

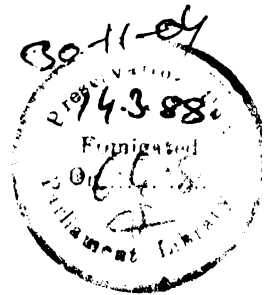
Monday, 19th March, 1934

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME I, 1934

(8th February to 27th April, 1934)

SEVENTH SESSION
OF THE
THIRD COUNCIL OF STATE, 1934



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Monday, 19th March, 1934.

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

QUESTION AND ANSWER.

CAPITATION CHARGES BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE GREAT WAR.

79. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: (a) What was the capitation charge (i) before the Great War, (ii) during the Great War, and (iii) for the first three years after the Great War?

(b) What was the demand of the War Office for capitation charge in 1923?

(c) What was the actual cost of training a British soldier in 1923 and 1932?

(d) When was the estimate of actual expenditure of training last made, and what were the then figures?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) (i) The payment in 1913-14 in respect of the army was £917,287.

(ii) The payments during the war on the same account varied between £872,200 and £930,700.

(iii) In 1920-21 the army payment was £1,932,787 and the Air Force payment was £100,000.

In 1921-22 the corresponding figures were £1,976,078 and £92,000 while in 1922-23 they were £1,702,000 and £95,500.

(b) £2,283,000.

(c) and (d). Detailed actuarial calculations of their demand were produced for the first time by the War Office in 1926. On the basis of these calculations, it would be fairly accurate to say that the cost in 1923 of recruiting and training a British infantry soldier for one year was £190-10-0. Since then rates of pay have been reduced and prices have fallen, but material is not available in India to work out similar details for 1932.

DEATH OF RAJA SIR MOTI CHAND.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Leader of the House): Sir, I have to mention this morning the sad death of the Honourable Raja Sir Moti Chand, a Member of this House I understand since the Reforms. We have been missing him for the last two or three sessions. It was last summer that he got an attack of paralysis and at one time it was

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

feared that the attack was going to be fatal, but his strong constitution and his strong will fought hard and he overcame that attack. From time to time I was informed that his health was improving. Last January when I was in Benares I went to see him and found him cheerful and, one may say, happy under the very trying conditions he was in. I had a few minutes with him. He was quite cheerful. He talked about the Council and it did never appear then that the end was so near. Those of us who have known him for some time have known him as a man of great sterling worth, a man who did not talk much but who thought a great deal and who had strong convictions. I am sure, Sir, I am voicing the feelings of the House when I say that his death has deprived the House of a most valuable Member, whose presence in the House was most welcome to the House and added dignity and prestige to the House and the House is the poorer by his death. He had a singularly useful and brilliant career in public life. He did what India needs most, helped and promoted industrial enterprises, took part in and looked after institutions of local self-government. I understand he was the first non-official chairman of the Benares municipality. He was chairman and director of various successful industrial enterprises. He was for a number of years an elected Member of the United Provinces Legislature before the Reforms. The loss of such a valuable member of society cannot but be deplored, and I am sure, Sir, it is the wish of the House that you be good enough to communicate the sympathy of the House to the bereaved family.

THE HONOURABLE RAJ BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I heartily associate myself fully with the remarks and expressions which the Honourable Leader of the House has expressed today at the untimely death of a great philanthropist and an all-India leader, Raja Sir Moti Chand. I had known him well for the last twenty years and the more I knew him the more I admired him. The Raja Sahib was a charming personality and his charities for the good of Indians are well known to all of us. In him we have lost a great personage and we condole his loss and through you, Sir, wish our condolences to be conveyed to the bereaved family. We had the privilege of having the late Raja Sahib as a member of our Party and the Party mourns the loss as it always valued greatly his advice and counsel.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal : Muhammadan) : Sir, I associate myself heartily with what has fallen from the Leader of the House regarding the qualities of head and heart of the late Honourable Raja Sir Moti Chand. I need hardly say that his affability and urbanity of manner were well known to the Members of this House. Sir, on behalf of myself and my Party I mourn his loss in this House. I request you, Sir, to convey the feelings of this House to the Members of the bereaved family.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I desire also to join Honourable Members in the expression of sorrow which they have just made. The deceased was a useful Member of this Council for many years. He was a great industrialist, a banker, as well as for many years a Member of the United Provinces Legislative Council. He joined this Council in 1920, the first Council under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms scheme, and he was a very regular attendant, and we all looked upon the observations he made in this

House with great admiration and respect. He was a particular friend of mine and during his long illness through his son he carried on a correspondence with me and always desired to know how this Council, in which he took a lively interest, was progressing. As it is your wish, I shall convey to his bereaved family the sympathy and condolence of this House.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

AMENDMENTS MADE IN THE OTTAWA TRADE AGREEMENT RULES, 1932.

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART (Commerce Secretary): Sir, I lay on the table a copy of the amendments made in the Ottawa Trade Agreement Rules, 1932, which were laid on the table on the 28th February, 1933.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

NOTIFICATION.

TARIFFS.

New Delhi, the 3rd March, 1934.

No. 780-T. (11)/32.—In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (3B) of section 3 of the Indian Tariff Act, 1894 (VIII of 1894), the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall with effect from 1st May 1934 be made in the Ottawa Trade Agreement Rules, 1932, namely:—

1. For rule 4 of the said Rules, the following rules shall be substituted, namely:—

“4. No article shall be deemed to be the produce or manufacture of any country to which these Rules apply unless the Customs Collector is satisfied—

(1) subject to the provisions of rule 4A that the article has been consigned from such country; and

(2) (a) where the article is unmanufactured, that it has been grown or produced in such country, and

(b) where the article is manufactured—

(i) that it has been wholly manufactured in such country from material produced in such country; or

(ii) that it has been wholly manufactured in such country from unmanufactured materials; or

(iii) that it has been partially manufactured in such country and that the final process of manufacture has been performed in such country, and that the expenditure on material produced and labour performed in such country in the manufacture of the article is not less in the case of an article specified in the Second Schedule than one half and in the case of other articles than one quarter of the factory or works cost of the article in its finished state:

Provided that where the goods were consigned from a British Colony the material produced and labour performed in any other British Colony may be reckoned as though it were material produced or labour performed in the colony from which the goods were consigned.

Explanation.—For the purposes of sub-clause (iii) of clause 2 (b) the final process of manufacture shall not be deemed to have been performed in any country in which no process other than a process of mixing, bottling, labelling, packing into retail containers or the like has been performed, but where such process as aforesaid has been performed in the country in which the final process of manufacture has also been performed nothing herein shall render the cost of such process ineligible for inclusion in the computation of the fraction of the factory or works cost of the article in its finished state which represents expenditure on material produced and labour performed in that country.

4A. Articles of a description specified in the first column of the Third Schedule which have been consigned from the United Kingdom but are in other respects eligible under rule 4 to be deemed to be the produce or manufacture of a country specified in the corresponding entry in the second column thereof shall be deemed to be the produce or manufacture of that country notwithstanding the fact that they were not consigned therefrom".

2. In rule 5 and in sub-rule (1) of rule 6 of the said Rules for the word and figure "Rule 4" the words, figures and letter "rule 4 or rule 4 read with rule 4A as the case may be" shall be substituted.

3. In clause (ii) of rule 5 of the said Rules for the words "Second Schedule" the words "Fourth Schedule" shall be substituted.

4. In the first Schedule to the said Rules—

(a) for entry 18 the following entry shall be substituted, namely :—

"18. Malaya (i.e. the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States of Johore, Kedah, Kalantan, Perlis and Trengganu)."

(b) entries 19 and 24 shall be omitted ;

(c) entries 20 to 23 shall be re-numbered 19 to 22 and entries 25 to 44 shall be re-numbered 23 to 42.

5. After the first Schedule to the said Rules the following Schedules shall be inserted, namely :—

"Second Schedule.

[See rule 4 (b) (iii).]

1. Machinery and component parts thereof meaning machines or parts of machines to be worked by manual or animal labour and any machines (except such as are designed to be used exclusively in industrial processes) which require for their operation less than one-quarter of one brake-horse-power.

2. Carriages and carts which are not mechanically propelled and cycles (other than motor cycles) imported entire or in sections and parts and accessories thereof; excluding rubber tyres and tubes.

3. Motor cars including taxicabs and articles (other than rubber tyres and tubes) adapted for use exclusively as parts and accessories thereof.

4. Motor omnibuses; chassis of motor omnibuses, motor vans and motor lorries; and parts of mechanically propelled vehicles and accessories excluding rubber tyres and tubes.

Third Schedule.

(See rule 4A.)

Description of articles.	Country.
Angostura bitters	Trinidad.
Rum	{ Bahamas. Barbados. Bermuda. British Guiana. British Honduras. Jamaica."

6. For the heading "Second Schedule" the heading "Fourth Schedule" shall be substituted.

T. A. STEWART,

Offg. Secretary to the Government of India.

RESOLUTION *RE* PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT OF THE CAPITATION RATE TRIBUNAL, ETC.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution which stands in my name :

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council (a) to request His Majesty's Government to publish the full report of the Tribunal on certain questions in regard to defence expenditure in dispute between the Government of India, the War Office and the Air Ministry including notes of dissent No. I and No. II, (b) to convey to His Majesty's Government the dissatisfaction of this Council with the inadequate contribution promised, and (c) to request His Majesty's Government to reconsider the whole question favourably ”.

Before I begin, Sir, to talk on the merits of my Resolution I beg to convey our grateful thanks to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief mainly through whose efforts we have been able to secure some contribution in this connection. We also express our thanks to the Government of India for pursuing this question incessantly and trying to get a contribution though little out of the British Government towards the expenditure on the Army in India. Sir, my impression is that in case our gallant Commander-in-Chief had not exerted his utmost in the matter, perhaps the Government's effort would have entirely failed. I make an earnest request to His Excellency to pursue his efforts still further and to try to get a reasonable sum from the Government of Great Britain towards army expenditure in India.

Sir, although the report of this Tribunal was signed and submitted to the Government on the 17th January, 1933, it was not published till the 21st of December last year, and even then the report was not published in full, but in a modified form which suited the Government. The notes of dissent by the eminent jurists, the Right Honourable Sir Shadi Lal and the Honourable Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, who were the members of the Tribunal, were not given in full, but were given in what I may be allowed to call a mutilated form. The reasons why those notes of dissent were not published in full are unknown to us. We expect to hear from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the reasons why these notes of dissent were not published in original as put in by the two eminent jurists. It does create a sort of suspicion in the public mind as to why there should not be a free and full publication of these notes of dissent.

Sir, the questions which were put before the Tribunal are embodied in the report and I need not take up the time of this Council by reading them again. There is evidently no dispute upon the question that the Army in India does serve imperial purposes at times. Since the British Government took over the direct administration of India into their hands from the East India Company there has been no less than fourteen times when the Indian Army served abroad for imperial defence and, if I mistake not, Sir, it is also a fact that such a huge army is not kept anywhere else in the world ready to go into action at short notice. After the war the army expenditure in India has vastly increased. It has increased because the centre of danger of imperial defence has shifted from West to East and for that purpose perhaps it has been thought desirable to keep a much bigger army in India now than before.

Sir, the question of capitation charges was one on which many committees sat and they all admitted to a great extent that the capitation charges are not to be made for the period that they are being made now. Certain committees were satisfied with a six months' charge ; others wanted nine and some

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

one year. Sir, as far as the opinion of the majority is concerned, they are of opinion that in case capitation charges are to be made, the period ought not to extend for more than six months when India is made to pay capitation charges on British troops the British Exchequer must pay capitation charges of the Indian Army which is also liable to be used for imperial defence.

Then, Sir, the retention of the British Army in India to me and to many others of my views is that it is kept mainly for imperial purposes. In case the Indian Army had to replace the British Army and the same strength of fighting force had to remain in India, there would be to India a very considerable saving of £10 million sterling. Sir, I will take a passage from the report of the Tribunal regarding the amount of contributions that the India Office had suggested. It is given on page 15 of the report in paragraph 23, under the heading "Amount of Contribution".

"As to the amount of the contribution, we are unable to place it on an arithmetical basis. The India Office has tentatively suggested several alternative formulae on which a contribution might be based, viz.,—

- (1) A fixed percentage of India's total expenditure on defence; say one-half, about £18 million per annum (suggested by some members of a Sub-Committee of the First Indian Round Table Conference); or, alternatively, some lower percentage.
- (2) The extra cost of maintaining the British troops in India over the cost of maintaining a corresponding number of Indian troops; estimated at £10 million.
- (3) The existing defence expenditure of India relating to the cost of British troops—say £16 million; or, alternatively, a percentage of this.
- (4) The excess of India's defence expenditure over a certain percentage of India's assessable revenue.

None of these formulae appears to the majority of us to have any satisfactory foundation in principle, or to afford any guidance as to the amount of the contribution. We can only suggest that the amount of the contribution should be fixed in relation to the grounds on which we have recommended that it should be paid. Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Shah Sulaiman consider that the contribution should have some relation to the cost of the British troops in India, and Sir Shah Sulaiman further thinks that another suitable basis of its assessment is by fixing a maximum percentage of the Central Revenues, for which there are historical precedents".

Sir, from this it is quite clear that if the Indian Army replaces the British Army in India, which is one-third of the total British Army, there can be a yearly saving of £10 million effected. If we take the other alternatives, then in one case the saving will be £18 million and in another £16 million. I am not going, Sir, to enter into the merits or demerits of each claim but I can safely and emphatically say, Sir, that a contribution of say £1½ million is too paltry a sum for the great expenditure that India is making. Supposing, Sir, we do away with the British Army in India, the British Government will have to keep that army elsewhere at their own cost for imperial purposes. Therefore, it is essential that we should at least be allowed the difference between the keeping of the British Army and the keeping of the Indian Army of the same fighting strength. Sir, Earl Winterton, formerly a Secretary of State for India and a staunch Conservative Member of Parliament, during the debate which took place lately in the House of Commons on the Motion of Sir Samuel Hoare for a supplementary estimate of £1,701,100 including £1½ million for the imperial contribution to the military expenditure of India, observed emphatically:

"That the contribution of men and money from India was infinitely greater than from any other part of the British Empire and India in the past has been harshly treated".

This, Sir, goes to prove that even British statesmen consider that the award made to India in this respect is very meagre and small and needs reconsideration. Sir, if I am right in my information, no other British Dominion contributes more than 20 per cent. of the revenues for defence purposes. In India, Sir, our percentage of defence to our total income is unparalleled in the history of the world—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Will you not inform the Council of the percentage ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : If I am not mistaken, Sir, I think it is about 59 per cent.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : Military expenditure 59 per cent. out of the total revenues of India ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : No, I was wrong. It is 36·3 per cent. for India according to the report of the Tribunal. Well, even if it is 36·3 per cent. it is much higher than what other Dominions contribute. Of course, it can be said that India is unfortunately situated, having so many countries around it, but after all India is a great asset to the Empire because it finds bread and butter for ever so many Britishers as no other Dominion finds, and so India has a claim to a better contribution because it protects British interest much more than any other Dominion does.

Then, Sir, the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, when he was a Member of Parliament, wrote a book some time back in which he said that nine-tenths of the charge of the Army in India was an imperial charge, that it was maintained for imperial purposes, and that it had served in many theatres of war for imperial reasons and in imperial defence.

Sir, it has been now for many years the accepted and established policy of the British Government, *vide* paragraph 19 on page 14 of the report of the Tribunal that the major defence of India is the responsibility assumed by the British Government and the minor defence is the responsibility of the Government of India. The responsibility of India is only concerned with minor danger arising. Sir, attack from Afghanistan or from China is a major danger and so that ought to be met by the British Government as this responsibility lies upon them.

Sir, when the naval base was established at Singapore for imperial purposes, no charges and no contributions towards that were demanded either from the Federated Malay States Government or from the Government of the Straits Settlements. And similarly, India should not be treated in this manner as far as contribution to its military expenditure is concerned. I might say, Sir, that this is a question which rightly concerns India, particularly at the present time of depression. The award which has been made in favour of India has not been given with retrospective effect. We all expected that when such a paltry sum is allowed to India it will have retrospective effect at least from 1926. But that is not the case. I will beg His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to let us know whether the fight was made for retrospective effect or not, and if it was made why was it brushed aside ? Sir, I also request His Excellency and the Government of India to pursue this case further

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

and to get at least a reasonable contribution from the British Government. I hope the time will come when His Excellency will be able also to give us the report upon the adjustment of the war accounts as well which is still pending for many years.

With these words, Sir, I move my Resolution for the favourable consideration of this House as I want equity and justice done to India's claim in this connection.

THE HONOURABLE MR. VINAYAK VITHAL KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, I heartily support the Resolution so ably moved by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition. Sir, I speak as a layman and not as an expert on military matters. My Honourable friend has stated how an injustice has been done so far as India's demand about the contribution from the Imperial Exchequer towards the British Army in India is concerned. It has been admitted by various British politicians and some British military experts that the expenditure which India has to incur for maintaining the British and Indian forces in India is very great as compared to the expenditure of other countries for maintaining their army. I have no quarrel with the Government of India on this account and I am sure that they fought their case well to get as much as they have, but I am sorry to find that they were not successful in getting as much as they demanded. I am thankful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and also to the present Finance Minister who ably pleaded the case for India, but I am sorry to find that the Tribunal and the British Government did not pay serious attention to the claim made by the Government of India. I see from a reply given by the Army Secretary in the other House that if the case put forward by the Government of India had been accepted, India would have gained more than Rs. 2 crores. My only complaint against the Government of India is that they have not supplied us the proper material so that we can judge whether the report and the decision of the British Government are just and equitable so far as the claims of India are concerned. It is stated in the Foreword of this report that for reasons of military policy, the full notes of the two eminent jurists of India have not been published and there is a certain alteration, though alteration only in the wording, in the substance of the report. If the Government of India take the Indian public into their confidence and put before the public their case as they pleaded before the Tribunal and the British Government, much of the suspicion that exists in the public mind about the extra military expense would be removed. As submitted by my Honourable friend and as admitted by many politicians and experts of England, the ratio of military expenditure which India has to bear for maintaining her army is greater than that obtainable in other Dominions such as Canada and Australia. It has also been admitted that the Army in India does not only serve the purpose of maintaining the internal and external defence of India but it also serves imperial purposes. My Honourable friend has cited a sentence from the book of the present Prime Minister of England, the Right Honourable Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. I want to quote one more sentence to show that the military expenditure even according to him is too heavy and that half the military expenditure of India should be borne by the British Exchequer. He says :

"What is the proper charge for India to bear for this military occupation? A large part of the army in India—certainly one-half—is an imperial army which we require for other than purely Indian purposes, and its cost, therefore, should be met from imperial and not Indian funds".

He further says :

" India is treated as an independent state, which, however, we rule and whose military policy we control, while it ' borrows ' from us a certain number of troops for which it pays. The arrangement is most unsatisfactory. It may be said that if India were an independent state its military expenditure would be much higher. But then, India is not an independent state, and is entitled to claim some privileges of Empire ; its weakness ought not to subject it to a more expensive military arrangement than Canada or Australia".

He further says :

" In any event the present plan, by which India pays for the imperial army stationed there, without in any way determining policy is as bad as it can be. If the existing system of military defence is to last, the whole cost of the British army stationed in India should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer".

These sentences will be found on pages 154 and 155 of his book " The Government of India ".

If my information is correct military expenditure had risen from Rs. 29 crores in 1910-11 to Rs. 81½ crores in 1920-21. Now it has come to Rs. 44 crores odd. I thank the Commander-in-Chief for the measures of economy His Excellency has adopted in that department and for having brought down the military expenditure to such an extent. But I further request him that taking into consideration the poor condition of India and the present economic depression, to do his best to still further reduce military expenditure.

Then, Sir, I want to say a word about the capitation charges. That is a matter more for experts to deal with than a layman like myself. However, I find from the report of the Tribunal that they have not endeavoured to come to any conclusion on this point and have effected a compromise between the two contending parties. The Government of India claim was that they ought to pay the charges for the training of British recruits in England for six months only. The War Office claimed payment for 12 months' charges. This question has been the subject of investigation by about five committees and commissions, and they have all unanimously come to the conclusion that six months' training for a European soldier for service in India is quite sufficient. Not only that, but high military authorities like Lord Kitchener, Sir Beauchamp Duff, Lord Rawlinson and the present Commander-in-Chief also hold that a period of six months' training is adequate in the case of men required for India. The Government of India are also ready to pay for six months for the infantry, nine months in the case of other arms and 12 months for signals. But still the Majority report on this point ignores the statement made by these experts and the claim of the Government of India and comes to the conclusion that nine months' training is necessary, and therefore they went to charge Indian revenues for the expenses of these nine months' training. I am at a loss to understand on what grounds they came to this conclusion. It has been stated by Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Muhammad Sulaiman that the War Office did not put forward any other claim if their claim of 12 months failed. In that case, there was no other course open to the Tribunal except to accept the case of the Government of India after taking into consideration the views of these military experts and charge India only for six months' expenses. But they have instead come to a compromise, though they say in this report that they are not military experts.

Then, Sir, the claim made by the Government of India about the general expenditure of the military in India has been totally ignored. I find on page 15 of the report that the majority of the Tribunal have stated two grounds for giving the contribution. The grounds are that the Army in India is a force ready in an emergency to take the field at once which did not exist elsewhere

[Mr. Vinayak Vithal Kalikar.]

in the Empire, which is a special force for immediate use in the East and which has on occasion been so used. Secondly, that India is a training ground for active service such as does not exist elsewhere in the Empire. And still, Sir, they come to the conclusion that no general contribution is due to India from the Imperial Exchequer. I fail to understand,—having taken this view that the army is ready for any emergency, that India is a good field for active service—how they come to the conclusion that no general contribution should be made to the Indian Exchequer by the British Exchequer? Then, one point has struck me that is most important from a layman's point of view so far as the capitation charges are concerned—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Honourable Member has already exceeded his time limit.

THE HONOURABLE MR. VINAYAK VITHAL KALIKAR : Sir, I will take only two minutes to finish. And that point is about the constitutional issue. On page 39 we find that the War Office have admitted in paragraph 69 of their Memorandum that the Army Council :

“ Do not and cannot constitutionally compel the Army in India to adopt any particular standard of organization or equipment. As in the case of the size of the Army in India, so in the case of its composition and character, the Army Council realize that the Government of India alone is competent to judge, from the point of view of external defence and internal order, whether any particular change should be adopted ”.

Again, in paragraph 70 they repeat that :

“ In any case the governing factor as regards British troops in India is, as already stated, the needs of India as determined by the Government of that country ”.

So, my submission is that the Government of this country has to determine that and they have put forward a claim that they should be charged for six months, while the Tribunal and the British Government want to charge us for nine months and more. I fail to understand, Sir, the consistency between this argument and the conclusion reached by them. I submit, Sir, from all aspects the report is not only not fair, but not just to India and I further submit that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India should still pursue their efforts to obtain as much for military expenditure as possible.

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

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my leader. I also wish to thank His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for all that he has done for decreasing the burden of military expenditure in India. But, Sir, I cannot refrain from saying a few words against the action of our Government of India for keeping this whole affair like a sealed book and not opening it to the representatives of the people, and in not giving the non-official representatives a hand in preparing the case. It may be said, Sir, that we have lost nothing by this omission, but as I shall show this omission has caused us a burden on India's Exchequer for which I think the Government is responsible. Firstly, Sir, I deplore the fact that it is generally supposed that the Tribunal was formed by the Prime Minister simply to inquire into the so-called capitation charges. The terms of reference show that it was really a Tribunal which was to settle all the differences which existed between India and the British War Office, and I need hardly lay stress on the fact that in the

terms of reference the word "India" has been used and not the Government of India. This, Sir, shows that the Prime Minister lived up to the standard which he had made out for himself in his book to which references have been made. The Tribunal has not discharged its functions properly. It ought to have invited memoranda from non-officials, so that the full case might have been laid before it. Considering our dependent position, considering the fact that we are not an independent administration, it was essential that non-officials should have been associated—if not in the preparation of the case, at least they should have been given a chance to submit their case. I will place before the House one example. Last year we made a contribution of Rs. 32 lakhs for national health insurance, unemployment insurance, and contributory pensions. I have been stressing, since 1931, that these are a form of capitation. Any charge which is made *per capita* can be literally called a capitation charge. This was not included in our case. No mention of it is made either in the report of the Tribunal or in the dissenting notes of the two eminent jurists of India that any claim on this head was made. And what is more? I have seen, Sir, the British Army estimates, Vol. 11, Sub-head J is in reference to the appropriation in aid under this item. No country in the Empire except India makes a contribution towards these sums. Sir, I again draw attention to the constitutional position; that the Acts of the British Parliament unless expressly made applicable to India have no application in India and as these Acts have never been extended to India we are not liable to make these payments. I said this as far back as three years ago, but still it had no effect, and it was not included in the case as presented by the Indian Government.

Sir, I have asked several questions since 1932 on the subject of the case that was going to be presented before the Tribunal, but I was always told that it could not be published. We had hoped, Sir, that in the publication of the report of the Tribunal we might find some extract. Paragraph 3 of the Tribunal's report mentions seven papers—memoranda that were filed before it. One was presented by the Government of India, the second was presented by the War Office and the third was presented by the Air Ministry. Then all three gave rejoinders to each other. At least those papers ought to have been published to show what was exactly the claim of each party and what was the reply of the other. Sir, we are compelled to draw the inference that perhaps the publication of those papers would redound to the discredit of the War Office and that is the only reason why it is being suppressed. The fact that we, the representatives of India, do not know even what was our case shows exactly the dependent position in which we are in. Is it not strange, Sir, that when the argument was placed before the Tribunal, that India does not stand on a footing of equality and that its dependent position should be taken into account, it was brushed aside. Sir, in this connection I wish to enter my protest against the statement contained in paragraph 16, sub-paragraph (4):

"It is common ground between the parties that the scale on which the military forces in India are maintained in respect of numbers, composition, equipment, etc., is no greater than is required for the defence of India and the maintenance of internal security".

This dictum, Sir, has been arrived at over our heads. We were no party to this; we have never averred, not even the nominated representatives in the Round Table Conference—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You might as well say that the whole report is made over your head.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : My point, Sir, was that no responsible representative of the people either here or in England has admitted, not even the Simon Commission has admitted, that the strength of the British Army of occupation in India is for the defence of India only. If any proof is required, I will give the proofs that we do not require it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : There is no necessity of proofs. That was the decision arrived at by the members of the Tribunal who were unfettered in their discretion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : No, Sir. This is the case accepted by the Government of India. It thus gives a short summary of the principal relevant facts. In this connection, Sir, I should like to remind the House that I asked that a committee of experts should be formed to decide what should be the strength and equipment of the British Army in India. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his reply to us said that a committee had already sat and had forwarded its recommendations to His Britannic Majesty. That report, Sir, has not been published. That report at least was prepared by the highest military authority in India and as such there could not be anything which could not bear publication. It is rather hard on us, Sir, that we are confronted with a *fait accompli* and not told even the reasons thereof.

Sir, the dictum which this Tribunal has given about the responsibility of different authorities for the defence of India is that
 12 NOON. for defence from our immediate neighbours the responsibility should rest on the shoulders of India, and for defence from distant neighbours and from the first class powers of Europe and other countries, the responsibility ultimately rests with His Majesty's Government. With this dictum we are in entire agreement and if this was carried out to the letter we would be fully satisfied with the decision of the Tribunal.

Sir, looking at our neighbours we know their strength and I can say without any exaggeration that the Indian Army proper is sufficient to match them and worst them. The Indian Army has shown its mettle in the Great War and is rightly proud of its record. It can stand comparison with any country in the world. Knowing our immediate requirements for defence from our neighbours I aver, Sir, that the Indian Army, without the British Army of occupation, is quite sufficient to take care of India and, Sir, to a certain extent, this was also the opinion of the Government of India. Because, Sir, one of their demands was, in paragraph 23 (3), that the existing defence expenditure of India relating to the cost of British troops should be demanded from the Government of Great Britain.

Sir, I can say without any exaggeration that for the last 150 years no distant great power with the exception of England has attacked India—

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : What about the Dutch and the French ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Sir, it is really impossible to conceive that a really first class power can come and attack India in any strength without first meeting and fighting the imperial forces in the way.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : What about the modern history of frontier attacks ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : About that, Sir, I remarked that the Indian Army is quite sufficient to tackle them without the British element.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOMI MEHTA : Without any guidance from British officers ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : We are discussing the capitation charges which have no reference to the officer class.

Sir, I have stated that I entirely agree with the Government of India's contention that the British Government ought to pay us a contribution of either £10 million or £16 million. And if the British Government is not ready to make even this contribution, I will make a smaller claim. That claim I will base on the example of other parts of the British Empire or I should rather say other parts of the world. Sir, Egypt is a country in which Great Britain maintains an army of 10,000 British troops without charging them. If Britain can maintain an army of 10,000 in Egypt, why cannot an army of 20,000 be maintained in India at the cost of the British Exchequer ? That would cost a sum of about £6 million. Then, Sir, in order to save time I am not reading them out, but I have prepared some tables* which I shall hand over for incorporation in my speech and shall only refer to them here.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I cannot allow you to refer to these statements because His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will have no opportunity of replying.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am only referring to army estimates prepared by the War Office. I am not referring to anything I have done myself. Table A is the regimental distribution for the financial year 1933 which shows the strength of the army the British Government maintains in different parts of the world ; Table B shows the basis of charges which are made in different parts of the British Empire ; and Table C shows the actual amount of money which the British War Office estimates to get from different parts of the Empire. These three tables will show that no part of the British Empire makes any contribution under the head "Capitation Charges". Egypt enjoys the further privilege of having an army of occupation without payment. It is simply due to our dependent position and to the weak-kneed policy of the Government of India that we have always been compelled to pay capitation charges which find no counterpart in any part of the British Empire.

Sir, may I say a few words about the sins of omission of the Tribunal ? The Tribunal was formed to adjudicate upon the demands of the War Office and the India Office. But what has it done ? When we refer our demands for a contribution from the British Government, mere palliatives were conceded. The Tribunal cannot find a basis of what should be the payment. Then the responsibility is shifted from an impartial authority to a compromise between the master and the slave. The Government of India which has no independent existence of its own, which is represented by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, had to fight out the case with His Majesty's Secretaries of State for War and Air. And the result was what we see. The demands put forward by the Government of India have not been accepted. In the defence which was put up by the Army Secretary in the other place no reason was given for coming to a decision on the amount which has been fixed by His Britannic Majesty on the capitation charges.

* Reproduced as an Appendix at the end of this debate.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Will the Honourable Member please bring his remarks to a close? He has already exceeded his time.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: In two minutes, Sir, I was simply referring to the net result of the Tribunal with regard to the actual payment by India to the War Office. In the budget estimates of 1933-34 and 1934-35, we have been told that the army capitation was fixed in the former at Rs. 1,86,67 lakhs. Insurance and pension charges were put at Rs. 31,72 lakhs and the Royal Air Force capitation charge in the former year's budget estimate was Rs. 14,28 lakhs, which gives a total of Rs. 2,32,67 lakhs. This was the estimate before the report of the Tribunal. After the report, after the great boon that has been conferred upon India, what is the result? The army capitation rate has been reduced to Rs. 1,66,67 lakhs, and insurance and pensions have gone up to Rs. 38,62 lakhs, the Royal Air Force capitation has gone up to Rs. 26,67 lakhs; and the total comes to Rs. 2,31,96 lakhs. The result is that after the report of the Capitation Tribunal we have made the magnificent saving of Rs. 71,000, and that is probably the reason why it was thought not necessary to give retrospective effect to the findings of the Tribunal. To arrive at this result we had to spend Rs. 1,25,000 as expenses of the Capitation Rate Tribunal.

Sir, I should like to say one word about the last part of the Resolution—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am afraid I cannot allow the Honourable Member to embark on a new point now.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Then I will conclude my remarks, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, in the first place, I heard the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das say that India is in no danger from Afghanistan and China—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I did not say that.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: You said that there is no danger of invasion from Afghanistan and China. I heard you saying so.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: What I said was—I might state for the information of my Honourable and Gallant friend—that as far as the major danger question was concerned, invasion from China or from Afghanistan will be treated as a major danger and not as a minor danger.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: I am sorry for the mistake that I made. But I cannot understand what he means by major portion of the defence and minor portion of the defence. If my Honourable friend means that without the co-operation of the British forces, any enterprise could be undertaken, he is very much mistaken, because the whole of the Indian Army is made up in such a way that in an infantry brigade there are always three Indian regiments to one regiment of British. If my friends are under the impression that anything could be done in modern warfare without the help of the artillery they are very much mistaken, and the

artillery is entirely composed of Europeans, and an enterprise—what he calls the major portion of the defence—cannot be undertaken without the British element.

Then my friend said that the Indian Army is quite sufficient for the defence of India. I do not want to say anything about the matter, but let me tell them they will not be well advised to think that the Indian forces could do much unless they had the British officer to command them and the British element to stiffen them in their undertaking in an offensive enterprise. That is my impression. I served in the Great War at least for three and a half years and I have seen it. It is no use armchair experts sitting here and giving their opinions. But facts are facts and I have seen it myself and I am giving something from my own experience.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : That point was never raised.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. You have had your say ; let the Honourable Member have his say now.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN : The elimination of the British element is an altogether impossible task. If reconnaissance has to be undertaken, I do not know how my Honourable friends will do it without the Air Force, and the Air Force is entirely British. There may be a difference of opinion, but Honourable Members will not be well advised if they say that the army should be reduced at the present juncture. The state of affairs in Afghanistan is no secret to any Member of this Honourable House. They must be reading the papers and know that China is again in a state of chaos and they must also be aware of the activities of the Soviet Republic too. So, when they begin to advise that there should be a reduction of British troops, I do not know how far they have considered that point and whether they can be sure of the geographical situation of India which is not the same as that of Canada or Australia. I, for one, say that the geographical situation of India is quite different from that of Canada and Australia—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : That point concerns major danger and its defence.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN : If something happened from Afghanistan tomorrow, there will not be much time given to my friend. If there is an invasion he will have to require the army to be prepared to be ready at twelve hours' notice.

Sir, there is a general saying that " Result justifies the action ". To ask for the publication of the full report of the Tribunal on certain questions in regard to defence expenditure in dispute between the Government of India, the War Office and the Air Ministry, together with the notes of dissent by Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, is no doubt a commendable thing, but what I want to ask my friend the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das is the question whether any useful purpose can be served by the publication of this report, as suggested by him, beyond the benefit that His Majesty's Government have been pleased to bestow on India by granting her a contribution of Rs. 2 crores annually towards its military expenditure, based as it is on the recommendations contained in the report already published.

[Major Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan.]

If the Honourable Member is satisfied that the publication of the report, as suggested by him could be a means to effect an increase in the contribution of Rs. 2 crores, I would have no hesitation in supporting his Resolution, for, in that case, it will certainly prove advantageous not only in regard to the revenues of the Government of India but will also benefit the general taxpayer in the country. But in case it will not achieve that object, I am afraid that I will not be able to lend my support because, in that case, the result does not justify the action.

I can not see the cogent reasons that makes my Honourable friend ask for the publication of the full report, except that the Resolution leads to a suggestion that the full report will be different from that already published. In other words, the full report will contain more subject-matter than that embodied in the one already printed. I do not think this will be the case for, to my mind, the report already printed appears to be quite complete, embodying each and every thing relating to the terms of reference to the Tribunal. I do not think the publication of a full report will add anything to the knowledge of the Honourable the mover of the Resolution with regard to this special question. No doubt there have been slight alterations in the original wording of the report signed by the members of the Tribunal in one or two places but as it has been explained in the Foreword to the printed report, it has been done so for reasons of military policy and that too without modifying the original significance of its contents in any way. The notes of dissent by Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Muhammad Sulaiman have also not been published *in toto* owing to the same reasons and the soundness of this action stands in need of no further justification when we know that the brief summaries of these notes which have been substituted have been accepted by the two members as conveying the purport of their respective notes. As such I do not think the full report will contain any additional matter which could be used to strengthen India's case for a larger contribution than His Majesty's Government have consented to give, and unless it is expected to be so, it is useless to ask for the publication of a report as defined in this Resolution.

From the perusal of the published report, two things are quite clear to me. Firstly, that the question of defence expenditure in dispute between the Government of India, the War Office and the Air Ministry was a long-standing controversy and that the personnel of the Tribunal which was appointed to go into these very complicated questions, was composed of very eminent judges and lawyers of great standing. The case for both sides has been very well argued and that India was not only represented by the India Office but also two of its eminent judges were on this Tribunal. Another thing is that the Government of India have done their duty well in fighting out the case of India as ably as they could in her interest. The Government of India have put up a strong fight with His Majesty's Government, not only on this occasion but, as the report itself shows, they have been putting India's case in as good a light as it could possibly be placed in the past also. For instance, the extract from the Memorandum of General Sir Beauchamp Duff on page 42 of the published report is a glaring proof of the fact that the Government of India were fighting on this point in the days when Indian opinion was not even formed on this subject. As such the Government of India deserve the best thanks of this Honourable House for their long and constant fight with His Majesty's Government on this question, although it is a thing to be regretted that their efforts in this respect have fallen short of their anticipated success. As a matter of fact, India is one of the poorest countries, while England is one of the

richest. Year after year we have been crying for reduction of military expenditure in proportion to its revenues. This was the case to make substantial reduction in her military expenditure but to our great regret it has not proved so. No doubt in our straitened circumstances the award of even Rs. 2 crores is a gain and will be of timely help to the country whose financial position is what it has been for some time must be thankful for anything it can get from the British Government, but what we expected from the Tribunal was not only a sum of Rs. 2 crores but what is justly our due. Since it is not so, rather is it much below the calculation of the Government of India, I think the Government will be absolutely within its rights if it cares to do something in the matter and ask for a favourable reconsideration of the case by His Majesty's Government—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Please conclude your speech now.

THE HONOURABLE NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN : Very well, Sir. With these words I would advise my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das that he should withdraw his Resolution if he is given a satisfactory reply by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : Sir, the business of an Opposition is to oppose and in doing so to make use of every possible device to put their case as well as they can. Every Government in the world expects those statements to contain a large amount of *ex parte* pleading. In this House we have several Members who are past masters at this art and who are ready at any moment to keep the Government in its place and to ginger it up on almost any subject you like, usually at inordinate length. We cannot complain of that. But today I do think that some of the Opposition have slightly exceeded the usual *ex parte* license. If I were in another place where I understand they call a spade a spade, I might almost be tempted to make use of the expression of Mr. Winston Churchill when alluding to an inaccuracy when he made use of the expression "frigid and calculated". But nothing would induce me so to disturb the atmosphere of this Upper House by making a statement of that sort, and all I will say is that the Opposition have to some extent in presenting their case today economized in the truth.

As I understand the Motion, the mover and his friends make two complaints against the Government. First, that the Government has not taken them into their confidence and they are thereby debarred from the proper consideration of and comment on what is to India and to them a very important matter indeed, the proceedings and the verdict of the Capitation Tribunal. And secondly, they make an attempt to reduce the financial budget of India at the expense of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and in doing so they abuse quite impartially everybody connected with it. They abuse His Majesty's Government for parsimony, they abuse the Government of India for not fighting properly for their cause, and they accuse their own Tribunal, to which the Government of India agreed, of coming to an incorrect verdict. Nevertheless, any one who is not fully acquainted with the facts must have very great sympathy with the Motion and the ideas which lie behind it. But I hope that when I have said what I have got to say, the mover and his friends and this House will realize that it is not a Motion which the Government could accept or that I as Defence Member of Council could advise them to accept.

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

The first part of the Resolution asks for two things. It asks for the publication in full of the report, and secondly, the publication in full of the notes of dissent of the two distinguished Indian members of that Tribunal. It is easy for me to answer the first claim. As a matter of fact the report has been published in full. There were only one or two slight verbal amendments made in it in cases where the wording of the original report would have been undesirable from a national and an international point of view. There were not more than half a dozen words altogether as can be seen from a perusal of the second paragraph of the Foreword. As regards the second claim, the reason why the notes of dissent of Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman were not published, is given in the third paragraph of the Foreword and I can do no better than quote it :

“ It has also not been found possible to publish *in extenso* the notes by Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman on the question of an imperial military contribution, in view of the discussion therein of certain matters in the sphere of military policy and foreign relations. The brief summaries of these notes which have been substituted are accepted by the two members concerned as conveying the purport of their respective notes ”.

What really concerns India, Sir, and the Honourable mover and his friends in particular is, that neither of those notes contains any single statement which was not fully placed before the Tribunal by counsel for the India Office. Those notes in fact contain a very full statement of the case of India which was most ably put to the Tribunal by our counsel, and I would like here to acknowledge my indebtedness and that of the Government of India to our counsel and especially to Sir Jamsetjee Kanga. But it is inevitable when a subject like this has been put before a Tribunal—the use of a great army in this country or in any other country—that counsel should discuss and put forward very full notes on and the Tribunal should engage in very full discussions on our present relations with and our possible relations with foreign powers, and I feel sure that the House will agree with me that it is most undesirable from a public point of view and a national point of view that full publicity should be given to matters like that. A further important fact with regard to those notes of dissent was that His Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that all the matter which was contained in them would be taken into consideration by them when they came to consider their verdict and this in fact was done by the Cabinet.

The remaining parts of the Resolution—parts (b) and (c)—express dissatisfaction at the amount of the contribution and ask for a reconsideration by His Majesty's Government. Now, Sir, I do not suppose there is any one in existence at this moment who has had more experience than I have of this very complicated and difficult subject. I was for five or six years in the Army Council after the war and I do not mind saying that I spent quite an appreciable portion of my time in writing what I considered at the moment very decisive notes on the parsimony of India at objecting to pay our demands for capitulation ; but now the wheel has gone a full turn and, as often happens in our great Empire, I find myself in the position of counsel for the opposite side, and I spend a considerable portion of my time here in expressing precisely the opposite view. But I do think that possibly my having that intimate knowledge of both sides did help when we came to brief our counsel when we were about to present our case.

I can assure the House that the case of India was most ably put and I for one am well content to leave it at that. I do not for a moment say that India has got more than she deserves ; far from it. We asked for more (Hear,

hear), but I do say that it was largely due to the way in which our case was put by counsel which got us what we did get. Quite a number of critics have asked since then why we do not fight for the full amount of what we claimed. We did ask, in our brief we asked our counsel to ask, for what we considered was the value of certain services on which we ourselves found great difficulty in placing a cash value, such as the value of India for training, and so on. The majority of the Tribunal did not agree with our estimate of that cash value. Again, the cash value to be assigned to several claims which were put forward by our counsel to the Tribunal on behalf of India, and which the Tribunal themselves considered were fair claims, with regard even to that, the Tribunal shirked the issue of placing a cash value on them, as we know, and it was left by them for His Majesty's Government to decide. The Government of India are naturally not aware of the cash value His Majesty's Government put upon those claims, nor are they aware of what the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were about them. That is a matter which I think you could expect no Cabinet in the world to disclose. All we know is what the result is.

It does seem to me, Sir, that there is not the slightest use two great Governments agreeing to set up an authoritative Tribunal of this sort and then refuse to respect the decision and the verdict of the majority of the members and try to raise the whole matter again. As a matter of fact, the verdict of the Tribunal represented a very considerable victory for India's cause and, in fact, in spite of what my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam says, it has produced a very appreciable relief to the taxpayer of India. I have always kept myself as far away from the law as possible and my study of it is not deep but my study of cases which I read in the papers has tended to show me that the party which wins does not usually appeal. In this case it would appear to me more in consonance with the usual legal practice if the defeated party, the British Government, were to appeal.

The point has been again raised that on many occasions the Indian Army has in fact been used overseas for imperial purposes. I think the figure mentioned was fourteen times, but I would say that those fourteen times have occurred in the last 70 or 80 years. During the last 50 years they have only been used seven times, that is once every seven years, and in no single case did more than the equivalent of a division, that is 12 units, leave India's shores, except of course in the Great War when you were fighting as much for yourselves as you were for the Empire; and in no single case the cost of the annual maintenance of those troops which did leave this country on imperial missions, in no case did their annual cost come to anything like £1,500,000. On that ground alone it would seem that India is being fairly well paid for possible future contingencies of this sort. No one knows better than I do how hardly the cost of defence does bear on Indian revenues, and I think that the compliments which have been paid to me here today would suffice to show that I have done my best to reduce it.

I can not remember who it was that made the point—perhaps it was the Honourable mover, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das, who said that no one can say it is necessary or in the interests of India to keep some 60,000 British troops here which do cost much more than Indian troops. He said, "No one can possibly say that". I deny that, and I say, that it is necessary. And I also say that, if I were to remove British troops or the Government of India were to remove British troops from India in large numbers, it is not the Army Department who would begin to cry out; first, it would be responsible Indians and it would be Governors of Provinces and their Councils. Just as it is now, if I try to remove so much as one internal security unit from a province.

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

Other Honourable Members were inclined to say that there are far more troops in India than are necessary for the defence of her frontiers, for internal security, for the defence of her coasts and ports and many thousands of miles of vital communications. I wish those who say so could have been in my shoes for the last four years. During those four years, I had had constant demands made upon me by the Government for large numbers of troops. To quell the Afridi menace when they invaded the Peshawar province, for the "Red Shirt" menace which was closely connected with it, for the Burma rebellion which was a very serious matter indeed, for riots in Cawnpore, Bombay and elsewhere, for trouble in two Indian States, for the Mohmand affair of last year, and now two whole war brigades to help the civil power against the terrorist menace in Bengal. War brigades, I would remind you, Sir. Now, is there any one in this House who will tell me that it is impossible for all, or at any rate many, of these emergencies to have arisen at one and the same time? I say it is perfectly possible that many of them should have arisen at one time. Obviously, such a contingency is perfectly possible and even as it was I was hard put to it on several occasions to decide from where to select troops to send to the various troubles as they arose.

Now, Sir, a matter has been mentioned here today, but it has been rather better put in another place on the same debate that we are having today, by Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar. He asked these questions. Does it mean that any further commitments are involved because we have received £1,500,000 from His Majesty's Government? Does it mean that the Indian Army is to be put to a certain standard of efficiency? Does it mean that the programme of mechanization should be so adjusted that if the army is taken to Europe for imperial purposes it must have that efficiency which is required for those purposes? Does it mean that we are thereby guaranteed that these troops will be equipped merely to the extent that is necessary for Indian defence purposes, whether that defence arises in India or in England, or could it be used for a European war apart from defence? I can answer all these categorically—"No". The Indian Army and the Army in India is maintained at a standard of efficiency necessary for the defence of the Indian frontiers and for internal security and not to the standard of European war. I will give a few instances. The British Expeditionary Force division has between 70 and 90 guns behind it. Your division has 48. British Expeditionary Force units have more machine guns than your units out here. British units have sections containing anti-tank weapons, which I do not consider necessary here. They have just started in British units a new trench mortar, a close support weapon. We are not going to follow them. I said they were of no particular assistance to me in our particular problem. In the Expeditionary Force they have tank battalions and even tank brigades. I have not. I have got a few companies of light tanks which we do consider may be of the utmost use to us in our own particular problem but I have no intention of agreeing to equip the army out here with tanks to the extent the Expeditionary Force has. The same over transport. When we first began mechanizing our transport here, we thought that we should have to have what is known as standing transport for all our divisions, because we had not got in this country commercial vehicles. In England they hold practically no transport ready for war. They rely on the civil transport and commandeer it in case of war. I therefore mechanized the transport of two divisions here, and had proposed to mechanize two others, but mechanized transport has so increased in numbers and efficiency in India that I have wiped that out and depend on the country for it. I merely quote these few instances in order to show that we are not run by the War Office as has so often been told me in this House and elsewhere.

My business, Sir, is to provide for the security principally of the frontiers of India. You say that is an imperial commitment. So it is. But it is far more an Indian one. And in spite of what some would say now, India is still the most tempting bait in the world for invasion. But, Sir, a very large majority of the troops in India, between 30,000 and 40,000 are not kept for these war purposes. They are kept for internal security, for your ports, your coasts, your lines of communication, and matters of that sort. I would ask you, Sir, Is there any other country in the world in the same position as this country in regard to that? No. Is there any other Commander-in-Chief or body of men entrusted with the military defence of a country in the same position as I am? No. Most decidedly not. In France, in Germany, in Russia, in Italy, wherever you like, when their armies go to war, they have only to think of the enemy without. I have to look as much behind me, if my troops are on the frontier, as I do in front. That's the pity of it. And I would venture in all earnestness, Sir, to suggest that if Indian politicians would pay less attention to how much Sikhs, Moslems, Hindus, caste and untouchables and all the rest of them are going to get out of this and out of that, and more attention to making India into a nation, it would not only be better for their political future but it would almost immediately reduce the cost of Indian defence. As it is now, I have only to suggest to a Governor in Council that I propose to remove one battalion of internal security troops or reduce them permanently, for an immediate protest to be made to the Government of India on behalf of that Provincial Government. How then can I reduce the cost of defence? You admit the safety of your frontiers is necessary. When a large proportion of that defence has to be kept, if I may say so, to keep Indians from each other's throats and to deal with all sorts of subversive movements, red shirts, terrorist campaigns, left wing congressites, and so on. I, as Commander-in-Chief, cannot stop this sort of thing. It is not within my power to do so. But I do venture to suggest that it is within the power of men like you of influence and that you could stop it. May I suggest, Sir, that when you ask me to reduce the cost of defence more even than I have done now that you take into consideration one or two figures? England now spends about £106 million on her defence, that is Rs. 141½ crores. India spends Rs. 45 crores, or £33½ million, that is, less than one-third of England's contribution. The combined defence expenditure of the Empire is about £150 million—England £106 million, India £33 million and the Dominions £10½ million. That means roughly, England 11 annas and India 3 annas.

There is another point. I am constantly told that the expenditure on the Army in India is entirely unproductive. I deny that. More than three-parts of the money I spend here comes straight back to India. When the total expenditure was Rs. 46,20,00,000, I spent in India 75 per cent. of that, or Rs. 34,65,00,000, and in the United Kingdom 25 per cent. only, and the latter is getting less every day. I spend 96 per cent. in India of the money I spend for Ordnance stores and only four per cent. in England. In fact, I send home to England money only for what we call non-effective services, e.g., pensions, and things like that, and motor vehicles. You do not manufacture motor vehicles of any description here; so I have to buy them there. Now, Sir, may I ask whether this is the time for this House or India to ask His Majesty's Government to pay any more towards the defence of India? Is this the time when England is only just struggling, just pushing her head above water again to slightly better times, after bearing by far the larger proportion of the expenses of the Great War—by far the largest proportion of any of the Allies—and when she is still bearing an enormous proportion of the cost of the defence of the Empire including India? Is this the time, when

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

all the world is now in the melting pot, when the commercial and financial outlook is still dark, when all the rest of the world, except ourselves, who have reduced our defences enormously, are grinning at each other over a hedge of layonets, when at any moment the Government of His Majesty in the United Kingdom may be forced into greater expenditure on armaments? Is this the time, when they are shrugging their shoulders and with good grace have accepted the verdict of the Tribunal to ask them for more? I cannot think so.

Now, Sir, before I sit down, I want finally to dispose of one more accusation that has been made today and that is, that the Army Department works in secret. I have seen a caricature in one of the Indian papers some time ago in which was depicted a dark cave out of which I was looking, and the dark and gloomy cave was a caricature of the Army Department. Now, there is no greater libel or greater untruth in politics in India than that. If there is any ignorance on the part of Members of this House, if there is any ignorance in India on the part of the Press with regard to the army, it is not our fault. Time after time I have stated, and time after time my Army Secretary has stated, that we place ourselves at your disposal. I myself am firmly convinced that the principle is right that those who pay should know how their money has been spent and I am always willing to meet anybody—and so are my officers—and explain to them exactly how that money is spent. I think that is proved by the fact that when the Honourable the Finance Member started the retrenchment committees, I at once agreed to them. People said to me,

“ Your budget is a reserved subject ; it is between you and the Viceroy and nobody else ; and unless you choose, you need not appear before the retrenchment committees at all ”.

I said on the contrary that I declined to take that view at all and I did, as you know, place at the disposal of the retrenchment committees all the knowledge of my officers and all the facts and figures we had and threw open to them the whole of our factories and establishments. (Applause.) There is only one thing I tell no one, not even the Viceroy, and that is, war plans. But beyond that, or beyond some new invention which may be brought to our notice, which may give us great advantages in war, there is no secret in my conduct of the army. It is open to any of you to come at any time to me and ask me or my officers questions.

Now, Sir, I have finished, but before I sit down, I have to make an announcement on behalf of Government. When this Motion was first on the order paper—it was postponed owing to the absence of the mover—I thought over it and I came to the conclusion that it was wrong that responsible people like the Members of both Houses should in fact be debarred from seeing the notes of dissent of their own two members, and I therefore approached the Indian Government, and we approached the Secretary of State and have got from His Majesty's Government the following decision which we hope will satisfy the House :

“ If, however, the Honourable Member and other Members of this House and of another place are sufficiently interested, I am authorized by the Government to show leaders of parties, or certain persons nominated by them, the full notes of dissent by the two Indian members of the Tribunal. In making this offer, it will of course be understood that Government must impose certain conditions. The object of the offer is to remove suspicion and demonstrate that there are sound reasons of State for not publishing *in extenso* the notes of the two Indian members. The papers will therefore be shown in strict confidence, and on the clear understanding that those who read them, whatever use they may make

of the information disclosed, will not quote the writers of the notes as their authority for such information, still less make copies or take verbatim extracts from the notes for use either in the Press or in public speeches, and, of course, that no reference is made to any foreign power by name as having been alluded to in those notes".

Sir, I have to oppose the Motion, and as I said at the beginning of my speech, it is quite impossible to go further than Government have gone, and in what I have just read out.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR DR. SIR NASARVANJI CHOKSY (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, we are thankful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for having placed the case of India before the Tribunal in the way he has done with the result of the award. After the lucid and exhaustive explanation that he has just given, I think there remains no question of supporting this Resolution, I do not wish to detain the House with the old history of the capitation charges. They came into prominence ever since 1859 when the British Army and the Indian Army were amalgamated. The question was taken up time after time by public bodies with the result that Dadabhoy Naorojee, the great patriot, strongly protested and agitated on the inequity of saddling India with the enormous load of these charges in and out of Parliament. He was supported by Professor Fawcett, by the Government of India, and some high military authorities, as well as parliamentarians. The War Office, however, remained adamant and thus there was no redress. It went on piling additional burdens. It was when the Welby Commission was appointed in 1895 that the matter came to a head. Dadabhoy Naorojee and Sir William Wedderburn state in their minority report that Lord Northbrook, a member of the Commission, had arrived at the conclusion after inquiry that the capitation charge should be at the rate of £7-10-0 per head. The Government of India reduced it down to £5 ; and the minority was of opinion that it should be £3-15-0 in fairness to India, and in equal proportions between India and England. Well, Sir, thereafter the matter was further agitated.

1 P.M. Lord Balfour (then Mr. Arthur Balfour) suggested that there were several questions for apportionment of charges between India and England and the best procedure would be to appoint a Board of Arbitration that would hear both sides and give its decision. Lord Salisbury, Lord Northbrook and Lord Lansdowne agreed. Lord Salisbury, however, went further and said that if an impartial Tribunal of the kind was to be appointed, it should command the confidence of both the British and Indian taxpayers, and that the best way would be to appoint members from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It would thus be a judicial court before which the cases of both parties would be represented and that its report would be decided by both the Houses of Parliament without discussion on party lines. He further added that in case of any opposition, the onus of proof would lie upon the opponents. Lord Salisbury also said that in order to give a representative character to such a Commission or Tribunal, one Indian judge should be associated with it in order to ensure an equitable representation. The Welby Commission then resolved that the Tribunal should be appointed after the publication of their report. Nothing however was done thereafter. That, Sir, was practically the genesis of the recent Tribunal. The foregoing facts illustrate the breadth of vision and the foresight of a great statesman. What he suggested then has matured in 1932, that is, after the lapse of 36 years. The seed sown in 1896, germinated in 1932! The fairness of the constitution of the Tribunal is beyond dispute. There were two members of the Privy Council, two Indian judges and the Chairman, a King's Counsel. Thus constituted it had to decide upon the merits of the claims put forward by the War Office, the Air Ministry and the

[Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy.]

Government of India. All the parties were represented by counsel; the Government of India by Sir Jamsetjee B. Kanga, the Advocate General of Bombay. At a very early stage of the discussion the counsel of all parties agreed that it was no use going into the past history of the case, and that they should lay down principles for future guidance. It was upon this decision that the award finally came to be made. It has been said that the award is a mere fleabite, and that considering the enormous load on India some retrospective effect should have been given. That, however, came to be excluded. It has even been suggested that a fair and equitable arrangement would be for the British Government to contribute ten per cent. to the Indian military budget, whatever that may be. But I would remind the House that it took between 50 and 60 years to settle this question, which had vexed our politicians and the Government of India for years and years together. Would the House desire that we should wait for another long period before another Tribunal is appointed for the purpose? I do not believe there is any probability of that, nor of any reduction in our defence services. I would therefore say that we should be content with the award and await developments in the future. As regards the full notes of Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Muhammad Sulaiman which have been asked for, I think the explanation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is quite full, frank and weighty. He has been extremely generous, as also Government in affording facilities for access to them as required by the Honourable mover. We cannot be too grateful for this concession that shows that Government has nothing to conceal. I cannot therefore support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I will not keep the House longer, but I want to reply to the criticism of my Honourable and Gallant friend the Nawab Sahib of Hcti, who seems to have not grasped the fundamental points of my speech—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: All that is beside the point after the speech made by His Excellency.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Very well, Sir. I simply wanted to draw my friend's attention to page 14, paragraph 19, of the report of the Tribunal.

Sir, we are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who has been fighting our cause and who has partially succeeded in his fight. The amount of contribution which the India Office has demanded under paragraph 23, page 15, was the demand of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and that demand, if I mistake not, was also the demand which the Government of India made on behalf of India.

As regards the publication of the notes of dissent, I am very grateful to His Excellency for his statement that he made in that connection. We are fully satisfied with that statement, that there were cogent reasons against their publication. We are also grateful to him for the efforts which he has made to keep army expenditure down notwithstanding the demand from the War Office, and for curtailing expenditure on matters which His Excellency thought were not needed for India.

Sir, in the face of what His Excellency has said I do not want to press the Resolution, but I wish to say that efforts towards getting a bigger contribution from the British Exchequer ought not to be given up. In case it is not opportune now, it may be taken up later. But if we cannot get anything

more during the time of His Excellency the present Commander-in-Chief, there is no hope of getting it afterwards. Therefore, I hope that the Government of India will go on pursuing this question and contrive that a reasonable sum for defence expenditure is received by us.

With these words, I beg leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

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

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter Past Two of the Clock.

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

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, in view of the talk which I have had with the Honourable Member in charge and the unsatisfactory character of the terms of the loan issued by my own Government, I do not wish to move my Resolution.†

RESOLUTION *RE* COMPOSITION OF INDIAN DELEGATIONS TO IMPERIAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution :

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Indian delegations to imperial and international conferences should in future be composed of and led by Indians alone."

Sir, this question of Indian representation on imperial and international conferences is not new to the Council, but has been discussed on the floor of this House about half a dozen times previously in some form or other, every time at the Motion of the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna. In 1922, Sir Phiroze (Mr. Sethna then, moved his first Resolution regarding the representation of India on the International Conference at Genoa. Then, in 1924, the Honourable Member moved a Resolution urging the appointment of an Indian to lead the delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations in that year. A sympathetic assurance was given by the Government on that occasion, whereupon the Resolution was withdrawn. Again, in 1926, he moved almost an identical Resolution in the House which was not opposed by Government and was adopted by the Council. Similarly, a Resolution was passed on his Motion in 1927. In the year 1928 the same Honourable Member brought forward a Resolution whose scope was not confined to the League of Nations but extended also to all imperial or international conferences to which the Government of India were asked to send delegations and recommended that the Indian delegation to these bodies should be predominantly Indian in its composition and should be led by an Indian. Then, in 1929, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna again pressed on the attention of the Government the desirability of making a strong representation to the Secretary of

**Vide* page 499, *ante*.

† " This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to give free of interest and for three years a loan of Rs. 2 crores to the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the purpose of helping the agriculturists of Bihar."

[Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.]

State that in order to give practical effect to the admitted principle that there was no bar to an Indian leading the Indian delegation to the League of Nations that year's delegation be led by an Indian. The Government gave a sympathetic assurance and the Resolution was withdrawn. Again, in 1930, the Honourable Member brought the matter before the House in the shape of asking the Government to give effect to the recommendations made in the report of Sir Muhammad Habibullah and other members of the Indian delegation to the previous year's session of the League of Nations, and on an explanatory statement being made on behalf of the Government, the Resolution was withdrawn. This, Sir, is in short a history of the question so far as this House is concerned.

I recognise, Sir, that the effect of such a Resolution having become, in the words of the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna himself, almost a hardy annual in this House for several years was not altogether lost on the Government and it may be said in fairness to them that they did not disregard the Indian demand altogether inasmuch as delegations to the League of Nations have since been improving in personnel in so far that a larger number of Indian members are now being appointed as a result thereof, and, in 1929, the Government further agreed to appoint an Indian as leader of the League delegation. I think Sir Muhammad Habibullah was the first Indian to lead the Government of India's delegation to the next session of the League Assembly at Geneva. Ever since the precedent then set up has been maintained and every year, so far as my memory serves me right, an Indian leads the Indian delegation to the League Assembly. And we have not heard so far that because of that the Government of India's point of view has been less ably represented. Yet, what do we find in the case of other international conferences? For some reason which Indian public opinion has not been able to appreciate the Government chose in relation to the World Economic Conference last year to appoint a minority of Indians on the Indian delegation and a non-Indian to lead the same. Of the five members who constituted the delegation, in addition to the British leader, three were Europeans and only two were Indians. Then, the four advisers and the secretary of the delegation were also Europeans. And what happened as a result thereof? Of the gentlemen who had been invited from India for the purposes of consultation on the various matters to be discussed at the Conference and to assist the delegation, even such a gentleman of the responsible school of thought, as Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, and one of his colleagues, *viz.*, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, felt compelled to decline the invitation on the ground, which the former is reported to have made clear in his letter to the Secretary of State, that Indian public opinion including the Central Legislature and the Indian commercial community in particular had over the last decade made it a serious grievance that even in matters of international conferences delegations from India were preponderatingly British in personnel and not Indian as they should be, that Indians felt that this tended to humiliate India in the eyes of the international world, and that he was afraid that the delegation to the World Economic Conference was based on a definite retrograde tendency. And, Sir, this decision of the two gentlemen was approved by progressive Indian opinion on the ground that a delegation which contained four European members, four European advisers, one European secretary and only two Indian members could not by any process of logical reasoning or arithmetical calculation be called representative from the point of view of India, although Reuter's London Office reported that the official view concerning the delegation was that it was as representative as possible. Sir, the question

that on such occasions comes uppermost in the minds of Indians is : What opinion will the rest of the world form about Indian capacity when they find that while Governments much smaller than India have sent delegations led by and composed of their own nationals to the Economic Conference and while even Persia and so many other backward nations manage to secure the services of their own nationals who can quite competently represent them at the World Conference, India alone should be represented mainly by non-Indians ? Sir, I am not saying this in any racial spirit but because of the fact that it appears on good authority that the appointment of Europeans as India's delegates creates a misunderstanding among other nations regarding Indian capacity. For, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who has had occasion to represent India at more than one international conference relating his experience in the Assembly said some years ago :

" The one question which I had to answer at least half a dozen times to nationals from Germany, from France, America, Sweden and Norway, was, ' How is it that we do not see Indians oftener at these international conferences but only Englishmen or Britishers ? ' ' Can Indians really speak in English as you do, and if they can, why is it that your Government send Europeans ' " .

This is one reason, Sir, why Indian public opinion wants that Indian delegations to such conferences should be composed of and be led by Indians. The other reason is that the Indian point of view cannot properly be represented by non-Indians.

Now, Sir, the World Economic Conference of last year is not the only instance in which the Indian delegation was predominantly European in composition and also led by a European, but there was the Disarmament Conference and the special session of the League held recently to discuss the Manchurian question at which Sir Samuel Hoare undertook to represent India.

The result of Britishers representing India at such imperial or international conferences is, as I have already said, that, on the one hand, the Indian point of view is not properly represented at these gatherings and, on the other hand, other nations entertain doubts about the capacity of Indians. If, however, Indian delegations to these bodies be at least predominantly composed of Indians and led by Indians then both these difficulties will disappear. India's prestige will be enhanced in the eyes of the outside world and the delegation will truly represent the Indian point of view and will inspire confidence among the people.

After all, Sir, what are those requirements of Indian interests that Indians—sons of the soil—cannot adequately represent or safeguard and which Britishers alone are competent enough to do ? As I said before, we have not heard that by reason of Indians leading the Indian delegation to the League Assembly during the last few years the Government of India's point of view has been inadequately or less ably represented. Why all such delegations therefore should not be predominantly composed of Indians and also led by Indians passes one's comprehension ?

Sir, one word more before I resume my seat. If any of my Honourable friends here thinks that in laying this proposition before the House I have been moved by any racial considerations, I shall at once say to him that the idea is farthest from my mind. I have not brought forward this Resolution out of any racial feeling ; on the other hand, I want to remove racial discrimination if there were any such intention on the part of Government in choosing Europeans in preference to Indians for these delegations. Apart from this, Sir, it is a well known fact that the British are the rulers and are in a dominant position, while the Indians are the ruled, and if Indians request the British

[Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.]

Government for the recognition of India's rights and privileges and for their further concession, the request is only in the nature of being by a subject race to a ruling race and I submit that no racial discrimination should ever be considered to be involved in this matter ; otherwise in what other manner could Indians ask for their political and natural rights from the Government ? After all, the demand for Indianization of the services stands on the same footing. I hope that even the Government will agree with me in this view.

Lastly, Sir, I may be permitted to say that by the terms of my Resolution as it stands I do not mean to suggest that Indian delegations to imperial and international conferences should altogether exclude Europeans. Speaking personally, I may say that I have great respect for the British. And I do not object if a part of the personnel of these delegations may contain some British officers who may at the time be serving in India or may have previously served in India. But I do want to suggest that such delegations should be predominantly composed of Indians and led by Indians, as was the intention of my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna's Resolution moved in this House six years ago. In fact, I wanted to move this Resolution today in a somewhat modified form so as to connote my real meaning but since I have not been permitted to do so I had no alternative in moving the Resolution but to stick to the wording of the Resolution as it stood on the order paper. I am therefore making my intention clear on this point. I shall be quite content if such delegations are predominantly Indian in composition and are led by Indians. I hope, Sir, that this is not an unreasonable proposition and I therefore commend it for the acceptance of the House.

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. S. HENDERSON (Bengal Chamber of Commerce): Sir, I am afraid I am compelled to oppose this Resolution, and in the very few remarks I have to make I desire to confine myself to the general aspect of the position that my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad seeks to create by placing this proposal before the House. I can only regard it as most unfortunate that a Resolution savouring so strongly of discrimination should be brought before us at this stage. With the approach of provincial autonomy, and subsequently, of federation, I hold most strongly that we should display to the utmost of our capacity that feeling of fellowship and goodwill which undoubtedly exists and which has been of such enormous value in the past. The important questions which come before those imperial and international conferences to which India has the honour to send delegates are certainly not generally questions in which Indians alone can claim to be interested. The interests of the British in India are just as widespread, and in matters of imperial and international consequence their views are, I submit, of some importance. On those questions which require special attention from the Indian point of view, it is surely not too much to claim that the voice of the British in India is entitled to be heard. They are vitally interested in these questions—and in saying this I am not referring to the huge financial stake which the British hold in this country. I am referring to their general interest in those matters which affect the welfare of India, although I am sure all of us will agree that the financial consideration cannot be overlooked. Moreover, I think I can safely say with all due modesty that many occasions arise during these conferences when a British representative of India is able to proffer valuable suggestions and help. Surely, Sir, it has never been more necessary than at the present time to show the rest of the world that we are capable of working in harmony and concord to achieve our common ends, and I particularly desire to emphasise this point. All that we ask is, "A fair

field and no favour", and I feel confident I can rely on the sound and impartial judgment of this House to see that this is not denied us in the present instance, and that the Resolution now before us does not meet with general approval.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, I have listened with patience to the speech of my Honourable friend the mover of the Resolution who wants that the Indian delegation to imperial and international conferences should be composed of and led by Indians alone. I congratulate him on bringing forward this Resolution on the eve of great constitutional reforms. But, Sir, I cannot agree with the Resolution as a whole. I support the first part of the Resolution that the Indian delegation should, in future, be composed of Indians alone and reject the second part that it should be led by Indians.

I have got reasons and arguments in support of the first part. At this stage of my public life, I am not one of those, Sir, who judge things and institutions only by their visible output. But, Sir, I belong to those who would penetrate far beyond the outer crust of things and take stock of the ideas and ideals, however feebly represented in the palpable coarse world of realized facts that inspire the institution of "Thoughts hardly to be packed into a narrow act" of "Fancies that broke through and escaped". The coarse world would say, "Nothing succeeds like success", but I would be one of those, Sir, who would have the courage and conviction to say, "Nothing succeeds like failure". Judged by this criterion, Sir, of the ideal, there can be no gainsaying the fact that the imperial and international conferences, despite the detractors or unbelievers calling them "leagues" or "councils of robbers", "cabals of the big to rob the small," contain the germs of international amity, of universal fraternity, that would defy and transcend at no distant epoch, the barren exclusiveness of narrow nationalism and make for the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth.

Sir, it must be admitted that India has a part, a very important part to play in the realization of the universal ego between nation and nation. Light has always come from the East and I fervently believe, Sir, that light shall once more emanate from this ancient land of light—a light that would kindle the lamps of nations and consummate their highest possible enlightenment. Hence, Sir, it is absolutely essential that there should be people in these international and imperial conferences to represent India, her cultural and political aspirations. Sir, when I say this, I am not to be misunderstood as a petty trafficker for national bargain. But, Sir, it is to be understood that it is both for the best interests of India and England, I might even say, for the best interests of all living nations, coloured and colourless, that India should have full representation for herself. But I am sorry, Sir, that up till now this most important view of the Indian representation has not received the attention that it well deserves from the constituted authorities of the land. India has not been up till now fully and adequately represented in these conferences by people inspired with the best traditions and cultural ideals of this nation—people independent of political pre-imposition, and I hope and believe, Sir, that this positive obstacle can be removed only by making the Indian delegation thoroughly representative of India.

Now what I was going to say, Sir, was that Indian representation or delegation up till now has been very poor. This seems very inequitable when I notice that India is not only an original member of the League of Nations but pays towards it, if I remember aright, not only more than any self-governing dominion of the British Empire, but many of the independent

[Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy.]

nations of the west, barring, of course, only a few of the bigger powers there. I submit, therefore, Sir, that in the light of these facts, the scantiness of the Indian representation is not only illogical but inequitous.

So far I strongly support the Resolution. But as far as the second part is concerned, I must emphasise that the Indian delegation may be led by a European if he truly represents India. I think I have outgrown that blind and sentimental nationalism that would always cry out, "My country, right or wrong". To me such maxims bespeak a perverted mentality. The right man in the right place, the right thing in the right place and that should be our principle. What we want is that India with her wonderful, cultural heritage, with her treasured ideals of the past, with her nascent aspirations for the future, should be fully and efficiently represented, her interests should be safeguarded for the best interests of the world. Efficiency should be our standard. In this matter of leadership of the delegation, ours is not the question of colour, whosoever it may be, let it be, it is not ours, Sir, brown, black, yellow or white.

Sir, a mere representative of India may not be able to fathom the subtleties of foreign political problems and thus be lost in the labyrinth of international politics. Quite unconsciously, he may become a party to an alluring agreement which is no better than Dead Sea fruit, which ultimately will prove detrimental to the vital interests of India and lead to more serious consequences. The leadership, therefore, of such a delegation demands the guidance of a man who, on the one hand, thoroughly represents India and, on the other, is well versed in European and international politics. Sir, if the delegation is composed of and at the same time led by Indians alone, there will be no authority or power to exercise sufficient control over its deliberations and consequently there is a danger of the delegation degenerating into a clique of fossils or children of the soil in favour of the Government. I would rather welcome a British politician of international fame for the leadership of the delegation who really and truly represents India.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, regarding this Resolution of my friend Lala Jagdish Prasad we have first of all to examine its constitutional aspects. First of all, "India" means British India and the Indian States. In international gatherings no distinction is ever made between a British Indian and a member of an Indian State. There is also at present no machinery for selecting British Indians and members of Indian States except the Governor General in Council, who is the liaison officer between the two parties. Therefore selection must continue to be made by the Governor General in Council. The second aspect is that international affairs involve also foreign relations, and as this is still in the hands of the Secretary of State, we have little to say in this matter. But what is it that my friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad wants? He wants that the Indian delegations to imperial and international conferences should in future be composed of and led by Indians alone. Well, we know that many representative Indians have gone to several conferences. Almost all of them have without a doubt made a great impression wherever they have gone by the way in which they have placed their case before other countries. Take the case of Ottawa, where our Honourable friend Sir Shanmukham Chetty went. He created a tremendous impression according to Sir George Schuster and Sir George Rainy. They all spoke very highly of the way in which he conducted matters; and not only they but the Canadians also. They said with one voice what a magnificent man the Indian Government had sent.

Then, Sir, look at the League of Nations. Several Indians have already led, men like His Highness the Aga Khan, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Maharaja Jam Sahib, the Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter, Sir Atul Chatterjee and many others. They have led the delegations at the League of Nations with great credit to themselves and to India. And if Indians can play that part as they have done why should they not have the right to always represent India, to inspire confidence in foreigners that India has the men who can do justice to the country. Then, Sir, if I have heard rightly the speech of my friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad he said further that by using the words "Indians alone" he did not mean that there should be no Englishmen in such conferences. He meant that those Englishmen who are serving in this country and who have an established right to speak for the country can also be taken, and if they are suitable for leading the Indian delegation then even Britishers should be taken to lead. But if there is an Indian available of such a kind that he can do credit, his right should not be disallowed on account of his being an Indian. I think that proposition is quite in order and I should think that the Government benches could not take any objection to that aspect of the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : How do you explain the existence of the word "alone" in the Resolution ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : My friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad said that he wanted to change the tenor of the Resolution to a certain extent but he was not allowed to do it. I understood him to say when he spoke on the subject that he had no objection to an Englishman going either as a leader or member of the delegation. If that is so, I do not know where the objection of my friend Mr. Henderson comes in ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. S. HENDERSON : Sir, I have spoken to the Resolution as it stands.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : But, Sir, you must have heard that the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad proposed an amendment—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I never hear anything outside this Chamber !

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : But sitting in the Chair, Sir, you must have heard the speech which the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad made in the House in which he said he had no objection to an amendment going in ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : All that I say is that the statement he made is inconsistent with the Resolution as framed.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : That I do admit, Sir. I do not deny that.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Will you please proceed ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR HOMI MEHTA : Then, Sir, when in such conferences Indians are appointed, I think it would be much wiser to appoint non-official Indians as delegates.

With these words, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH (Bihar and Orissa : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution moved by my friend has become, in the words of the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna, a hardy annual in this House. The subject matter of the Resolution is not a new one. It is as old as 1922 when Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer raised the question of representation of Indians, not only in the delegations from India to the League of Nations and other international conferences, but also raised the question of the want of representation of Indians in the League Secretariat. However, since then the question is being raised every now and then both in this House and the other. The present demand is a most modest one and no one can deny that the demand on our part is a most reasonable one too. Sir, India is an original signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and consequently she is an original member of the League. I am not one of those to go into research for finding out the reasons as to why England made India an original signatory. It may be that she wanted India's vote in League matters. It may be that she was made an original member of the League for getting her contribution for the purposes of reducing the quota of England's contribution to the League. We do not want to go into all those details of past history. The fact remains that she is an original member of the League. The fact remains also that declarations have been made from time to time both in the Indian Legislatures and in the British Parliament, that since the 1919 reforms, India has got dominion status in action. That being so, Sir, why should Indians be humiliated before the world by her delegations being led generally by Europeans. Sir, there may be three reasons for the Government's refusal to accede to our request for appointing Indians to be the leaders of delegations to international conferences. Firstly, it may be that Indians are not fit to hold such responsible positions. But that suggestion was repudiated by the Honourable Mr. (now Sir Harry) Haig on the 13th March, 1928. Sir, I would like to quote his words which reads as follows :

“The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna suggested that the fact that no Indian has heretofore been appointed leader of the delegation to the League of Nations meant that we had come to the conclusion that the ablest men were never to be found amongst Indians. That is a proposition which I entirely repudiate”.

Sir, everyone had been glad to hear about the repudiation of the reason why Indians are not selected. But only assertions and repudiations do not go a great way to meet the Indian standpoint. It is always the action that is judged and not assertions of the kind made. In actual practice what do we find ? We find that Indians have been scrupulously avoided and Europeans appointed as leaders, in spite of our repeated requests and demands. The second reason that is often repeated to us is that the princes of Indian States may not like to work under an Indian as the leader of the delegation. Sir, I do not see any force in such arguments. In this connection, I agree entirely with Mr. Joshi when he expressed the Indian sentiments on this question in 1928 in the other House. This is what he stated. It reads as follows :

“There is another argument used and that argument is that Indian princes may not like to work under an Indian as the leader of the delegation. This, Sir, is also a calumny upon Indian princes that they are not willing to work under an Indian leader”.

This is not all. I go a step further than that, and ask why not appoint an Indian prince as the leader and make a beginning. Indian princes are your men on whom you have the greatest reliance and in order to make a good beginning, we will have no objection to the appointment of an Indian prince

as leader, if you send other capable Indians with him as ordinary delegates and substitute delegates. It is high time that Government should remove the lurking suspicions in the minds of all Indians, that Government do not trust any Indian whether he is the Right Honourable Sastri or a Sapru or a Jayakar or even the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain, so far as international politics are concerned.

Sir, in 1928, in replying to the debate on a similar Resolution moved by my friend, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna, the then Home Secretary, the Honourable Mr. Haig made capital out of the fact that the leader of this House was sent as a leader of the delegation to South Africa. Sir, with due deference to such arguments I must say that that was beside the point. The South African delegation was not sent to attend any international conference. It was a delegation from one part of the Empire to another. The Resolution demands Indian leaders of delegations before the international bar to prove their mettle and worth. If the Government has got faith in the leader of this House or of the other, let them select such persons in future and that will satisfy us as they are, after all, Indians, irrespective of what their political views may be. Sir, the third objection to the appointment of an Indian as leader of the delegation to the League of Nations and other international conferences is the want of knowledge of difficult questions of foreign policy and international relations. I may quote exactly the words first uttered by the Honourable the Law Member in this House on the 24th August, 1926 and again repeated by Sir Lancelot Graham in the other House, two years after, *i.e.*, on the 13th March, 1928 :

“The discussions at the meeting of the Assembly invariably include in their scope difficult questions of foreign policy and international relations. For these in the case of India under the present constitutional arrangements, the Secretary of State for India is responsible, and as a Member of the British Cabinet he is of necessity fully acquainted with the trend of the policy in His Majesty's Government in regard to these matters. It has accordingly been customary to appoint persons to lead the delegation who, in addition to possessing personal knowledge of India and Indian conditions, have been in a position to appreciate the guiding principles of His Majesty's Government's foreign policy and are thereby specially qualified to carry out the responsibilities devolving on the Secretary of State in this regard”.

Sir, after the above announcement was made, Sir William Vincent was appointed as leader of the delegation. If I say anything, I say it not with any disrespect to Sir William Vincent. He was a great and meritorious officer. But if I say anything, it is against the system which will elect a European like him, but not an Indian. Let us see how far he was connected with the foreign policy. Sir, while he was in India, he was in charge of the Home Department which do not deal with foreign relations and policy ; while in England he was attached to the India Council of the Secretary of State which has got very little to do with the policy of foreign relations of His Majesty's Government. Had the membership of the India Council been a sufficient qualification for experience of foreign relationship, then, Sir, I do not see any reason why Indian members of the India Council of the Secretary of State are not selected to fill up such posts. May I ask the Government as to wherein lay the difference between men like Sir B. K. Mullick, the Right Honourable Sastri and other Indian leaders and Sir William Vincent except in colour. It is no use hoodwinking facts. I even now appeal to Government to face facts and solve it squarely.

With these few remarks, Sir, I support the Motion.

THE HONOURABLE SIR KURMA VENKATA REDDI (Madras : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, as one who had the privilege of being associated with one or two of these international conferences, may I, with all respect to the mover of the Resolution, say what I feel it my duty to say on an occasion like this ? Sir, the Honourable mover has told us that he makes no racial discrimination in this matter. I fully appreciate it and accept it, if I may. I go further and say that it is patriotism, the love of his country and his countrymen, that has induced him to bring forward this Resolution. But, Sir, whenever I think of this patriotism in our country, I am reminded of an inscription on the statue in Pall Mall erected in honour of that wonderful woman, Miss Cavell, and the words thereof are these that I found there :

“ Patriotism is good, patriotism is necessary, but patriotism is not enough ”.

Patriotism is not enough. Something more is necessary in matters like this, especially in matters in which we have to deal with various nations of the world and, Sir, if I may put it in the following words it may perhaps give full expression to my meaning. We ought to cultivate a spirit of internationalism and an international mind, a mind that is capable of looking at things that emanate from various nations as if they have emanated in our own country, a mind that will rise above the ordinary notions of race, a mind that can deal with humanity as of one race, the human race.

Sir, with these observations, I shall give my experience of these conferences. It was my privilege, Sir, to be sent to the Assembly of the League of Nations in the year 1928 and in that year the leader of the delegation was one very well known in this country not only on his own account but on account of his great father, Lord Lytton, who was our leader ; and I may be permitted to say from my place in this Council that if ever I am to serve another man as the leader of a delegation, I would choose any day a man like Lord Lytton. Sir, he never made any distinction between Indians and Europeans. There were Indians—we were four of us there ; there were only two Europeans and yet in every matter that came up before the Council we used to meet, he used to ascertain the views of the Indian members and give expression to those views in the conference itself in such a way that no Indian could have put it better or on a higher footing. Then again, Sir, he allowed us to sit on committees. Though I happened to be only a delegate substitute, he put me in two committees ; and whenever our views were made known to him beforehand, he would not only appreciate them from an Indian point of view, but would go perhaps a little further. I, being only an inexperienced man, always thought I might overstate the Indian case. But he would go beyond what I stated, and he would put forward the Indian case into my ears and then I would go into the Conference and to the committees and give expression to them in a much stronger way than I would have been able to do if I had been left alone by myself. The other conference which I had occasion to attend of course was the South African Conference, the second Round Table Conference, led by our esteemed friend, the Leader of this House ; and this much I can say with certainty that there was only one European gentleman in our delegation who is now a Member of the Assembly, and I can assure you that in every respect he behaved as if he were an Indian and there was nothing to show any difference between him and ourselves ; everybody took him for an Indian in spirit. Now, Sir, with that experience, I feel that this Resolution before the House is rather unfortunate. If I may say so, it is unnecessary and impolitic—unnecessary because it serves no useful purpose, impolitic because it might cause irritation in quarters which it is not advisable at this stage of

our country's progress to alienate. Unnecessary I say because hitherto our delegations to foreign countries, whether it is to the League of Nations or to the imperial conferences, have contained a majority of Indians in many cases. An instance has been cited in connection with the World Economic Conference of last year, but even there these were very respectable and representative men who were actually put in but who were not prepared to accept the place, for reasons which it is not for me to expound. But I do know this that in almost all the conferences which were held in the past, Indians did take a part together with Europeans and the English members thereof were only too glad to leave matters in the hands of the Indians. If only my Honourable friend will refer to the reports of the imperial conferences he will find in the speeches made by the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, the late Lord Sinha and Sir Muhammad Shafi clear evidence that they had the lead and that the European members were there more as advisers than as the guiding spirit. I therefore think, Sir, that this Resolution is unnecessary. I have said it is impolitic. My Honourable friend said that there would be an impression in the outside world that Indians are incompetent. But would any one who had listened to the speeches of Mr. Sastri or Sir Muhammad Shafi or the late Lord Sinha, whether in England or at Geneva or in South Africa, have the hardihood to say that Indians are unable to discharge such duties? That objection therefore cannot be said to have any force.

Now, Sir, it has already been pointed out that this is not a time to bring forward such Resolutions. We are on the eve of great reforms and it has been said in this Council, and I am sure my Honourable friend there is aware of it, that there are men in England who cannot be said to be friends of India. It is not a single Churchill there nor a single Lord Lloyd or Page-Croft. There are hundreds and thousands of men there who are perfectly willing to think that any stick is good enough to beat India with : and when they are speaking of safeguards they will point to Resolutions like this and say,

“ Why do you object to safeguards being demanded by us? Here are men who think that there are differences between Europeans and Indians ”.

I would appeal to my Honourable friend that this is a time when we must take the greatest care that no such impression should be given. That is why I say this Resolution is impolitic. I should think, Sir, that there can be no doubt that these are days when it is impossible for us to do without British help in this country, at any rate for a long time to come. It is the will of a benign Providence that these two countries should be united together and there are Britishers in our country who have spent the best part of their life in this land, who have adopted this land, who have served either as officials or in commercial circles and until the day comes when Indian or European alike believes that he is a citizen of India, whether he was born in this land or not so long as he lives here, there will be no hope for this land. But on that day when every Indian believes, and every European in India believes, that he is bound to serve this land and there is no difference between Englishmen in India, and Indians in India, then, Sir, will be the day for the salvation of this country. I would appeal to my Honourable friend to consider the matter very seriously and withdraw his Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE (East Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I know it is a hardy annual but unfortunately the soil of this House appears to be as barren as the sands of the Sahara and naturally the annual tries to shoot forth the new foliage but is

[Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee.]

killed before it bears any flower and fruit. I know it is useless to put in manure and water into this plant yet I feel satisfied when by our attitude we are able to prove to the Treasury benches and their saner nominated supporters like my friend Mr. Bijay Kumar Basu that they are obstinate, unreasonable and unbending in their attitude even to this reasonable question. The Resolution demands the appointment of an Indian leader to the delegations from India to the League of Nations and other international conferences. It does not restrict the choice of Government either to Indian politicians or to officials. The Resolutions as worded would appear to satisfy my friend the mover even if an Indian prince be appointed. Not to speak of an Indian prince it may even satisfy us if one of the brown bureaucrats of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council be appointed. But, nay, Government is determined to shut the Indians out from such appointments because they can not trust Indians in international politics. Not only that, it may be that the Whitehall despot wants the humiliation of Indians not only in India but also at the bar of the international world. But, Sir, what happens in essence is that by the actions of the Secretary of State, British politicians are themselves humbled to the ground. The internationals present at such conferences understand the real game of the Britishers. In this connection I would like to quote the experiences of two of our respected leaders, one of the moderate group and the other of the extremist group. On the 13th March, 1928, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas narrated his experiences in such conferences like the International Labour Conference in the following terms :

"The one question which I had to answer at least half a dozen times to nationals from Germany, from France, from America, from Sweden and from Norway was 'How is it that we do not see Indians oftener at these international conferences but only Englishmen or Britishers?'

"I remember now after a speech which I delivered at one of those conferences I was asked, 'Can Indians really speak in English as you do and if they can why is it that your Government send Europeans?'

This is not all. In this connection I would like to quote the experiences of our beloved respected leader the late Lala Lajpat Rai. He experienced the same difficulty in the International Labour Conference in connection with the absence of Indian leaders and Indian members of delegations to such conferences. This is what he said :

"I also made it a point to meet the representatives of capitalists who were at that Conference (meaning the International Labour Conference) and all of them put me the question, 'Why can not you Indians come and tell us what you feel on these questions relating to India?'

Further on the late Lala Lajpat Rai stated as follows :

"You would often be told there as I have been by others, 'We do not want to hear Englishmen, we know their views, we know what they are likely to say, we want to know what you have to say'."

I think these experiences were sufficient to prove our case. But, Sir, the late Lala Lajpat Rai in the course of his speech stated that Indians are deliberately kept out by European leaders and representatives from giving out the Indian side of the case. This is what he stated. It reads as follows :

"I of course put forward my views but the atmosphere was such that Englishmen representing India at those international conferences certainly in effect prevented us from putting forward our views and if that was so the House can imagine what views they would put forward if they were the only representatives of India."

Further on he stated as follows :

“ For the good name of India, for the good name of the British Government itself, it is absolutely necessary that the representation at such international conferences should be purely by Indians and by nobody else and no false ideas of economy should stand in the way of sending the full quota of Indian delegates ”.

If I am to summarize the position it is that Indians are fit but for imperial considerations they cannot be appointed as leaders of delegations. If that be so then the British Government had no right to drag India by the nose and make her an original member of the League. The main purpose for making India an original member is not only known to the whole of India but it is known to the international world as will be evident from the following quotation from the speech of Senator Reed delivered by him in the United States Senate when the Treaty of Versailles was being discussed in the Senate. It reads as follows :

“ The British Government have managed to have one additional vote by getting a seat for India in the League of Nations although India is not a self-governing nation but a nation of three hundred million chattels managed by the British ”.

Sir, I think the prestige of England will be further lowered by their refusal to appoint Indians as leaders of delegations to such international conferences. Every member of the League by now knows that Indians are available of such calibre that Europeans will fade before them as a twinkling star fades before the full moon. I would therefore even now hope that to save their own faces Government should accept the proposal with good grace.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I find it extremely difficult to make a speech on this subject this afternoon after hearing the speeches that have been made. The Honourable the mover of this Resolution made a speech of which by far the largest part was such as to be absolutely non-controversial. I would be prepared to endorse something like 80 per cent. of his observations. Practically it came to this that he was moving this Resolution because he had picked upon this hardy annual out of his last year's bundle. Had he thought about it before sending it in, he would have modified it in order to accord with the speech that he has made in support of it. I thought to myself, “ Better late than never ”; he has thought over the matter and realized the difficulties of the situation, and we were very nearly in agreement with each other. Then came two speeches towards the end of this debate which, I much regret to say, contained an element of bitterness. I would not have minded it, because every one is entitled to his own way of putting forward his own views but for the fact that they appear to be based entirely on ignorance of facts. Both the last speakers have said,

“ Why was India made a member of the Assembly of the League of Nations ? Just to flech India out of money, just to get an additional vote for England, and yet they never appoint an Indian leader. They do not trust him ”.

Now, Sir, if it were a fact that Indians never led the delegation to the League of Nations, there would be some justification for those observations. But the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1929 was led by an Indian, my predecessor in this office. In 1930, the next year, it was again led by an Indian. In 1931, the third year, it was again led by an Indian. In 1932, it was again led by an Indian, and last year, in 1933, it was again led by an Indian who sat in my place two years ago—I mean Sir Brojendra Mitter. Here we are—1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933—for five

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

years running the Indian delegation to the League of Nations has been led by Indians, and here are two Honourable Members getting up and making all sorts of insinuations and all sorts of speeches and saying,

“ Here we are ; we pass this Resolution. This is a hardy annual. The object is to take away India's money and take it to Geneva. It is also to have the Indian vote. But they do not trust Indians ”.

Surely, Sir, one expects an Honourable Member of this House to show a little more knowledge of the affairs of his own country and the delegation on which the House has been insisting that it should be represented. In accordance with the wishes of the House, as a rule a seat has been found for a Member of this House. As regards the point that it should be a predominantly Indian delegation, last year's delegation to the League of Nations was composed as follows : Leader, Sir B. L. Mitter ; Members, Sahibzada Abdussamad Khan, Sir Hormusji Maneckji Mehta and Sir Denys Bray. Which one of these does the Honourable mover or any of his supporters object to ? Every one of them falls within the definition of an “ Indian ” whichever way you look at it. Here was Sir Denys Bray. He was our Foreign Secretary for a long time. No Indian has been a Foreign Secretary. We did want a man with some knowledge of foreign affairs. What is more natural than that he should go to Geneva and save India the expense of travelling from India there and his allowances and so on ? What one wants is fair play in debate and the forming of opinions on the bases of facts. Differences of opinion there must be. Why not ? But wrong facts—not facts, but absolutely fictitious things and to call them facts, and on the bases of those fictitious things, to build up an argument and then make such insinuations—one would ordinarily feel really very humiliated either to be victimized like this or to be a colleague of those who are guilty of it. Not that I personally feel very much. Any Honourable Member may say anything to me or to the Government. That does not matter. It is neither here nor there. But I do appeal, Sir, to the House—a certain amount of regard for facts is not too much to expect. I was very grateful to one of the Honourable Members who tried to bring clear thinking into the debate. He very rightly said,

“ What are the problems ? What are the points involved in this controversy ? ”

He made it easy for me to try once more to place the real issues before the House. As the Honourable Sir Homi Mehta has made two points clear, I will not repeat them. I will just add one more point to the points that he made. It is this. The Honourable Member was speaking of India's views, India's sentiments, India's culture. What does “ India ” mean ? Who is going to be represented at the Conference ? It is not Germany that is represented ; it is not France that is represented. It is the Government of Germany and the Government of France and the Government of England that are represented, and it is the Government of India that is represented, and not India, of which each member as he speaks has his own picture. In the Conference, what the leader and the delegates have to express are not the views of their own particular clique or party, not their own chamber of commerce or their own *sabha* or their own *anjuman*. It is the brief that the Government of India have given to them. It is the brief that the Government of India has briefed them with. If I am right in that contention then really and truly the whole thing lies in the preparation of that brief. It cannot but be the duty as well as the privilege of the Government to prepare it and give it to their representatives. If that is so, the question of the leader being a non-Indian

or a Britisher giving away India's rights does not arise to the extent that the Honourable Member made us believe. No doubt the presentation of that case lucidly and forcibly, in a way to win rather than to alienate support, is the function of the leader and the function of the representatives of the Government. Therefore for your leader and other members of the delegation the best possible men should be secured. But let it not be forgotten that the views to be expressed are the views of the Government of India and they have been given to the delegation in writing and they must adhere to them. Any one who is not prepared to do that cannot accept the leadership and cannot be a representative of India at that particular conference. Then, Sir, as pointed out by the Honourable Sir Homi Mehta, it is a fact that the Secretary of State is the head of the administration of the Government of India, and therefore if there is an international conference at which he is present, no authority can supersede him and say we must have an Indian. And what for? If he lays down the law, you cannot go and say something different. What you have to say is that what is being said is in the best interests of India. Whether in the record of a gramophone it is one singer or the other, still the song is the same, though no doubt the voice of the singer makes some difference. Therefore, what is left of the Resolution? Only this, that if in these international conferences the Indian delegation is led by an Indian and is composed of a majority of Indians, the prestige of India is enhanced thereby; and if the leader is a non-Indian and the delegation is predominantly non-Indian, the impression gets abroad that Indians are not up to much, had they been they would have been well represented on that delegation. Well, that is a very natural sentiment with which no one can find fault, and it is a sentiment which has ever been present to the mind not only of the Government of India but also of the Secretary of State. I mean to say that is a point on which we are not at issue. But the trouble comes in when you come out with your hardy annual to the amendment or revising of which you pay no attention. You hear a debate of two or three hours every year and you treat it as if it did not exist. If you took any notice of it this wretched annual might have attained new youth and vigour and it would probably have found favour with a very large section of the House. But you bring it along dressed in the same old rags, and it has been so fired at that there is hardly a shred of decent clothing left on it. It is in a horrible way. My advice is, leave it alone and get on to something more profitable than that.

Well, we were talking about imperial conferences. Surely Honourable Members are not unaware of the fact that the last Imperial Conference of 1930 had, beside the Secretary of State, two Indians, one the Maharaja of Bikaner and the other one who was Leader of this House for a long time, the late Sir Muhammad Shafi. There again, with these facts before you, where is the question of amending the Resolution and saying that delegations should be predominantly Indian. Well, wherever it is possible they are already predominantly Indian. In this case, barring the Secretary of State it was entirely Indian. There may be cases where a very technical matter has to be considered at a conference, say, the matter of opium. Well, you do not send to an Opium Conference a man who talks of ideals and culture, and so on, unless it is only after taking opium that he can talk like that. It is not Indian culture but the cultivation of poppies that you have to discuss. So, you have to bear in mind the subject-matter of the Conference and not all these other things which are very interesting in their own way but which are not relevant.

Sir, I was very much impressed by what was said by the Honourable Mr. Henderson as well as by Sir Kurma Reddi. We must remember that it is no use our echoing the catchwords of third class political platforms, and urge

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

ill-conceived propositions. We must consider each proposal with reference to present-day conditions. Is it wise today to bring in a Resolution which may reasonably lead people to believe that it is an attempt at a racial bar being raised against non-Indians. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that the Honourable the mover has no such intention. I have no doubt at all in my mind on that subject. But the Resolution as it stands can reasonably be interpreted to be a racial one. In fact it is so easily and naturally interpreted to be a racial one that the Honourable the mover had to protest more than once that it was not racial. But it is no use protesting. Protesting cannot make a Resolution different from what it is, however much you may wish it to be. In view of that fact it would perhaps be as well if the Honourable the mover were not only to say that it is not racial but to throw it away, since it is liable to be misunderstood in such a way.

I must now, Sir, conclude with the observation that I believe that the views of the House as a whole on this subject are as follows. The Government of India should choose the best men possible for serving on imperial and international conferences to represent the Government of India. Where Indians are available no doubt Government would select them, but if a suitable man is a non-Indian that should not be a ground for not selecting him. That is a view which seems to me quite sound and sensible. What I am very much concerned with, representing Government as I do, is that no Government can afford to tie its hands in the matter of nominating members of its delegation. The variety of subjects for these conferences is so great that it is impossible to predicate any particular percentage or any particular proportion. We may be sending only one man and it may happen that you cannot send a good technical man except a Britisher, or it may be that there is a very good man and the subject is such that you cannot send a Britisher and you must send an Indian. Why not? Seeing that lately the composition of Indian delegations to various conferences has been such as to be entirely or predominantly Indian on general subjects, I say there is no justification for the subject being mooted again and again in this Council, and therefore seeing the history of the case it is for the Honourable the mover of this Resolution to make up his mind whether in the light of all the facts disclosed during the course of the debate it is not advisable for him to withdraw his Resolution. As to what will happen to the debate, he may rest assured that as the debate is on a subject which concerns the Secretary of State, because he is the head of the Indian administration and is responsible to the British Parliament for the government of India, it will in due course be forwarded to him.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhamadan) : Sir, I do not wish to make any elaborate speech. I simply want to make clear the position of my Party and explain why we have brought forward this Resolution. There is no doubt that Government has advanced a great deal towards meeting the point of view of Indians. But, Sir, we know that if we give up our fight the Government is prone to slide back ; it is just to keep them alive and active that we bring in this sort of reminder. There is a Persian couplet,

“ Taza khahi dashtun ger daghhaé sina ra
Gahé gahé baz khan en daftar-á-parina ra,”

which means that if you wish to keep the memory green, you should always recite things often. Sir, I have a great respect and admiration for my colleague Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi, but a weak case does require special pleadings and

even my friend was unable to deal with the case without having recourse to them. We are told, Sir, that we should think internationally. In a House, in a conservative House like ours, whiffs of internationalism are very welcome and we wish that it would not be preached to us alone but to other quarters across the floor. Sir, there is no doubt that Europeans sometimes do work as Indians. They have worked even in days when there were no Legislatures, when there were no representatives of the people at headquarters, even then they worked for the interests of India and to a certain extent they did advance India's cause. No one denies it. Englishmen have done great service to India, but, Sir, can we forget that after all blood is thicker than water, that after all the interests of England and the interests of India when they clash, Europeans can never be false to their own country, and we admire them for it. This morning we had a lecture from our Gallant colleague that we should call a spade a spade and I also say, Sir, that we should not be afraid of ventilating our grievances whenever we have them. One of the great questions of the day is how is India to fare in international organizations. The reason why this Resolution was brought forward was to do exactly the thing which has generally been advised. It is rather unfortunate, Sir, that in wording the Resolution the word "alone" appears at the end which, according to the speech of the Honourable mover, he is prepared to withdraw and substitute it by the word "generally" before the word "composed." By means of this he would have brought round the wording of the Resolution more in consonance with the purport of his speech, and I would request you, Sir, that you may be pleased to accept this suggestion ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I am not prepared at this stage to accept it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : There is another point, Sir. Our Honourable Leader gave us a very good argument—that it is immaterial whoever composes the deputation as long as the control of the case is in the hands of the Government of India. I wish it were the case. I wish the Government of India had that independence. Is it not a fact that the Secretary of State for India is superior to them ? When he leads a deputation can they dictate to him to do a thing which they want ? The day the Secretary of State for India will cease to be the controlling authority for India as he is now—that day would be the dawn of *Swaraj* when my Honourable colleague across can dictate to the Secretary of State. It is for this reason, Sir, that we wish that in all these delegations the Government of India's hands should be unfettered. It should not be so manipulated that the Secretary of State for India comes in and thereby compromises the position of the Government of India itself. It is for this reason that the Resolution has been brought forward. Sir, with the vogue of Indianization, it is necessary that we should be taught more and more to stand on our own feet and to rely upon ourselves. I am very thankful to the House for, with the exception of one Honourable Member, no one showed signs of an inferiority complex and every one was confident that if India is given an opportunity she will not disgrace herself. May I say that Mr. Henderson's apprehensions were a little unjustified ? All this question of discrimination has rested on the fact that Europeans resident in India should be treated as Indians. It has never been claimed that Englishmen or Europeans living outside India should have the same privileges as Indians. May I refresh his memory ? In the course of the Reserve Bank discussion the point was prominently brought out that Europeans when they left the shores of India would not be able to hold shares in the Reserve Bank

[Mr Hossain Imam.]

This is a thing which has recently been passed by this Council and received the assent of the Viceroy too. That shows that discrimination which is to be avoided is not discrimination between Indians and Europeans, but discrimination between two residents of India and we would like it to be understood that by this Resolution we do not wish to discriminate between residents in India. If there is any discrimination, we do not deny that it is discrimination against Europeans who are resident outside India, who have nothing in common with us, who do not know our feelings, who have no experience of our requirements and if they are to pose as our leaders and if they are to pose as our masters, we would certainly object to that. And I think the Honourable Mr. Henderson would also endorse that, there is no element of discrimination there. And if it were necessary to find greater assurance it might be had by having an adaptation clause defining it,—just as Anglo-Indians have been defined as statutory Indians,—Europeans resident in India may also be defined as Indians for this purpose.

Sir, we realize that as far as the League of Nations is concerned, the Government of India has fully met our case and we have no complaint against them. But it is mainly in regard to other affairs that we have to complain, and we hope that the Government will in future be more considerate of the feelings of Indians.

With these words, Sir, I support the Motion.

*THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: Sir, I am very thankful to those Honourable Members who have supported my Resolution. I am sorry, Sir, that the Honourable Mr. Henderson has thought that the Resolution involved a spirit of discrimination. I may tell my Honourable friend that the word "Indian" has come to mean domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians. As regards the contention of my Honourable friend Mr. Suhrawardy that he supported the first part of my Resolution but opposed the second part, may I point out that when the Indian delegations to the League of Nations have during the past few years been led by Indians and the interests of India or the views of the Government of India have been quite competently expressed by those Indian leaders, what harm can there be if the delegations to other imperial and international conferences are also led by Indians?

I am, of course, grateful to my Honourable friend, Sir Homi Mehta, for further elucidating my point and I have nothing to say with regard to his observations. Then, Sir, as regards the observations of my Honourable friend, Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi, I may at once say that I do not see eye to eye with him. He thinks that we ought to cultivate a spirit of internationalism and an international mind. Well, Sir, I quite agree that nations which can afford to do so ought to cultivate an international mind. But my idea is that only countries and nations that have got self-government can afford to be international in their outlook. If India were to think of internationalism alone then would it not mean that she should cease to demand political rights from the British Government?

THE HONOURABLE SIR KURMA VENKATA REDDI: I never meant that India should cease to demand her rights.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: That is the whole question, Sir. If Indians in the Legislatures or outside the Legislatures press on the attention of Government that more rights should be conceded

* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

to Indians or that the services should be Indianized, it is only for their political rights that Indians stand, and so long as India continues to be in that plight she cannot in my humble opinion afford to think of internationalism in season and out of season.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi was also pleased to observe that this Resolution was unfortunate, unnecessary and impolitic at this stage. I thought that he would advise me as to when such a Resolution could be politic. Because I have often heard that such and such a question is impolitic at this stage but those of my Honourable friends who think so never seem to tell us when exactly those questions would be politic.

I have already dealt, Sir, with the question that my Resolution savours of racial discrimination. I have already pointed out that as in every matter Indians press forward their demand for political rights and request the British Government to concede more concessions to Indians, I am afraid the racial question cannot unfortunately be eliminated altogether. But I made it clear in my speech that I had no such intention at all, I had no intention to bring in the question of racial discrimination. Nothing was further from my mind. I hope this statement alone on my part will satisfy my Honourable friends that I was not guided by any such motives but was prompted by the best of intentions. I recognize, Sir, that the British connection with India is to our good. I realize that we have many more things to learn from the British. But I hope one is that India should be conceded more rights under the ægis of the British Crown.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend, the Leader of the House told us that the delegations to the Assembly of the League of Nations have been led by Indians for a number of years. That is exactly what I had acknowledged gratefully in my first speech. What I fail to understand is that when the views of the Government of India were successfully represented by the Indian leaders who led the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, why Indians cannot lead and why they cannot predominantly compose Indian delegations to imperial and international conferences.

However, Sir, we should be very grateful for small mercies and I am thankful to my Honourable friend the Leader of the House for giving an assurance that the debate on this Resolution will be forwarded to the Secretary of State. I think, Sir, that will serve my purpose and in view of that assurance, Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Before I proceed to ask the Council's leave to withdraw the Resolution I must point out to the Honourable mover of this Resolution that his criticism on the Honourable Mr. Henderson was somewhat unfair. It is perfectly true that the Honourable Member in his speech disowned all ideas of discrimination and spoke in a manner which made it perfectly clear that he was not in favour of any discrimination. But as long as the frame of the Resolution stood—as long as the word "alone" stood there—I must point out that the Honourable Mr. Henderson was perfectly justified in giving expression to his sentiments from his point of view.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD : I did not criticize the Honourable Mr. Henderson at all. I simply said that the word "Indian" included domiciled Europeans.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : But it was my impression that you said that his speech on the other hand savoured of discrimination ?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: I said that he thought I was bringing in the question of discrimination.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: And unfortunately it was my impression so far as the Resolution was framed.

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

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Leader of the House): Sir, as I indicated in the statement which I made on the 6th March, the Council will now have no further business until the Finance Bill is passed by the other House. In these circumstances, the Council might I suggest adjourn to a date and hour to be intimated by circular as soon as the Finance Bill is passed by the Legislative Assembly, which will I hope pass the Bill towards the end of the current week.

The Council then adjourned to a date to be notified to Honourable Members by circular.

*Vide page 519, ante.

APPENDIX.

TABLE A.

Strength of British Army.

Home	110,296
Abroad (other than India)—	
Bermuda	409
Jamaica	662
Gibraltar	2,522
Malta	3,043
Cyprus	184
Egypt	10,014
Sudan	1,713
Palestine	1,963
Aden	216
Mauritius	121
Ceylon	256
Malaya	1,511
China	7,329

TABLE B.

Basis of charges.

The amounts paid by these Colonies are fixed as follows :

Bermuda.—The contribution is based on a rate a head of the local population.

Cyprus.—A fixed sum of £10,000 a year.

Mauritius.—Five and a half per cent. of the Colony's assessable revenue. In view of the Colony's financial difficulties the contribution has been reduced to £15,000 a year for two years from 1st July, 1932.

Ceylon.—Three-fourths of the total cost of the garrison, or nine and a half per cent. of the assessable revenue, whichever is less. The estimate is on the former basis.

Straits Settlements.—The cost of the garrison, or 20 per cent. of the assessable revenue, whichever is less. The estimate is on the former basis.

Hong Kong.—The cost of the garrison, or 20 per cent. of the assessable revenue, whichever is less. The estimate is on the latter basis.

TABLE C.

Colonial contributions.

	Estimates for	
	1933.	1932.
	£	£
Bermuda	3,500	2,500
Cyprus	10,000	10,000
Mauritius	15,000	51,000
Ceylon	87,000	80,000
Straits Settlements	437,000	522,000
Hong Kong	389,000	387,000

Effect of the Capitation Tribunal Report (in lakhs).

	Budget, 1933-34.	Budget, 1934-35.
Army capitation	1,86,67	1,66,67
Insurance and pension	31,72	38,62
Royal Air Force capitation	14,28	26,67
	<u>2,32,67</u>	<u>2,31,96</u>
Difference		71,000