lay in the mouth of my friend Sir Darcy Lindsay to raise any objection on that score. I find that during this debate on the Demands no less than 7 Members belonging to his group consisting of 11 all told have spoken on various heads of the Budget.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: How long were the speeches?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Just wait a minute. This Party, Sir, which as everybody can see is the strongest Party in the House in numbers at least. (An Honourable Member: "Only in numbers?") in this Party which consists of more than 40, there were just 20 who spoke during all these days. Then my friend says: what was the length of the speeches? May I ask another question? What was the stuff in them? What was the stuff in all these speeches?

Sir Darcy Lindsay: I am glad you call it stuff.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: What was the stuff in the short speeches? I say if the speeches were lengthy, (some of them were, and some of them were lengthy on the other side too), they were so because of the ground they covered. But the shorter the speech the less stuff in it perhaps for want of material. Then there was another thing. My friend, Sir Darcy Lindsay, gave us a story which I think was very apposite. It was the story of the sailor who tried to rescue a drowning man. Well, he caught him by the head as it floated on the surface, and asked him who he was. He said he was a Jew, on which the sailor gave him a ducking; but he bobbed up again and the sailor asked: "Will you be a Christian?" He said "No." So he gave him another ducking. After a time he pulled him up again and asked him: "Will you be a Christian?" The poor man was now very exhausted and in a faint voice he said "Yes". Then he let him go saying "Then die the death of a Christian." Now, Sir, apply that story to India India was sinking just before these Reforms came (An Honourable Member: "When?") India was sinking after Amritsar, Sir, and when these Reforms came, Nationalist India said, "We shall not cooperate." The sinking head was raised up and was asked "Will you co-operate?" Sinking India said, "No." It was allowed to go down. Then it was lifted up again in an exhausted condition. That was after the first Councils had met and had run their course. It was asked again, "Will you co-operate?" India said, "Yes, on honourable terms." After some formal ceremonies of baptism by which I refer to my Honourable friend the Home Member's Committee, known as the Muddiman Committee, and certain other Committees, eventually the answer was given, "No honourable co-operation". The answer amounted to that, and India was let ge and she went down again. But, Sir, India is not dead and she is not

going to die, at any rate not in the way in which some people would wish it die, that is to say, in co-operation when it is not honourable. She would rather die in honourable non-co-operation than in dishonourable co-operation.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I shall not detain the House for more than a few minutes. (An Honourable Member: "How many?") Not more than 5 or 6 or 7. (An Honourable Member: "Or 8 or 9?") But I feel that I shall be failing in my duty to my country if I were to record a silent vote on this all-important question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Not a bit.

Lala Laipat Rai: Sir, my sense of self-respect makes me feel I shall be failing in my duty to my country if I were to record a silent vote and not, make the few observations that I should like to make on this question. I want to tell the Honourable Members on the other side in this House, as well as all concerned outside that the whole of India feels very strongly and very bitterly on this question. The military policy of the Government of India can be looked at from two points of view, the economic point of view and the purely military point of view. In the history of British rule in India there are two words written which anybody can read while running, namely, the exploitation of India economically to the verge of practical starvation, and complete emasculation of India from the military point of view. If it were confined to the former, Sir, perhaps we would not feel so keenly but I want to tell this House that we feel the emasculation much more keenly than the exploitation. At no time in the history of this great country which extends over thousands of years was India so completely disarmed and so completely emasculated as under the British rule. Indian history goes back to thousands of years and no other rule has ever tried to disarm the people, no other rule has ever tried to make people so helpless from the defence point of view, as the British Government has done. I submit it is adding insult to injury to tell us now to-day that we shall not have our country given back to us because we cannot defend it and at the same time to put all sorts of obstacles in the way of our being fit and trained to defend our country. I submit it is extremely cruel, and I join with my Honourable friends in this that this is one item in the whole Budget which we should unanimously throw out without any consideration at all. We are not here to consider questions of what shall happen and what shall not happen. My Honourable friend Mr. Chaman Lall has dealt with the menace of Soviet Russia. There will be menaces always. What we want is to be able to meet those menaces ourselves and not to hire other people to meet those menaces for us. We may fa'l, we may suffer, we may lose, but we want to fight our own battles. Any Government which prevents us from fighting our own battles we do not consider as our friend. I want to say that distinctly. Let the European Members think what they please, but I want to say it in very clear terms that we do not consider any Government that prevents us from fighting our own battles as a friend of ours, $(M\tau. K. Ahmed: "Communal troubles.")$, because it practically emasculates us for all time to come. My Honourable friend talks of communal troubles. There would be no communal troubles if Hindus and Muhammadans had been allowed to join hands and defend their hearth and home against foreign aggression. Where were the communal troubles before the British came? They have introduced communal troubles and they are responsible for them. But for this third party, willy nilly we should have managed

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to live as neighbours and friends, but it is this third party which pats one community on the back at one time and pats another community on its back at another time; and on one and the same question gives different judgments, different orders and different decisions. It is because of this, that these communal troubles go on from one day's end to another day's end.

Maulvi A. H. Natique (Central Provinces: Muhammadan): You have become a toy in their hands.

Lala Lajpat Rai: So far as playing into the hands of the Government is concerned, many people play into the hands of many others with various motives. I do not want to discuss that question here. Once we begin to feel that whether we wish or do not wish we have to fight our enemies from abroad. I am perfectly certain that all these temporary communal differences will be thrown aside and everybody will unite to make preparations for defence against foreign aggression.

I want to say only one more word and I have done. The Government of India have made a declaration of policy in their announcement of the 17th August, 1917. They say that they are proceeding with that policy. I want to say that the one acid test of their sincerity in that declaration will be the amount of progress which the Government of India makes from year to year in Indianising the Army and in allowing us to be fit and properly trained to defend our hearth and home in the nearest possible time. I do not believe in the theory that India will require 80, 85 or 40 years to make herself fit for her defence. The experiences of the Great War are before the whole world. I was in the United States of America when the War was on. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has told us that the army which the United States of America trained in the course of year or so was not a very fit army. But we know that it was the army of the United States that saved the Allies by their timely intervention. If they were able to prepare an army which was considered fit to go to the field of battle and take its place in the fighting line within a period of 12 months, I should like to know what period is required to make us fit to take charge of our army, for the purposes of defence. I submit that the feeling on this point in the country is extremely strong and I expect that with the exception of the official Members every Indian Member in this House will combine to throw out this Demand, so that once for all it may be proved to the Government that we cannot possibly pass any votable item of the Army Demand because we feel that the Government are not doing what they ought to do to Indianise the Indian Army.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): I had every intention of recording a silent vote on this motion until somewhat to my surprise it strayed accidentally into one or two financial questions. The Henourable Pandit Motilal Nehru has drawn attention to what I admit is a somewhat unusual item in the military estimates for the year and to the explanation given. He has also drawn attention to the fact that there is no comparison easily possible between the estimates for 1927-28 and the estimates for 1926-27 and the expenditure of 1925-26. I have already once explained it but it may have been in another place. The Army estimates this year are prepared on a new and simpler basis as the secult of a Committee on cost accounting on which a Member of the

last Assembly sat. They recommended that the system of cost accounts which had introduced very serious complications into the form of the Army estimates should be very much simplified and that we should start to bring the form of our Army estimates into line with the form of other Demands. Now that has been a work of very considerable difficulty, and as we progressed with the preparation of this year's estimates we found that we ourselves, owing to the complications of the cost accounts. were not in a position to make comparisons between expenditure in the current year and the estimate of expenditure in the new year. The cost accounts introduced some very remarkable items. For example, there were certain items amounting to over 2 crores of receipts which were never received and a corresponding amount of expenditure which was never expended. It is easy to understand that in getting to a new form there were considerable difficulties in making comparisons, and the double entry to which reference was made was an incident arising out of the difficulties of comparison between one year and the next. The lump sum cut to which reference has been made is also in part explainable by the same reason. We have introduced in the Finance Department the principle of the lump sum cut for several years now and by experience we have found that it is generally justified in the places where we have introduced it. But I actually noted on the file relating to this particular cut that lump sum cuts were all very fine but an estimate had to be an estimate and not mere guessing and that lump sum cuts of this sort seemed to me to be reducing the estimates to absurdity. But it was nevertheless justified because we are guided by the experience of the actual expenditure of last year as well as by the comparison of our accounts and we have no doubt that the full cut will, unless some unexpected circumstances intervene, be justified. We shall, I hope, next year be able to present the House with a very much clearer comparison between one year and the next as the result of the change and we shall also, as I say, unless something unexpected intervenes, be able to show that the faith, hope and charity of the Finance Department were justified in this case.

I should like just to refer to one other matter which has to do with finance. The lump sum cut is partly at any rate justified by the fact that, unless the troops come back from China before the 1st April, their absence in China may by itself lead to a certain reduction in expenditure. The Honourable Pandit in that connection asked how it was that we could spare troops for China if it was true that we could not get on with one rupee less or one man less in India. I do not like to differ in public from a colleague but I should not like to say that we could not get on with one man less or one rupee less, especially the rupee. But the answer I think is this, that we have only spared those troops on the understanding that their place will be taken at once by reinforcements from elsewhere in case of absolute necessity, which is a very different thing from having a permanent reduction in your forces.

As I am on my feet I will make one last reference to other subjects that have been raised. The proportion of our military expenditure to our total expenditure is an interesting subject on which extraordinarily different answers can be given according to the statistics used. I drew attention in my budget speech to the difference between our gross and net expenditure. I do not propose to repeat the figures that were given in this House by my Honourship friend Mr. Shankar Rau in the course of the

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budget debate, in which he explained that our total military expenditure amounted to something like 25 or 26 per cent. and not the rather fantastic figure of over 50 per cent. which was given by Diwan Chaman Jall.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask whether that was in relation to gross income from taxation or net income?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That was in relation to what we regard as the proper comparison. If you take the net income and if you include, as some people like to include, the total of our expenditure on interest on debt as part of our military expenditure, you can arrive at the result that you spend more on your army than you raise by taxation.

A large number of different sets of figures can be given.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Do you include the expenditure of Provincial Governments?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer Honourable Members who are interested in the subject, and I know the whole House is, to the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. Shankar Rau on the 3rd of March, which will give them some real instruction in the matter. (Laughter.) My Honourable friend Pand't Motilal Nehru suggested that it would be quite all right to throw out this voted sum of five lakhs and 80 thousand because it was only a very small portion of our military expenditure which was non-voted. I should like to point out that this sum is not a part of the military expenditure. This is part of the civil expenditure controlling the army and the voted portion is chiefly for the salaries and wages of the Indian officers and others employed in the establishment. The reason why the House is asked to vote this is that under the Reforms system it is asked to vote and appropriate to a particular head the sums required for expenditure under that particular head. The argument with which the Honourable Pandit has sought to induce us to vote against this Demand is one that rather appeals to me. I think that we might say that though the Reforms have given us the right to vote certain expenditure we do not like having to vote it; it makes it uncomfortable for us, and Government has to restore it if it is cut. Therefore it would be most dangerous that the Government should not have anything to restore; so let us throw out every voted grant so that the system under which restorations take place will become so normal as to be the only one on the Statute-book. When we have arrived at that situation we shall I think have completed the full circle of co-operative non-co-operation. (Laughter.) However, as I am sure, other Honourable Members desire to say what they think of the Army I do not propose to continue my remarks.

Lieut.-Colonel H..A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): Sir, it is with great hesitation and with considerable anxiety that at this late hour I take part in this discussion. But I feel I would not be doing my duty to my community if I gave a silent vote. I have a vote to give on this motion and the way I propose to use it depends on the replies I receive from the Government Benches. Sir, I represent a community that has been knocking at the door of the Army for the last century, and this is still a closed door to me. My friends on the opposite side have complained of Indianization of the Army. I also stand in this House to offer my emphatic protest against the treatment that has been accorded to the

Anglo-Indian community so far as the Army is concerned and to demand an honourable and worthy place in its composition in the defence of my motherland, India. Sir, for the past 100 years we have been knocking at the door of the Army, and it is still closed to us and no reason has been as gned for this ostracism; Sir, if I receive no assurances or reasons today, I shall vote against the Government. Sir, although I believe, that an army, reduced and starved financially, is no insurance for the time of need and I look upon Rupees as the shock troops of war and the oil of the peace machine. I consider it is wrong and unjust for the Army Department after the war is over and after having used us to offer military economy now as an excuse for not enlisting Anglo-Indians in the Army except on Indian wages. It was 100 years ago when Ricketts, an Anglo-Indian, went to England and asked in vain for the admission of my community into the Army, and it was only a year ago when, as leader of the 1925 Anglo-Indian Deputation, I did the same thing, and this House knows what reply His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief gave me a few days ago-an impossible term of enlistment on Indian wages. Sir, I have circulated His Excellency's offer to the leaders of my community, and, Sir, I desire to tell His Excellency that we cannot possibly accept them. I am very surprised indeed that such terms should have been offered us in this House by one who is so familiar with our mode and standard of living and our past military history. If it is a question of military economy, if it is a question of his inability to reduce military expenditure, I for one must join issue with him here and now for I can conclusively prove that military expenditure can be reduced without any loss in efficiency. It is strangely true that among the various speeches to which I have listened to-day, not one single Member has suggested any practical measure of reducing military expenditure. Most of the speeches have been against military policy, frontier and foreign, and a general complaint against the obviously excessive Military Budget, but not one practical suggestion has been made to-day to the Army Department as to how it can reduce military expenditure.

Now, Sir, I shall offer one or two suggestions. One is the Military Finance Department. Sir, you have only to take the local telephone directory and you will find half a page devoted to the names of the Financial Advisers of the Army. The Army Department has a Financial Adviser, it has five Deputy Financial Advisers, it has five Assistant Financial Advisers, it has five Superintendents, and it has an army of 97 clerks, costing a large sum of money. Compare this with the Finance Department of the Post and Telegraphs which has only one Adviser, with that of the Railways, which controls many crores of rupees and a million men, and has only one Adviser. These Finance Departments are paid by the Departments concerned whereas the cost of maintaining the Finance Department of the Army is borne by the Finance Department in the Civil Estimates. Here Sir, there is an avenue of retrenchment and economy. Will action be taken in this direction?

The next suggestion refers to the Military Medical Department to which I have frequently referred in this House as being one where great economy could be effected without loss of efficiency, and I again refer to it to-day. Now, Sir, I look upon this as a real and practical measure of economy. Since the war recruitment to the I. M. S. has been stopped by competition, and has been done by nomination; and if one examined the history of recruitment to the I. M. S. from the year 1916-to date, one would find

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s very unhappy and unsatisfactory reading. The Army Department says it is difficult to obtain recruits from England and so certain very fascinating terms are offered to them to join the I. M. S. amounting to nearly a thousand rupecs a month. These men are being offered salaries of from Rs. 650 to Rs. 750 per mensem, together with £1,000 gratuity at the end of five years and a first class passage to India and back. This works out to nearly Rs. 1,000 per mensem and yet we have excellent men in our country who are ready to join the I. M. S. but are practically shut out except as temporary officers on a lower wage and no permanent prospects. Sir, I consider that this offers a large and productive field for economy to • be effected in the Military Medical Service. Another point—I submit that it is unfair to the Indian tax-payer to use highly paid senior R. A. M. C. Officers to perform the duties of junior Lieutenants at British Military Hospitals and so swell the military expenditure. Why cannot the A my Department, if they are true military economists, use British qualified I. M. D. officers in these posts and so effect great economy whilst retaining efficiency? I am not speaking on behalf of my community. I am concerned mainly in offering ways and means for a reduction in the military expenditure. Another matter. Why is it that the Army Department now want to replace Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European trained nurses who have worked efficiently for years in British Family Hospitals by English nurses from England? These are a few of the avenues where practical retrenchment and economy can be immediately effected. I have been bringing these matters to the notice of the Army Department for the last three years, but they have turned a deaf ear to my advice. Again equally capable nurses can be obtained in this country for all Military Hospitals and yet you elect to squander the Indian tax-payers money and import nurses from England at the exorbitant rate of Rs. 500 a month inclusive of pay, allowances, passage money, etc., and stop the women in this country getting the employment to which they have every right. Here are three avenues of retrenchment which I offer to the Army economist to ponder over. I. M. S., both European and Indian, are discontented; if you desire to make the service a happy one, then stop this nomination system of yours and, whilst getting men from England, recruit in this country where you will get a good class of medical men and at a cheaper rate of pay. You also have your excellent hospitals in this country; so, why not recruit your rurses from them? If those two suggestions were adopted, the military expenditure would be reduced by many lakhs of rupees.

Now, Sir, there is another point that I want to mention; it refers to the Lee Commission recommendation of free passages to England so far as it affects the I. M. S. I. M. S. officers, especially those who have been recruited in this country and who are of Asiatic domicile, have been seriously and prejudicially affected. These I. M. S. officers are not allowed any passages to go to England, whereas those of non-Asiatic domicile are allowed four passages during their service, as also passages for their nurses and children. I submit, Sir. that this is a gross injustice to the Asiatic domiciled members of the I. M. S. especially those who entered the service by competition. This delay in announcing the decision of the Secretary of State regarding the future of the I. M. S. is causing great discontent, anxiety and ruin to the European and Indian officers, as also the administration of our Hospitals and the training of our Medical Departments. India demands the best men of both East and West—not the fourth best.

over this deprivation of free passages to Asiatic domiciled I. M. S. officers is unjust to them amounting to a British preference so far as study leave especially is concerned. Indian I. M. S. men need equal opportunities as Europeans to improve their professional knowledge in Europe and to deny them this is to deprive them of obtaining accelerated promotions. Moreover, I. C. S. Asiatic domiciled officers, even nominated, have got this concession till 1925. Passages by a trooper are useless because they are rarely obtainable nowadays. Equal passage facilities should be given to indian I. M. S., and any distinction is unjust.

There is another point which I wish to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. It refers to medical relief to the women and children of Indian troops. Sir, if you compare the medical relief given to the Indian women and children of the Indian troops with that given to the British troops, you will find a very very sad and marked difference indeed. In the British Army you have fully equipped family hospitals whose maintenance is a military medical charge. In the Indian Army you have very little medical relief obtainable; indeed I may say there is none except of a voluntary nature. The result is that in the families of Indian troops the death-rate and infantile mortality are unduly high. Attendance for serious cases is practically nil. In three stations, however, Quetta, Secunderabad and Delhi, the work that is being done amongst these Indian women and children has been done entirely by voluntary efforts and voluntary subscriptions. Sir, I consider that the Army Department should bear this responsibility and maintain Indian Families Hospitals. There should be no difference whatever in medical relief given to the women and children in the Indian Army as compared with that of the British Army. This is a very important point and the Army Department should lose no time in attending to it.

Sir, before I sit down, I should like the Army Member to let me know whether it is a fact that it is their intention to enist a large number of British soldiers into the General Service branch of the Telegraph Department again. I understand—I speak subject to correction—that this is the intention of the Army Department and that it intends to bring the strength of military telegraphists of the Telegraph Department to its former level, that is about 260 men. I believe to-day that there are only 60 British soldiers as military telegraphists and that it is the intention of the Army Department to increase this number and so deprive the Indians and Anglo-Indians of 200 jobs in this Department. If this is true, I consider it a wrong policy and I vehemently protest against it; and if such be the intention of the Army Department I shall give my vote to the other side and support the motion refusing the entire Demand for the Army Department. I await a reply to my question before I cast my vote.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the first point I want to place before the Assembly is the necessity of making a recommendation to the Governor General through you that there should be more time allowed for the business of this Assembly. The days allowed are too few to enable us to deal with the many measures that interest us. There are not sufficient days for Resolutions, there are not sufficient days for Bills, and there are not sufficient days for grants. Objection has been taken to speeches being long. I submit that they have not been too long. The subjects are of such great importance, and greater time is needed to deal with them. If more days had been allotted for discussion of Resolutions and

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Bills, the discussions would not have been so prolonged as they have been.

The first thing I wish to do is to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in the remarks he about the Benares Hindu University. It was a pleasure to us, to come His Excellency there. All that His Excellency said about young men is quite true. They are happy. The only thing that has made them unhappy is that while a company was sanctioned in 1921, only half a company has been allowed to be started. Hundreds of young men are eager to enrol, and we are in a position to put up a full battalion. young men won 33 medals last year and 88 year the fore last. I hope that Government will recognise that the delay in giving sanction to increase their numbers is a matter of sore complaint with them. I hope that things will improve in Bombay and other places also by sanction being given to the proposals of the Shea Committee relating to the expansion of the University Training Corps which were entirely satisfactory.

Sir, I regretted to hear His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief say that he could neither reduce the number of men in the Army nor the amount of expenditure. I first take the question of expenditure. As His Excellency said, the Inchcape Committee said that:

"should a further fall in prices take place, we consider that it may be possible, after a few years, to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, although the Commander-in-Chief does not subscribe to this opinion."

The Committee recommended a reduction of Rs. 18,95,52,000, but they said that the Government of India should not be satisfied with a military budget of 57 crores. To quote their exact words, they said:

"We do not, however, consider that the Government of India should be satisfied with a military budget of 57 crores, and we recommend that a close watch be kept on the details of military expenditure with the object of bringing about a progressive reduction in the future."

They further said:

"Should a further fall in prices take place, we consider that it may be possible, after a few years, to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, although the Commander-in-Chief does not subscribe to this opinion. Even this is more, in our opinion, than the tax-payer in India should be called upon to pay, and, though revenue may increase through a revival of trade, there would, we think, still be no justification for not keeping a strict eye on military expenditure with a view to its further reduction."

If I understood him aright, His Excellency pleaded that there had been no fall in prices since the Inchcape Committee Report was made. On that point I beg to invite the Commander-in-Chief's attention to the fact that it appears from the *Indian Trade Journal* that since March 1, 1923, the date on which the Report was written, prices have gone down in India from 172 to 143 (vide page 330 of the Journal.)

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have more than once pointed out that it is the prices of foods that are important in connection with the Army, especially pulses and grain, and they have gone up very considerably.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am sorry the figures given in the Trade Journal, which is a Government publication, vary with what the Honourable the Finance Member says.

The Hongurable Sir Basil Blackett: Those are the general prices.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: But the general prices have gone down. from 172 to 148, and in England from 160 to 145. On that ground the reduction in military expenditure should have been larger by this time. I submit, Sir, that this is a question of such immense importance that it should receive better attention from the Government. I wish to say here that this Assembly will not be satisfied and the country will not be happy and contented unless military expenditure has been reduced very considerably. It should go down below 40 crores and I submit there are ways of doing this. There is not time for me to dilate upon the points I wish to make. I therefore only place them before I therefore only place them nander-in-Chief and the Gove Commander-in-Chief Excellency the of India. I wish Government to know that this question of military expenditure being of the importance it is, to-day's vote—which I hope will be unanimous so far as the elected Members on this side of the House are concerned—to-day's vote is meant to draw the attention of the Government to the immense dissatisfaction which exists in this country the present military expenditure and the present military policy of Government. The vote is meant to strengthen the hands of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and other Members of the Government of India who may wish to fight for a greater reduction both by alteration in the composition of the troops and also by reduction of other expenditure.

I submit. Sir, that there must be a new policy declared now. time has gone by when India could be content to have herself defended by such large numbers of British troops. We are thankful to our British fellow-subjects for their willingness to defend this country, but we want to wipe out the dishonour of not being able to defend India ourselves. I therefore want the Government to declare the policy that hereafter Indians shall defend India. The second declaration I want should be that Indians shall be prepared to defend India in the future. I urge that a really good military college like that at Sandhurst should be established in India. When I had the honour of appearing before the Army Committee over which Lord Rawlinson presided in 1921, I suggested that such a college should be established to commemorate the Prince of Wales's visit. We have had a school started at Dehra Dun since, but that is like an English public school, not a real military college. What we urge is that a real military college should be established in India. I wish a policy to be inaugurated by which military training will be introduced in every school in the country. I wish a policy inaugurated under which every University will have its University Training Corps expanded to the fullest extent and all fit young men to be given an opportunity to have the benefit of a course of military training and discipline. Sir, I also wish a Council of National Defence to be created. The defence of India concerns not only British India, but also Indian India; and I suggest that there should be a National Defence Association created in which the Princes also should be invited to take part, and the Indian States and British India, of course including high military officers of Government, should together plan the defence of India, should plan national defence on national lines. this end I desire that an Indian should be appointed as the Military Member of the Council whose duty it should be to look after the preparation of Indians for national defence. His Excellency the Commanderin-Chief is an Indian, for he was born at Kirkee, and I wish that he should be the President of this Council. We are proud to claim him as a fellow-countryman and a fellow-subject, and I wish he would place himself at

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

the head of such an Association, as I suggest, start branches in the provinces and the districts, and proclaim to the world that the present, military policy of the Government of India has changed, and that henceforth Indians shall be prepared to defend their country honestly and honourably and to fight for its freedom. That is the policy I wish to be adopted. Towards the adoption of this policy I hope His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will make the fullest contribution he can. India cannot be satisfied, Sir, with the present state of things. Such an enormous amount as 55 crores to be spent upon the Army when it can be reduced by substituting Indians for Europeans, without reducing their number! I say you can substitute more •Î1 dians for British troops. The numbers of the internal security Br tish troops have gone up very much; and if they cannot be brought down. directly by absolute reduction the substitution of Indian for British troops to that extent will very effectively reduce the total expenditure. This vote to-day ought to be taken by the Government as an indication and as a strong indication of the desire of the House that this matter of military expenditure should be reviewed. The Army should be reorganised. It should no longer be a tail of the British Army. It should be an Indian Army standing on its own legs, organised in a way satisfactory and honourable to Indians and yet quite as efficient as the present Army is. Towards this purpose I hope to-day's vote will be taken by the Government as a guidance, and that work will be commenced during the year. If we find that our protests and prayers and suggestions go unheeded, the only course left open to Members on this side of the House will be to vote against military expenditure whenever it is brought before them in any shape or form. The Honourable the Finance Member wanted to tell us that there may be some incongruity in voting against this proposal. But we are driven to take the course that we propose to adopt because this is the only manner by which we can mark our extreme dissatisfaction with the present military arrangements of the Government of India. I hope every Member of this House will record his vote against the motion and I hope that the vote will not be misunderstood, but will be correctly appreciated as strengthening the hands of those members of the Government including His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who, I believe, des reto do the best, the most honest thing by India, that is to say, to prepare Indians in the shortest space of time for defending their own country. I do not think I should take up more time of the House. I hope the vote will be unanimous on this side of the House.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, this is the first time for three years that the Army Department Vote has been discussed in this House. On the last occasion the discussion took place on a single motion for a cut of Rs. 100: there were very few speeches made and they were all in the nature of requests for information? And, as the demands for information were supplied in advance on that occasion, the Army Secretary was able to comply with them all before the debate was over.

The Army Vote has not been discussed in detail on motions for reduction of grants ever since this Assembly began; it is therefore not to be wondered at, perhaps, that there has been an immense volume of criticism, and of requests for information. A large part of the criticisms consisted merely of the complaint that non-votable expenditure is nonvotable. Well, we cannot do very much about that. That is regulated by

the Government of India Act, and it does not seem worth while for us to try and defend that position here. Another large part of the criticism was devoted to the control of the Government of India by His Majesty's Government through the Secretary of State for India. That is a fact, Sir, which cannot be altered in a discussion on the Army Vote. My Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, went further and complained of the control of the Secretary of State for India by the Secretary of State for War. That is a constitutional by-path into which I am unable to follow him; but I am not aware, Sir, that the position is as he suggests.

The discussion—and in this I include the previous one on the cut—the discussion has turned topsy turvy? We are now discussing the Demand for the entire grant, while yesterday and the greater part of to-day we were discussing a motion for a particular cut. On that part.cular motion the discussion swelled until it took in every conceivable line of Army. suministration and some lines which are not Army administration. began, however, with two main points of criticism of the Government policy. These were connected with the two Reports-the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee's Report, and the Indian Sandhurst Comrnittee's Report. It has been repeatedly pointed out in the course of these discussions that the earlier Report still awaits the decision of the Secretary of State for India on the recommendations of the Committee, and on the proposals of the Government of India in connection with those recommendations. It has also been repeatedly pointed out that the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report is awaiting a decision on the question of the date of publication, and yet speaker after speaker has got up and condemned the Government for not taking action in the various directions covered by the terms of reference of those two Committees. I still claim that the period of 18 months which the Government of India and the Local Governments took to consider in consultation the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee was, in view of the importance of the subject, a reasonable period.

Then, Sir, on the question of reduction of expenditure the debate started with what I may call a misstatement, that the Inchcape Committee recommended a cut, and that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said that that cut was a pious aspiration. This has been explained again and again, and still speakers have got up under the same misapprehension. The Inchcape Committee said that they thought that the expenditure, which was then about 67 crores, should go down to 57 crores. The Government of India brought it down first to 59 crores, and subsequently to 55 crores. That is the cut. Now for the pious aspiration. The pious espiration was that if prices foll further, they thought we should not be content with 57 crores, but we should cut down to 50 crores. The two things are quite distinct, and they have been amply explained to the House.

Then there has been a great deal of demand for a reduction of the Army. My Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall in his speech to-day, on the motion on which I am now speaking, said that the Army in India was maintained for Imperial purposes. Well, Sir, we have told the House again and again that the Government of India are not maintaining the Army in India for Imperial purposes.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is that the view of the War Office?

Mr. G. M. Young: I am not the spokesman of the War Office, but I should imagine so. My Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Latt went on to say that we were not only maintaining an army in India entirely for Imperial purposes, but that we were creating and fostering a bogey in order to justify that army, or in other words, he said that no menace existed on the frontiers of India. The logical conclusion of that is that India can do without an army, and if my Honourable friend thinks so, he is welcome to his opinion. He has not, however, made any suggestion, ner has any other Member, who has spoken on either of these two discussions, made any practical suggestion for reduction, until the two suggestions of my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, who spoke a few minutes ago. One of his suggestions was a reduction in a department which is not under the control of the Army Department, and the other suggestion was so diversified that it is quite impossible to follow him into it now.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): What about the Indianization of the Army?

Mr. G. M. Young: The substitution of Indian troops for British troops?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: That was the method suggested.

Mr. G. M. Young: Indianization was not suggested as a matter of economy.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Your mouth is shut, say so.

Mr. G. M. Young: One of the objects of the reduction of the Army was stated to be to find money for expenditure in other departments, what are known as the nation-building departments. Well, Sir, apart from the fact that these departments are controlled by the Provincial Governments, and the only way in which the Government of India can help them is the way taken by the Finance Member, that is, abolishing the provincial contributions—I submit that the Army itself is, for the agricultural, the rural classes, a nation-building department. It finds employment for agriculturists. It teaches them the virtues of courage, duty and discipline, and physical fitness, and it throws in a very decent education into the bargain. If that is not nation-building, I do not know what nation-building is. The proof of it comes not only from what I say now, but from all sides of the House and from every corner of India. My Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar is always asking me why we do not recruit more Mahratta Brahmans in the Army. He has also pleaded the cause of Ramoshis, Dangs and Mahars. (An Honourable Member: "Madrassis.") I am coming to Madrassis in a minute. My Honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan says "Why don't you recruit more Syyads in the Army?" My Honourable friend from Burma complains, because we are no longer recruiting Rurmans except in the Sappers and Miners. When the other day, in pursuance of economy, we had to disband a regiment, and a particular regiment, namely the Madras Regiment was selected, we had a how. of this. But what I would from Madras. I could multiply instances I'ke to think, Sir, is that these manifestations represent not merely a cry for employment, but a recognition of the fact that the Army is, in a true sense, a nation-building department.

Then, Sir, I come to the reduction of British troops. That, Sir, is after all a question for the military experts and also the Government of

India, who are responsible for internal security, and must be allowed to croide. It is no use my Honourable friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya getting up and saying that so many British troops can be dispensed with. How can be tell that?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malawiya: You-do not want British troops for internal security.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, my own experience, such as it is, is very much to the contrary. (An Honourable Member: "It is one-sided experience.") Yes, Sir, it is one-sided experience. I was the third party. I was Deputy Commissioner for about three and a half years of a district and chairman of a municipality of a very large city not a thousand miles from here. When I was there, there were times of considerable tension, and on one such occasion I went over to see the General who was commanding the troops. He said: "What have you come to see me about?" And I said "I have come to see you about this occasion" (it was a religious festival). He said: "What would you like me to do?" I said: "I should like you to march a small detachment of British troops through the city". He said: "You can have them; do you want them with machine guns?" I said: "You can have them; do you want them with machine guns?" I said: "Yes, I would like them with a band." And so they marched through the city with a band. (An Honourable Member: "Did you go at the head of them?") I did not. I had not got military uniform. Well. Sir

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

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 5,78,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES-46.

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

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

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NOES-55.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
Abdul Matin Chauditary, Maulvi.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Belvi, Mr. D. V.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Chaman Lall, Mr.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Mr. B.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Ismail Khan, Mr.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jogiah, Mr. Varshagiri Venkata.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Khin Maung, U.
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
Kunzu, Pandit Hirday Nath.
Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dhirendra

Lajpat Rai, Lala. Mulaviya, Paudit Madan Mohan Menta, Mr. Jamnadas M. Misra, Mr. Dwarks Prasad. Moonje, Dr. B. 8. Mukhter Singh, Mr. Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi Sayyid. Nayudu, Mr. B. P. Nehru, Pandit Motilal. Neogy, Mr. K. C. Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar. Prakasam, Mr. T. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir. Rananjaya Singh, Kumar. Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S. Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham. Hussain Khan. Khan Sarfaraz Bahadur. Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad. Shervani, Mr. T. A. K. Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad. Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad. Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan. Sinha, Kumar Ganganand. Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad. Tok Kv., U. Vichindas, Mr. Harchandrai, Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.

The motion was negatived.

(It being Five of the Clock, Mr. President then proceeded to put the Demands which still remained to be disposed of.)

DEMAND No. 17-Taxes on Income.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 64,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Taxes on Income'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 19-OPIUM.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 89,14,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Opium'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 20-STAMPS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 3fst day of March, 1928, in respect of Stamps'."

The motion was adopted.

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DEMAND No. 21-Forest.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Forest'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 22—IRRIGATION (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES), NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is:

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,11,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Irrigation (including Working Expenses), Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 24—Indo-European Telegraph Department (including Working Expenses).

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,37,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Indo-European Telegraph Department (including Working Expenses)'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 25-Interest on Debt and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 98,79,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Interest on Debt and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 26-Interest on Miscellaneous Obligations.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,22,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Interest on Miscellaneous Obligations'."

The motion was adopted.

Demand No. 27—Staff, Household and Allowances of the Governob General.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sem not exceeding Rs. 4,15,000 be granted to the Governor General in Connoil to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Staff, Household and Allowances of the Governor General'."

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DEMAND No. 29-LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Legislative Bodies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 80-Foreign and Political Department.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,95,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Foreign and Political Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 31-Home DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,51,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Home Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 32-Public Service Commission.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Public Service Commission'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 33-LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Legislative Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 34—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,97,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 51st day of March, 1928, in respect of the Department of Education, Health and Lands"."

DEMAND No. 35-FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. Fresident: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,56,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Finance Department's"

The motion was adopted.

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DEMAND No. 36-SEPARATION OF ACCOUNTS FROM AUDIT.

Mr. Fresident: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,34,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Separation of Accounts from Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 37-COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,89,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Commerce Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 39-DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,94,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Department of Industries and Labour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 40-CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,89,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Central Board of Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 41—PAYMENTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Payments to Provincial Governments on account of Administration of Agency subjects'."

DEMAND No. 42-AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 74,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in "Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 43-ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 44-POLICE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,70,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Police'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 45-Ports and PILOTAGE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,95,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 46-Survey of India.

Mr. Fresident: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,98,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Survey of India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 47-METEOROLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,52,000 be granted to the Governor General in Conncil to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 48-GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2.13,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the "Geological Survey"."

DEMAND No. 49-BOTANICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,17,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the Botanical Survey ""

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 50-Zoological Survey.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,65,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to delray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Zoological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 51-ARCHÆOLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to derray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Archeology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 52-MINES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,64,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Mines'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 53-OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the March, 1928, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DRWAND No. 54-EDUCATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9.39,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of "Education"."

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DEMAND No. 55-MEDICAL SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,19,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 56-Public Health.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,22,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Public Health'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 57-AGRICULTURE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,15,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 58-CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,80,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 59-INDUSTRIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Industries'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 60-AVIATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3.96,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Aviation'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES-48.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian. Abdul Qalyum, Newan Sir Sahibzada. Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince A. M. M. Allison, Mr. F. W. Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr. Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Sayid. Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha. Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha Gopalaswami. Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Coatman, Mr. J. Cocke, Mr. H. G. · Dalal, Sir Bomanji Donovan, Mr. J. T. Dunnett, Mr. J. M. E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja. Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr. W. M. P. Graham, Mr. L. Greenfield, Mr. H. C. Haigh, Mr. P. B. Hezlett, Mr. J. Howell, Mr. E. B. Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Ismail Khan, Mr. Joshi, Mr. N. M. Singh, Sardar Bahadur Jowahir Sardar. Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major and Honorary Captain. Keane, Mr. M. Lindsay, Sir Darcy. Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M. Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath. Muddiman, The Honourable Sir Alexander. Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut .-Sardar. Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur. Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Sir Ganen. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M. Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N. Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad. Sykes, Mr. E. F. Tonkinson, Mr. H. Willson, Sir Walter. Young, Mr. G. M.

NOES-15.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr. Anem Mr. M. S. Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das. Chaman Lall, Mr. Das, Mr. B. Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa. Jayakar, Mr. M. R. Lejpat Rai, Lala.

The motion was adopted.

Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Rananjaya Singh, Kumar.
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Tok Kyi, U.

DEMAND No. 61-COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,59,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 62-EMIGRATION-INTERNAL.

Mr: President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Emigration—Internal'."

DEMAND No. 68-EMIGRATION-EXTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 88,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Emigration—External'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 64-Joint-Stock Companies.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Joint-Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 65-MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,29,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of Miscellaneous Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 66-Indian Stores Department.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,34,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Indian Stores Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 67-CURRENCY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,42,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 68-MINT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Mint'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 69-CIVIL WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the Bist day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Civil Works'."

DEMAND No. 70-Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 38,09,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 71-STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,53,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

* The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 72-MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,66,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Miscellaneous',"

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 78-REFUNDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 56.23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Refunds'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 74-North-West Frontier Province.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 99,68,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'North-West Frontier Province'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 75-BALUCHISTAN.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,02,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of Baluchistan."

DEMAND No. 76-DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is:

... '' That a sum not exceeding Rs. 38,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Gouncil to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 77—AJMER-MERWARA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,38,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 78—ANDAMANS AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Andamans and Nicobar Islands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 79-RAJPUTANA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,45,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Rajputans'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 80-CENTRAL INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6.82,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Central India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 81-HYDERABAD.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 85,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Hyderabad'."

DEMAND No. 82-EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,31,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 51st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—Secretary of State for India'." of State for India

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 88-EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND-HIGH COMMISSSIONER FOR India.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year shding the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—High Commissioner for India'."

The motion was adopted.

Expenditure charged to Capital.

DEMAND No. 84-Capital Outlay on Security Printing.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Security Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 85-FOREST CAPITAL OUTLAY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Forest Capital Outlay'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 86-IRRIGATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Irrigation'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 87-Indian Posts and Telegraphs.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,90,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs'."

DEMAND No. 88-INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 51st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Indo-European Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 89-Capital Outlay on Currency Note Printing Press.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,16,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March. 1928, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency Note Printing Press'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 90-CAPITAL OUTLAY ON VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Vizagapatam Harbour'."

The motion was adopted. *

DEMAND No. 91-COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19.05,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Commuted Value of Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 92-New Capital at Delhi.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 65,18,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'New Capital at Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

Disbursements of Loans and Advances.

DEMAND No. 98-Interest-free Advances.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,01.33,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Interest-free Advances'."

DEMAND No. 94-LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,80,78,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Loans and Advances, bearing Interest'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 16th March, 1927.