

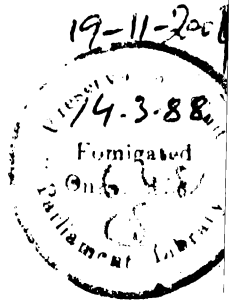
Thursday, 1st April, 1937

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME I, 1937

(16th February to 8th April, 1937)

FIRST SESSION
OF THE
FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1937



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Thursday, 1st April, 1937.

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

MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable George Richard Frederick Tottenham (Defence Secretary).

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT *RE* POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I must first take up the consideration of the Honourable Pandit Kunzru's Motion for Adjournment. I have to decide whether this Motion is in order and I am satisfied that the Motion involves a subject of urgency and public importance, and I am also satisfied that it is a matter of recent occurrence. Therefore I must hold that his Motion is in order. I want to know from any other Honourable Member if he wishes to oppose this Motion.

(No Member rose.)

I understand that nobody wishes to oppose the Motion. I therefore hold that this Motion is in order. The Standing Order gives me power either to adjourn the Council till four o'clock this evening or take up discussion of the Motion immediately after the termination of the business earlier today. As there is not much business and I believe it will not take more than 10 minutes to dispose of the legislative work before us today, I decide that the Adjournment Motion be taken up under Standing Order 22 at an earlier hour, that is, immediately after today's business is completed. The Standing Order says :

"The President shall intimate that leave is granted and that the Motion will be taken up at 4 P. M. or, if the President with the consent of the Member of Government concerned so directs, at any earlier hour at which the business of the day may terminate."

I understand His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has no objection to take up the discussion earlier, immediately after today's business ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : No, Sir.

BILL PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON THE TABLE.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL : Sir, in pursuance of rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules, I lay on the table a copy of the Bill to amend certain enactments and to repeal certain other enactments which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 31st March, 1937.

INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

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

"That the Bill to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration".

The House is no doubt aware that this small Bill provoked considerable discussion in the Lower House, and was there passed only by a very small majority. I hope that this House will accept the Bill all the more readily because of that very discussion.

A study of the Bill itself will show that the actual provisions contained in it are entirely unobjectionable. It merely provides that Indian officers of the Reserves will not be subject to military law except when called up for duty with the Reserves. That is a position which is enjoyed by British officers of the Reserves, and it is a position which everyone will accept as reasonable. Unfortunately, if this Bill is *not* passed into law, Indian officers of the Reserves will automatically be subject to military law *at all times*, simply because there is no provision in the Indian Army Act, as there is in the British Army Act, to exempt them from that liability. We want to put Indian officers in this respect in the same position as British officers.

On the other hand, a study of the debate in the Lower House shows that the opposition to the Bill was based, not on any objection to the clauses of the Bill itself, but on the feeling that it was wrong in principle that British officers of the Indian Army should be subject to one Act—the British Army Act—while Indian officers of the Indian Army are subject to another Act—the Indian Army Act.

Now, Sir, I can only point out that no amount of opposition to this particular Bill is going to affect that position one way or the other. Opposition can, therefore, only be an ineffective gesture. Personally, I consider as I have often stated in this House that all this talk that we hear of discrimination between the treatment of British and Indian officers is principally due to a misapprehension of the real position. As has already been explained on many occasions, the status and powers of command of Indian commissioned officers are identical with those of British officers in the Indian Army—and even *vis-a-vis* the British Army they are not placed in any position of practical inferiority. It is only in the matter of pay that there is any real difference, and I know that there is a considerable body of opinion in this House which recognises that this difference is legitimate. I should have thought that Indians would welcome the idea of having their own Indian Army Act to govern the officers and men of their own national army, and in any case they ought to welcome this opportunity of improving that Act by means of the small Bill now before the House.

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, we have no desire to offer unnecessary opposition to the measure which has been just proposed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, but there are certain things about which we should like to be satisfied. His Excellency was pleased to say that the position of the Indian commissioned officer was going to be the same as the position of the British Commissioned officer, that there was no discrimination between the British Commissioned officer and the Indian commissioned officer. Now, the difficulty that we feel is that we have two armies here. There is the British Army and there is the Indian Army and we have two different Acts. The British Army is governed by one Act, the Indian Army is to be governed by another

Act and to the extent that we have two Acts there is discrimination. Is that not the position? Am I not right in stating the position that there are two Acts? There is the British Army which is governed by the British Army Act and there is the Indian Army which is governed by the Indian Army Act. Well, if the provisions of the Indian Army Act are not exactly identical with the British Army Act, then the position is that there is discrimination between the British Army and the Indian Army. Another difficulty that we apprehend is that the status of the Indian commissioned officer will not exactly be the same as the status of the British commissioned officer. The Indian commissioned officer will not be able, except by administrative arrangement, to command mixed formations. In the army I believe that there are mixed formations and the status of the Indian officer is not exactly the same as the status of the British officer, because the Indian officer cannot command British troops. The British officer can command Indian troops. And what is going to happen when you have mixed formations? We should like to be enlightened on this point by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or by the Defence Secretary, Mr. Tottenham, whom we are glad to see in this House today. Before we make up our mind in regard to this Bill I hope Mr. Tottenham or His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will enlighten us on these points.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadian): Sir, there is just one more point on which I too should like to ask for information. The British Army, as pointed out by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru, is governed by the Army Act, which is a Parliamentary Statute. The Indian Army, on the other hand, is governed by the Indian Army Act. I can understand the difference between the laws to which the British and the Indian Army are subject, because they are controlled by different authorities. The British Army is under the War Office, while the Indian Army is under the Government of India. But I do not understand why the British and Indian officers in the Indian Army, that is, the Indian section of the Army in India, should be subject to different laws. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief stated that this was one of the objections urged against the present system in the Lower House. But I am sorry to say that he did not take the trouble of telling us why the present system was being continued and whether there was any intention of changing it at an early date. I hope that the Government spokesman will now take the opportunity of informing us on this point. I think it will be agreed that in the same army all men, whether officers or soldiers, should be subject to the same law and that on their nationality should not depend the legislation which they ought to be controlled by.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. R. F. TOTTENHAM (Defence Secretary): Sir, with reference to the Honourable Mr. Sapru's questions, it is perfectly true that there are two Acts. There is the British Army Act, which governs the discipline of the British Army and of British officers either in the British Army or serving in the Indian Army who receive commissions from His Majesty in His Majesty's land forces. The other Act, the Indian Army Act, has until quite recently governed only the lower ranks and the Viceroy's commissioned officers of the Indian Army. It was amended a few years ago to apply also to Indian officers who receive commissions from the Indian Military Academy in His Majesty's Indian land forces. That is the reason, Sir, why the British officers serving in the Indian Army are under one Act and the Indian officers who are being given commissions from the Indian Military Academy are under another Act. The mere fact that these two classes of officers are serving under

[Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham.]

different discipline Acts does not in itself necessarily imply discrimination to the disadvantage of either class. Discrimination would arise if the powers of command given to these respective officers differed in extent and that was the objection taken in the Lower House when the Indian Act was amended two years ago. The position was then explained by the Government spokesman as follows—that an Army Act, whether the British Army Act, or the Indian Army Act, does not in itself regulate the powers of command *inter se* of the various officers who receive commissions from His Majesty. Those powers of command are regulated by an Instruction issued by His Majesty in what is known as the King's Regulations. A section of the Army Act merely gives His Majesty the power to make regulations regulating the powers of command *inter se* of various classes of officers. An undertaking was given two years ago that such a regulation would be issued to ensure that the powers of command of Indian commissioned officers would be exactly the same as the powers of command of British officers in the Indian Army. That has since been done and there is now a paragraph in the King's Regulations which makes that perfectly clear. That deals, Sir, with the position of Indian commissioned officers so far as the Indian Army is concerned, and I have shown that there is no discrimination whatever in that respect.

We are left then with the question of the powers of command of Indian commissioned officers *vis-a-vis* officers and men of the British service in India. There the position is slightly different because no regulation has been issued which gives them automatically powers of command over British officers and British other ranks of the British Army. But another paragraph has been inserted in the Regulations, the effect of which is that Indian commissioned officers have powers of command over British other ranks and British officers—of course junior British officers—of the British Army on all occasions unless they are specifically debarred from exercising those powers of command. So far, there has been no occasion to debar them from exercising those powers of command and we hope that no such occasion will arise.

That then will answer the Honourable Mr. Sapru's question as to what would happen in mixed formations. At present, of course, we have not got in the Indian Army any Indian officers who are sufficiently senior to take command of mixed formations, for instance, a brigade which consists of three Indian units and one British unit; but when that time does come and when you have an Indian officer commanding a brigade, he will I hope exercise powers of command over all the men and junior officers in that brigade, including the officers and men of the British battalion in the brigade. That is the present legal position and one hopes that it will find expression in practice when the time comes. Even at the present moment, supposing a brigade is actually engaged on the frontier and that brigade contains an Indianising battalion, a non-Indianising battalion, and a British battalion, as indeed happened last year on the frontier, if it so happened that an Indian officer in the Indianising battalion came in contact with a junior British officer in a non-Indianising battalion or in a British battalion he would exercise powers of command over him. That is the position and will remain the position unless in any particular case an Indian commissioned officer is debarred from exercising such powers of command.

That, Sir, is the position, but as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has explained, it really has, if I may say so, nothing to do with the Bill now before the House.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : What about the position as between the British officers in Indian units and the Indian commissioned officers there? Is there any intention of bringing both of them in future under the same law?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. R. F. TOTTENHAM : Sir, the answer to that is that the Indianisation of the Army means the gradual replacement of the British officers in the Indian Army by Indian officers. When that replacement is complete, all the officers of the Indian Army will be subject to the Indian Army Act. But until that has taken place, the British officers will continue to be subject to the British Army Act. As things are now British officers in the Indian Army are given commissions by His Majesty in His Majesty's land forces. They serve for a certain period in Indian units and even now when an officer of the Indian Army has ceased to command a unit of the Indian Army and is promoted to the rank of Colonel, he is shown as Colonel so and so, late Indian Army. He may command a brigade by virtue of his commission as an officer of His Majesty's land forces but he ceases to be a member of the Indian Army.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Motion made :

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration "

The Motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

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

"That the Bill, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be passed "

The Motion was adopted.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT *RE* POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE—*contd.*

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : This terminates today's legislative business and now we shall proceed with Pandit Kunzru's Motion for Adjournment. I may point out to the House that it is now nearly half past eleven (just one minute short of half past eleven) and if the debate is not concluded within two hours it shall automatically terminate and no question shall be put; but if the debate terminates before that time it will be my duty to put the Motion to the House. I would also point out to Honourable Members that under Standing Order 23, clause 2, on a Motion for Adjournment no speech during the debate shall exceed 15 minutes in duration. I would like to point out that even the Mover of the Adjournment Motion and the Government Member who is to reply cannot be allowed to take more than 15 minutes. The instruction in Standing Order 23 is mandatory and I shall have strictly to adhere to it.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, I beg to move :

"That the Council do now adjourn "

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Sir, the subject which I wish to discuss in connection with this Motion is the recently announced re-organisation of the Indian Medical Services. But before I deal with the terms of the Resolution published in the Gazette of India, dated the 25th March, I should like to inform the House briefly of the point of view of Indians in regard to the I. M. S. The arrangements in connection with the appointment of Indians to the I. M. S. and the inclusion of the higher medical posts in it were subject to criticism from two points of view. One of the reasons urged against the existing system was that it hindered the growth of an independent medical profession, and the other was that it restricted the entry of Indians into the I.M.S. It was pointed out that the I. M. S. cadre had been greatly enlarged so as to include every important post in it, thus leaving the provinces no freedom in the matter of appointment of Indians or members of the independent medical profession to any of the more responsible posts connected with medical administration in the provinces. It was also pointed out that recruitment by open competitive examination in London alone practically debarred Indians from competing for it. These criticisms which were frequently urged both by the medical associations in India and by Indian publicists carried some weight with Lord Morley and he issued instructions to the Government of India for reducing the cadre of the I. M. S. I should like the House to bear this point clearly in mind as it is an important one. Our main objections against the Service, let me repeat, have been two: (1) that it had an unnecessarily large cadre, and (2) that Indians enjoyed very limited opportunities of entering it. So far as the first criticism is concerned, Lord Morley took note of it and asked the Government of India in 1908 to take steps to reduce the cadre of the I. M. S. The Government of India demurred to the views put forward by Lord Morley, and writing sometime after the receipt of Lord Morley's despatch, the Government of India urged the Secretary of State to consider the effect that the carrying out of his orders would have on European officers in the various Services. They said, "Although it is nowhere laid down that European officers are entitled to attendance of European medical officers, it is perfectly natural that they should wish to be treated by such officers, just as it is natural that persons of other nationality should wish to be treated by medical men of their own race". I do not know that Indians have expressed any desire to be treated only by Indians, but the Government of India just added this sentence in order to make out a case against the view that was pressed on them by the Secretary of State. They went on to say that if the number of civil surgencies which were held by European medical officers was greatly reduced, such a step would certainly have a very adverse effect upon the recruitment of the European services in India. I should like the House to remember that up to that time, the European services had put forward no demand for their treatment or the treatment of their families by European medical officers only. The I. M. S. was practically a monopoly of Britishers till then, but it was taken upon itself by the Government of India practically to incite the members of these services to insist on continued European recruitment to the I. M. S. Some time later, the Islington Public Services Commission was appointed. It took a great deal of evidence in regard to the superior and provincial services, one of which was the I. M. S. Various points were brought to the notice by Europeans and Indian witnesses but I do not remember that it received any complaint regarding any fear on the part of members of the European services lest change in the composition of the I. M. S. should prejudicially affect them and their families in any way. A little later, however, it was seen that the number of successful Indians in the open competitive examination in London was rapidly increasing. The proportion of Indian successful candidates went up rapidly

in the years 1913-1915 and the British Government immediately took steps to put an end to the system of competitive examination and to introduce nomination in the place of selection by open competition. I want the House to bear these points in mind in discussing the Resolution now before us. The brief historical review I have made shows that the size of the I. M. S. is a different question from that of its Indianisation and that the authorities have opposed both its reduction and its Indianisation on purely racial grounds and on their own initiative and not because of any opposition from the Superior Services. We have thus to consider two distinct questions: (1) the position of Indians in the I. M. S. and (2) the cadre of the I. M. S. The strength of the cadre is an entirely independent question and quite different from that of the number of Indians admitted annually to this Service. It is true that the cadre of the I. M. S. has been considerably reduced since the Islington Commission reported. Looking into the Report of this Commission and comparing it with the present Resolution and the communique relating to it, it seems to me that the reduction has been effected principally by excluding posts in the Bacteriological, Sanitary and Jail Departments from the cadre of the Service. Probably certain other specialist scientific appointments have also been excluded. That is the manner in which the reduction has been brought about. Now, we all desired that this reduction should take place in order that the provinces might be able to appoint men of their own choice. We know and are glad that this reduction has taken place. There are 649 Officers, 386 British and 263 Indian, at present in the I. M. S. When the new scheme has taken full effect there will be only 584 officers, 386 British and 198 Indian. Thus 65 officers, who are all Indians at present, will be transferred to provincial control. But I hope my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary, will not ask us to remain content with that and say that as the number of officers in the I. M. S. has now been greatly reduced, we should have no complaint if there are fewer Indians in it and the proportion of 2 Britishers to 1 Indian is maintained in the I. M. S. Whatever the strength of the I. M. S., we still have a right to demand that Indians should be able to enter it on terms of equality with Europeans. The size of the I. M. S. has no bearing on this matter. Post after post may be excluded from its cadre without adversely affecting the strength of the Indian demand for full and unrestricted opportunities of the I. M. S.

Now, Sir, I will come to the second question, namely, the opportunities enjoyed by Indians for entering the I. M. S. The resolution before us says that this question is governed by two limiting considerations—(1) the need for a war reserve, and (2) the need for British doctors to treat British members of the superior civil services and their families. I have already pointed out that it was the Government of India and not the services who originally put forward the demand that only European doctors should treat Europeans and their families. Of course the cry was subsequently taken up by the European services too, probably on patriotic grounds; they thought they had a good opportunity of coming to the help of a service which had till recently been a monopoly of members of their own race. But that does not alter the fact that the European members themselves had till 1923 when the Lee Commission was appointed put forward no such demand.

Then take the question of the war reserve. This question was discussed a few years back in the other House and the Army Secretary at the time, Mr. Macworth Young, pointed out that the I. M. S. was meant to supplement the R. A. M. C. on mobilisation. In other words, the I. M. S. was expected to supply the extra officers that would be needed for the British troops in the event of mobilisation. We are thus in the I. M. S. providing officers not merely

[Pandit Hirdaj Nath Kunzru.]

for the medical needs of the Indian Army in the event of war but also for the needs of the British forces in such an event. Now, I ask whether this is fair. There are many disabilities because of the retention of British forces in this country. Are we now going to be deprived because of this British element of a certain number of posts because only British doctors are needed to look after the British Army? There are about 97 officers who will constitute the war reserve and when I take the figure 97, I refer entirely to the British medical officers. Now, Sir, I cannot for a moment admit the validity of this contention. In the event of a war the European services will not have to look after them all the doctors that they want in peace time; why should then the British soldier expect to have all his prejudices respected when a war occurs? Why should Indian medical officers not be allowed to look after his needs? Really the medical reserve required for the British army should be maintained in the R. A. M. C. It will not take long for additional officers to be sent out to India from England in case a war occurs. I submit, Sir, that there is absolutely no reason why we should be asked to maintain a reserve for the R. A. M. C. in the I. M. S. and to pay for it when our countrymen are debarred from forming part of it. A double injustice is being done to us at present.

Sir, my time is very nearly up but I should like to point out just one thing more. It has been repeatedly admitted that the Indians who are entering the I. M. S. are of the highest quality. Major-General Sprawson bore generous testimony to the quality of the Indian recruits that are being obtained now. He said the country had every reason to be proud of them. There is no reason therefore why the British members of the European services should object to be treated by Indian officers. Then again, the predecessor of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief speaking about two years ago himself observed that this demand of European doctors for the treatment of European members of the superior services had been carried a little too far. We expected therefore that the present proportion of two Britishers to one Indian in the I. M. S. would be reduced. But what do we find in this reorganisation? While the cadre of the Indian Medical Service has been cut down, this objectionable proportion has still been maintained in the service as a whole, that is, taking both its military and its civil sides into account. There is one point which should be borne in mind in this connection. The Government of India will have about 13 residuary medical posts under them, that is, posts the incumbents of which will not revert to military duty in the event of a war. They will appoint about 16 Indian medical officers to the departments under them. Of these 12 are to constitute the war reserve. There are thus just four Indian officers left for these 13 residuary posts. Now, five of these are reserved for European officers. There are still eight more posts open to Indians but the Government of India are going to have only four residuary Indian officers when there are eight residuary posts which they might occupy. This shows how unjustifiably the number of Indians in the I. M. S. is being kept down.

Sir, I do not wish to take the time of the House any further. I will only say that I hope I have shown that the demand of Indians for equal opportunities of entering the I. M. S. with Europeans has not in the least been affected by the reduction of the cadre of this service. Indeed we have as good a reason now as we had before to ask that there should be simultaneous examinations both in India and in England for recruitment of officers for the I. M. S., a demand which was supported in 1930 by the European group led by Sir Darcy Lindsay in the Assembly. At any rate all artificial restrictions on the admission of Indians must be removed immediately. Sir, I shall await with interest

the reply that either His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or my Honourable friend the Defence Secretary gives to the points that I have urged.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Sir, the scheme of reorganisation which forms the subject-matter of this Motion is a very complicated one, as I am sure anyone must realise who has studied it carefully. The I. M. S. being primarily a military service, it falls to the lot of my Department to co-ordinate all action with regard to it. But that does not mean that many other departments of the Government of India are not also concerned. My Honourable colleague, the Leader of the House, is, for instance, closely concerned with the arrangements for the civil side of the I. M. S. as Member in charge of the Health Department, and so, of course, are all the Provincial Governments themselves. The Home Department are concerned with medical attendance on the superior civil services. The Foreign and Political Department are concerned with their own requirements. And, finally, the Finance Department are automatically concerned with the financial aspects of the whole scheme. This being so, I hope the House will not expect me to deal with all the criticisms that may be made outside my own immediate sphere, and will excuse me if I confine what I have to say to a few general remarks on the scheme—more especially as it affects the army.

Now, Sir, so far as the general question is concerned, I would ask the House to remember that the number of conflicting claims and interests that had to be considered in drawing up this scheme is very large; and it would have been quite impossible to produce a plan that would satisfy everybody. From my own point of view as Commander-in-Chief, I must have an efficient army medical organisation and a reliable war reserve of officers. I cannot afford to risk another breakdown such as took place during the last war in Mesopotamia. I must also have a certain minimum number of British officers. That is no new principle—and if there are differences of opinion as to its necessity, I am afraid we must simply agree to differ. At the same time, I do not want to employ more British officers than are strictly necessary and I have been able to agree to a very considerable reduction both in the numbers on the peace establishments of the army and also in the war reserve. In 1928 the numbers of British officers considered necessary were 270 serving with the army, and 134 in the war reserve in civil employment. Under this reorganisation I have agreed to reduce these numbers to 220 serving with the army, and 97 in the war reserve in civil employment. That is to say, a total reduction of 87. At the same time, I have increased the number of Indian officers serving with the army from 132 to 144, and have reduced the war reserve of Indian officers from 66 to 50. The House will appreciate that my war reserve of British officers must be greater than my war reserve of Indian officers, not because I shall want more British than Indian officers in war—as a matter of fact I shall require far more Indian than British—but simply because British medical officers in private practice are not available in this country, while there are large numbers of Indians.

Well, Sir, what I have just described is my main contribution to this reorganisation, and I do submit that it is a distinct *improvement* on the present situation from the Indian point of view. In addition, Sir, I have tried to improve the conditions of temporary commissioned officers, who will in future be called short service officers. I know that this was a matter that *did* give rise to a good deal of feeling in the past, and I think it will be agreed that our new scheme does constitute another improvement.

Finally, Sir, I have agreed to pay from the Defence budget a subsidy to all provinces who are called upon to employ British officers in the war reserve, and have thereby relieved them of the extra cost of employing such officers.

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

I know that there are many other points connected with this reorganisation which may call for an answer or for an explanation. The Defence Secretary will be able to deal with some of them before this debate concludes. I do maintain, however, that, taking the scheme as a whole, and considering all the difficulties involved, it does not deserve condemnation; and I hope the majority of the House will agree with me.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to describe the subject-matter of this Adjournment Motion as a complicated one. Sir, we on this side of the House do not worry ourselves with the complications of the Government's communique. We look upon the matter as a fairly simple one and I would like to put the issue before the House as simply as I can. Sir, the I. M. S. question has a long history behind it. It used to be a question which used to agitate the Congress in the old days. I believe Dr. Bahadurji, who was a very eminent doctor in Bombay, was one of the first men to take up this question of the organisation of the I. M. S. and the independent medical profession too has taken a very great deal of interest in this question. The I. M. S. is not entirely a military service. It serves the needs of the civil population also and it cannot be looked upon as an entirely military service. It has to be looked upon also as a partially humanitarian service and the question therefore is, why should in a service of this character, a service which is intended to serve the needs of suffering humanity, why should in a service of this character, there be racial discrimination at all? Now, it is quite true that under the Government Resolution the cadre of the service is going to be reduced. That part of the Government Resolution has not been criticised, and I think rightly, by the Honourable Mr. Kunzru, but so far as our demand for a larger percentage of Indians in the Service is concerned, that has been rejected by the Government Resolution. The position is that in future too the ratio between Indians and Europeans will be two to one. Why should there be this racial discrimination? Can it be said that you have no qualified Indian doctors in this country? I think the Indians who are in the I. M. S. have rendered a very good account of themselves. There are some very eminent men among Indians in the I. M. S. There is Colonel Chopra, there is Colonel Soki, there is Colonel Vajifdar in Bombay, they are all eminent men, men who have added distinction and prestige to the service. I recognise that the I. M. S. has given us some European doctors of great eminence. In our own province we had Major-General Megaw, Major-General Sprawson, Colonel Burke; they were doctors of great eminence and the country is grateful to them for the great services they have rendered to the cause of medicine in this country. But, Sir, the point is, after all it is our country and the Indian in his own country should be given a fair chance and you cannot say that Indian doctors are not competent. We have got very competent men among Indian doctors. I am not reflecting on the I. M. S. when I say that in recent years the quality of the I. M. S. has greatly suffered. Sir, I can give you my own experience. I have been interested as a patient in medicine and there was a time when I was in the habit of consulting doctors and I can tell you—(An Honourable Member: "A very bad habit!") It is a very bad habit, but there it was. I can tell you from my own experience that there has been a deterioration in the quality of the British recruit to the I. M. S. There was a time when in big centres like Lucknow, Cawnpore and Allahabad you could get first class European doctors. Now we never think of going to European doctors; because we do not get in these centres doctors of eminence. European doctors of eminence. Our private

practitioners do not call them into consultation, because they know that they cannot derive any benefit from consultation with them. There has been this deterioration in the quality of the medical service and there has been this deterioration in the quality of the I. M. S. because for competition you have substituted nomination. And you have substituted nomination for competi-

12 NOON. tion because you want to preserve a certain ratio. You want that Indians should enter the Service only in the ratio of one to two. So that, Sir, this racial discrimination has affected the prestige of the Service. This ratio is not in the interests of the vast millions of the people. You look upon the I. M. S. question only as a military question. You think of your war reserves and you think of the needs of the British Army and of the needs of the British members of the Service, but you don't think of the needs of the 350 millions of Indians who want competent medical advice.

Now, Sir, there is another point to which I should like to make a reference. Why is there reservation for European medical men in important districts? Now, in my own province I believe there are about 11 districts which are reserved for European medical men. Now these 11 districts are the best districts in the province. These districts include big centres like Cawnpore, Allahabad, Agra, Benares, Lucknow, Bareilly and Meerut. These are the most paying districts from the point of a doctor. These are the best districts from the point of view of a doctor. And therefore it is certainly correct to say that the Indians who are serving in the I. M. S. have a very genuine grievance against you. You are practising racial discrimination against them in the worst form imaginable. We all hate racial discrimination. In medicine there ought to be no racial considerations at all. I would go unhesitatingly to a European doctor if I was ill and I thought he was a specialist in the disease from which I was suffering. I would not care to inquire into his nationality. Why should our European friends object to being treated by Indian doctors? I have European friends who do not hesitate to go to Indian doctors. Indian doctors of eminence have told me that they have many European patients. That is because they are professionally competent men. If you are suffering from tuberculosis or from cancer, you do not care to inquire into the nationality of the person you are going to. You go to Paris, to Berlin, to Vienna, anywhere in order to have yourself treated. Why can't the British officer allow himself to be treated by Indian doctors? Well, that, Sir, is the issue raised by this Resolution. You cannot say that you cannot get competent Indians. There are lots of Indian young men who go to Europe for higher work. They go there for research degrees in medicine and you will find many private practitioners who hold very high qualifications—M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.—they have taken these degrees and they have taken special courses. Well, really then it comes to this that in determining the ratio you are actuated, I regret to say, by racial considerations.

Sir, there is just one other argument that I might advance. During the last 14 or 15 years there has been some Indianisation of these services. There has been Indianisation so far as the I. C. S. has been concerned, there has been some Indianisation in the I. P. S. and the I. E. S. There are other services also in which there has been Indianisation. Now, the result of this Indianisation is that the number of Europeans serving in the services is not as large today as it was say in 1923 or in 1922 or 1920. Now, if the number of Indians has increased, ought there not to be a corresponding increase in the number of Indian doctors? Because if our European friends insist upon European doctors, why should that right be denied to our Indian services? They will also in that case be justified in insisting that they should be treated by Indian doctors. So the point is that in determining the ratio you have not

[Mr. P. N. Saprū.]

taken into consideration the fact that there has been an increase in the Indian element in the services. There ought to have been a corresponding increase in the ratio so far as the I. M. S. is concerned. There is no corresponding increase in the ratio so far as the I. M. S. is concerned under this Resolution.

Now, Sir, another point to which it is necessary to draw attention is that private medical practitioners have a grievance that the best posts in the Medical Colleges are reserved for Europeans and that the present organisation of the Service hinders the growth of an independent medical profession. Private medical practitioners want to have hospital experience. They cannot get that hospital experience because hospitals are run by I. M. S. civil surgeons and there are no adequate facilities in these hospitals for Indian private medical practitioners. Well, all this hinders the growth of an Indian medical profession.

Then, Sir, the solution for which we on this side of the House stand is that there should be simultaneous examinations for the I. M. S. in England and India. The correct thing would be to have all examinations in India alone but we, Sir, are a moderate body of men and we suggest simultaneous examinations and I think, Sir, the demand is not an unreasonable one and it is a demand which ought to be given effect to by the Government. For these reasons, Sir, I support the Adjournment Motion of the Honourable Mr. Kunzru. I think, Sir, I have no more time left and therefore I shall take no more time of the House.

* THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhamadan) : Mr. President, the question of the I. M. S. has been agitating the minds of Indians for a pretty long time. The question mostly before us was the racial discrimination shown by fixing a quota of two to one in the services. But from the figures published by the Government in its communique we find that the Government in its usual anti-national character always thinks of reorganisation when there is a preponderance of Indians over the statutory minimum. The actual figures for 1923 show, Sir, that in the total of 800 officers of the I. M. S. according to the formula there ought to have been only 287 Indians. But there happened to be 322, an excess of 37 Indians over the limit placed by the Government of India. So, in 1928, they had a reorganisation. The genesis of that reorganisation was to keep down the number of Indians. The same thing is happening now. At present, according to Government figures, the total strength is 649, and the number of Indians according to their formula ought to be 216, but they are 263. There is an excess of 47 Indian officers, who must be disbanded and this exceedingly rapid Indianisation must be checked. Therefore, Government are intervening and they want to reorganise the Service. A Committee was appointed by the British Army to reorganise the R. A. M. C. there, but because you have a responsible Government in England, their action is quite different. The Government of India, in reorganising, are going to increase the number of officers. The present figure in the Military Department is 354 but under the reorganised scheme the figure will be 364. In England when this Committee reported, the strength of the R. A. M. C. was at once reduced from 523 to 470. This is how they do things in England and in India. Not only is the actual number in the military to be increased, but the number of Indians who are actually serving would be decreased. The explanation of the Honourable the Defence Secretary is that we have a reserve of Indians available in India, whereas it is not possible to have a reserve of British officers. Therefore, we must have a bigger proportion of Britishers in the Army I. M. S. Our

* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

contention is simple. The number of officers with King's commissions in India is not more than the number of officers of His Majesty's Forces in England. What is the officer strength in the British Army in England and what strength do you want here? Merely because of the fact that we happen to have no reserve of officers in India that is no reason why we should saddle ourselves with the expenditure of paying them for all time. You can give a gratuity to practitioners in England to be ready at call to come over to India. You can call them by airways. It will take only five days to get them here, and it will be cheaper for us to keep a reserve in England rather than pay them for 12 months when they may not be required for a day even during that period. If you talk of reorganisation, talk in a sensible manner. Talk in a business-like manner. Do not make it a veil in which to hide your desire to turn out Indians from earning their bread in their own country. The actual effect of this reorganisation is that the number of Indians will be reduced from 263 to 198, and the number of Britishers will remain as at present—386. A camouflage cannot always be played. We know the proverb, "You can fool all men for some time, you can fool some men for all time, but you cannot fool all men for all time". The British Government in India must be honest and decide once for all to tell us the truth. They have control, they have power. So, they can tell us frankly and fairly that they want this sort of thing and so we do not want to keep you Indians in it. I can understand that. We know what servitude means, we have no freedom to do what we like and that we are in bondage. But, for goodness sake, don't make it appear that you are doing these things for the betterment of India. At present, we have 649 total posts. The scheme says that it will be reduced to 584, which means that there will be a reduction of 63 posts. The military side will be increased by 10 and the civil side will be decreased by about 65. So, actually, on the military side, there is a change for the worse. Now, with Indianisation in swing, when we have Indian officers from Dehra Dun, you say that you want more officers. Burma has been separated. The military requirements of Burma at least are no longer to be filled from these posts. The civil side reduction is also due materially to the removal of Burma from the Indian Empire. Therefore they cannot take credit even for the whole reduction from the civil side, because partially it is due to separation from Burma. That was kept hidden. Now, Sir, the crucial question is, which is the better system of recruitment, the present method or competitive examination, for which Indians have been asking for a very long time. After being taunted time and again that Indians are not capable, we find that it is the Britishers who are flying from competition. In the I. C. S. you have the same thing. Nomination was started because a sufficient number of Britishers were not willing to come forward for the I. C. S. Similarly for the I. M. S. we have no competition because Britishers are not prepared to face competition. They want a sheltered market for everything, whether it is Ottawa or the I. M. S. or the I. C. S. Nomination does not mean anything. It means sweet will. There can be jobbery; there can be nepotism. All these flood gates have been opened because we needs must have European personnel. The British element in the army is here for a short while, it goes away and is replaced by other recruits; and for this element you have the R. A. M. C. It is only for the Indian part of the army that you require these I. M. S. officers. Now, as regards the I. M. S. officers there is another development which is referred to in this communique to which I take some objection. It is about taking a few men from the I. M. D. Now, the I. M. D. is a peculiar kind of service where no University degree is required. Competition is a big thing and competition would have been excusable, but these I. M. D. officers do not take any University degree in medicine. When we considered the

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

question of the recognition of Indian University degrees by the British Medical Council there was a hue and cry that the British Medical Council did not recognise our degrees because of certain defects in the University education. But how is it that the British Medical Council is put aside now when you want the I. M. D. men, who have no degrees, to be admitted to the King's commissioned officers service in the Medical Department? Well, Sir, things have gone too far. We must be open and frank. The reasons why this reorganisation does not satisfy us are multifarious. We have stated some of them and we have the consolation that in the other place all the elected Members voted and showed their displeasure at the action of Government. Here we are powerless, but we have discharged our duty and we are content.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. R. F. TOTTENHAM (Defence Secretary): Sir the Honourable Mr. Sapru said that this was quite a simple matter. Nevertheless the debate has ranged over a very large variety of subjects. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has already explained the purely military aspects of this reorganisation, and I must confine myself in the time at my disposal to dealing with some of the points which arise on the civil side.

Now, Sir, whether it is necessary to have a war reserve of British officers at all, whether it is necessary to have a number of so-called residuaries, British officers who will be there to look after the superior civil services and their families in war time; if so whether it is necessary to retain the I. M. S. as a semi-military, semi-civil service to supply those requirements, or whether they can be supplied in any other way; finally, if we decide that there must be a war reserve and a number of residuaries, what the numbers of that war reserve and the numbers of residuaries should be and how they should be recruited—these, Sir, are all very large questions about which it would be possible to carry on a debate for hours. I can assure the House that all those questions have been debated, not for hours but for weeks and months and even years, by all the parties concerned in this difficult and intricate problem. We followed up very carefully, for instance, the suggestion of the Round Table Conference that, instead of having a war reserve of British officers drawn from the I. M. S., it might be possible to impose a liability on the provinces of the future to recruit a number of British medical practitioners in the open market and retain them in their provincial services by giving them whatever rates of pay were necessary. We consulted Local Governments about that and our conclusion eventually was that it would lead to a great deal of extra expense and difficulty and that it would be far cheaper to continue to employ a number of I. M. S. officers in the war reserve. We also considered, as I think is perfectly obvious from the communique, whether we could reduce in any way the number of the reserve and the number of residuaries. That too was discussed at great length with the military authorities and with the provinces, and the result has been, as His Excellency explained, that we have been able to reduce the war reserve very considerably, but that the number of British officers maintained to look after the superior civil services and their families in war time has remained very much the same.

Now, I admit that we have decided, whether rightly or wrongly, that we must maintain a certain number of British officers in the I. M. S. Having reached that decision it was necessary to decide how we could procure those officers. A great deal has been said about the re-opening of the competitive examination for entry into the I. M. S. Well, Sir, I freely admit that if we did revive competitive entry to the I. M. S. we should very likely find great difficulty in getting the number of British officers we require, and that is one of the reasons why we are continuing this system of nomination. Not that we think that that system produces bad results in any way. The D. G.,

I. M. S., has explained to this House more than once what that system is and how it does produce good results.

But apart from those large questions I think there is one main criticism of this reorganisation with which I should deal rather more closely, because I think it is the result of a certain amount of misconception. A great deal has been said about reducing the number of Indians in the I. M. S., in the smaller I. M. S. of the future, as compared with the number of British officers, and not reducing the number of British officers themselves. I think that we made a mistake ourselves in the form in which we issued our communique, because we put on page 3 a table which gives the authorized figures under the reorganisation of 1928, the present actual figures and the future proposed figures. Well, Sir, every Honourable Member who has spoken has naturally perhaps compared the future proposals with the present actuals. I submit, Sir, that the real comparison should be between the future reorganisation and the last reorganisation of 1928. Since 1928 certain things have happened and the authorised cadre has been to a certain extent reduced, but the present actual figures are very largely due to fortuitous circumstances. That is to say, we have not during the last few years been able to get the full quota of British officers according to the authorised scale and therefore we have had to go short of British officers and employ more Indian officers than were actually authorized. That naturally has given rise to the impression that we are now going to reduce the number of Indian officers and keep the number of British officers the same, whereas if one compares the figures of the future with the figures of 1928 it will be seen that we do propose to make a reduction of nearly 100 in the number of British officers and a reduction of only about 24 or 25 in the number of Indians ; and that, Sir, is real, proper comparison.

Another misconception is with regard to the allegation that we are reducing the number of Indian officers to be employed by the provinces. As I attempted to explain in another place yesterday, I deny that this reorganisation does necessarily imply any reduction in the number of Indian officers employed in the provinces. What it does do, what we intend to do by this scheme, is to reduce to the minimum the number of British officers whom the autonomous provinces of today will be under statutory obligation to employ. That, Sir, is a very different thing. What the communique means and what the reorganisation means is that we are anxious to interfere as little as possible with the autonomy of the provinces and we therefore impose upon them the minimum liability to employ I. M. S. officers, either British or Indian, but we are quite prepared to agree—in fact we should welcome it—if the Provincial Government of the future wish to employ in practice a larger number of Indian I. M. S. officers than they are actually compelled to do under the scheme. I think that does put rather a different complexion on the matter.

I should also like to say a few words on another point. I think there is some misconception regarding the criticism that we are reserving posts for British officers and that this amounts to a fresh racial discrimination. It is a fact that we are reserving posts for British officers, but that is not by any means a new principle. Posts have been reserved for British officers for many years and actually what we are doing now is slightly to reduce and not to increase the number of posts that are so reserved. It is true that the basis of all this criticism is the feeling that British officers ought not to object in any way to be treated by Indian doctors and the suggestion is that we are unduly squeamish about it and that we are bringing in racial considerations. The Honourable Mr. Kunzru has referred to what Sir Philip Chetwode said some time ago that in his opinion this racial business was being rather overdone. We, Sir, agree with that. But we cannot get rid of these human

[Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham.]

feelings—they are human feelings in certain classes—simply by a stroke of the pen, and what we are trying to do is gradually to reduce the number of British officers. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has explained that a reduction has been made on the army side. I have explained it is being made on the civil side.

I would just like to quote some figures to show to what an extent the I. M. S. has been Indianised during the last 10 or 15 years. Just after the war in 1922-23, 89 per cent. of the I. M. S. was composed of British officers; very nearly 90 per cent. of the I. M. S. just after the war consisted of British officers, and at that time there were no less than 352 British officers of the I. M. S. in civil employment. Now, Sir, under this scheme, the minimum proportion of Indians in the I. M. S. will be not less than 33 or 34 per cent. as against 10 or 11 per cent. 12 or 15 years ago; and instead of having 352 British officers employed on the civil side the maximum number will be 166; that is, rather less than half the number that was so employed only a brief 12 or 15 years ago. In other words very great progress has been made in the last 12 or 15 years and I do think that Honourable Members ought to take that aspect of the case into consideration when they are considering their vote today.

There are certain other points that I should like to deal with if I had the time.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have got four minutes more.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. R. F. TOTTENHAM: The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam referred to the employment of I. M. D. personnel in place of I. M. S. officers and I understand that he objected to them on the ground that they possessed inferior qualifications. Well, the point is that the I. M. D. which I may point out consists of statutory Indians, some of them Anglo-Indians and some of them Europeans domiciled in this country, this Department has, during the last 20 years, since the war, improved itself enormously. We have offered these men opportunities to go to England to take special courses there and improve their qualifications, and a considerable number of them have done so; they have taken advantage of the facilities we have given them in that respect and they have come back to India and still find themselves employed in subordinate positions. It seems to us that this is indigenous talent of which we should make the greatest possible use and as an experiment we have selected a certain number of them with really good qualifications and we are employing them in the place of I. M. S. officers.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Why not have Indian medical graduates?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. R. F. TOTTENHAM: Well, Sir, they are graduates of Indian Universities. Then, Sir, there is one other point that I should like to mention. The Honourable Mr. Sapru referred to the deterioration in the quality of British I. M. S. officers during recent years. There is, I may say, a grain of truth in what the Honourable Member said and that has been part of our difficulties all along. The reason for it is that since the war, as he is aware, various systems have been introduced in England, whereby British medical men can get panel practice and so on. They have also improved the attractions of their Defence Medical Services like the Royal Army Medical Corps, the Naval Medical Corps, and the Royal Air Force Medical Corps, and the result has been that it has been difficult to attract men to India

of quite the same standard as we were accustomed to get in earlier days. The position, however, I am glad to say, is improving. We are now getting a more satisfactory standard of recruits for the I. M. S. and I hope that the result of this scheme will be to encourage recruitment for the reduced number of British officers that we shall require in future. Sir, I do not think I have anything more to add.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : Sir, the proposal which is made for effecting this change in the present system goes to show that it is for the purpose of reorganising the I. M. S. We are sorry to find, Sir, that when reorganisation of the I. M. S. is effected it is done without the least regard to the change in the circumstances that has come about. We know, Sir, that in every branch of public service a reorganisation is being carried out in view of the increased recognition of the claims of the Indians for serving their countrymen in their own country. But this point of view was totally disregarded when this reorganisation in the I. M. S. was proposed. We find, Sir, that even though the total strength of the Service had been reduced and some posts had been abolished, the proportion of the Indian to the British element remains at the same figure at which it stand now. It cannot be denied, Sir, that the Indian population has largely increased and also the Indians have shown their capacity to compete successfully with any foreigners in the medical profession quite as efficiently as they do in every other walk of life. Therefore, Sir, it was but just and fair that when this reorganisation was effected this fact should have been kept in view and the Indian element in the I. M. S. should have been allowed a much larger proportion than has been allotted to it in the communique. But we are not surprised at this inasmuch as the recent feeling in England has been against Indians encroaching upon what we all know a few years ago was supposed to be a closed preserve for the European element. At the outset, Sir, the Indians were not at all admitted to the competitive examination for the I. M. S. in England, but subsequently when the competition was thrown open to them experience showed and that very quickly that the Indian could very successfully compete with the Britisher and it was apprehended that in course of time the Indian element would simply swamp the British element and it was for this reason that the competitive system was given up and the system of nomination was resorted to. Therefore, we feel that this reorganisation also has been done with the same purpose in order that the Indians may not impinge upon what until recently has been considered the privilege only of the British element. But, Sir, this is not at all fair. I do not for a moment say that the British Medical Service which has rendered such great services to India has very greatly deteriorated. I am ready to acknowledge the great services done by the British medical officers in this country and also to admit that even now there are among these British medical officers in India such men as enjoy a very high professional reputation and are extremely popular among the people here. But what I say is that alongside of that we have also to take note of the fact that the Indians have also advanced very much in the field, that among Indians who practice the medical profession we find quite a large number of medical practitioners who enjoy a very high professional reputation and are doing very good service. Coming as I do from Madras, Sir, I cannot help thinking of a number of Indian medical men in my province who are supposed to have quite as wide a practice in the profession as any British medical practitioner. And many of them have been enjoying a much greater professional practice and a much wider reputation. In every field of medical science, in surgery, in ophthalmology, in every one of these branches, the Indians have

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

distinguished themselves remarkably in my province. Therefore, Sir, I fail to understand why this sort of invidious distinction has got to be made in this respect and I find that this invidious distinction is carried to a ridiculous extent by the fact that some of the posts in the medical institutions have been reserved only for European medical officers. I find that in my Province of Madras, Sir, specialists in medicine, surgery, obstetrics, gynaecology, have got to be posted in the Madras Medical College and a specialist in one of the subjects—ophthalmology—has got to be posted at Vizagapatam. I do not see why these branches of teaching should be reserved for European medical men? It cannot be denied, Sir, that in Madras we have got people who have made a name for themselves as physicians, as surgeons, and as obstetricians. I do not see why these people who have so remarkably distinguished themselves in the profession and especially in these various branches, why they should be kept out to make room for others who are in no way their superior and in many respects their inferior. Again, Sir, if you shut out these people from being employed for teaching in medical institutions in certain branches of medical science, the result would be that you would be discouraging the study of these subjects among the Indians in the country and that I think, Sir, is a reason which everybody here will deplore. Again, Sir, after all, these foreign medical men who come and settle down here in our country and spend some years here, after they have gained experience here at the expense of the people of this country they go back to their own country, the result being that all their experience is lost to the country entirely. That is a point which has also got to be borne in mind in making provision in a matter of this kind, especially in a matter where technical knowledge and practical experience is concerned, it is necessary that people who gain such technical knowledge and practical experience should be made to stay in the country so that the public at large in this country might benefit by what they have attained in their profession at the expense of the people in this land. Far from trying to increase the number of such people as are expected to leave the country ultimately, after having gained experience, it is better that we encourage only such people in the profession who, after having gained the necessary experience, would stay here and try to do what they can for the advancement of those sciences and for the progress of the medical profession in the country.

Just a word, Sir, about the reluctance on the part of some of the British officers to have themselves treated by Indians. I do not think, Sir, that there is really any basis for this apprehension. We have come across several high placed European officers, both civil and military, and none of them is obsessed with this prejudice. They are all people who will judge things according to their own needs, and look at things in their proper perspective, without being guided by all these considerations of racial distinctions, etc. I feel that there is no justification whatever to think that British officers will not be prepared to have themselves treated by Indian medical men. After all, Sir, what does a man who is sick want? All that he wants is skilled medical attendance, whether that attendance comes from his own national or from a foreigner, it is just the same to him; so long as he could be relieved of his ailment, so long as he could get a cure for the disease from which he is suffering, so long he does not care who the person is who gives him the necessary cure. Each one of us, whatever his own experience might be—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Your time is up.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: I am just trying to elaborate the point that I have just mentioned.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have told the Council before that I am going strictly to adhere to Standing Order 23 which prescribes 15 minutes as the maximum time-limit for any one.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: Have I finished my time, Sir?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have finished your time already. You started at 12-39.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Perhaps he deserves some consideration, Sir—

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: I was not here, Sir, when you said that you will strictly enforce the time-limit.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I cannot help that. You started at 12-39.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: What I submit is that after all there is no justification whatever for insisting upon having this proportion in the I. M. S. As I said, there are considerations which go very largely to weigh for this position that instead of keeping the proportion of Indians at what it is today, if any reorganisation is effected in the Service, it should be with a view to increase their proportion and with a view to the fact that the people in the country should be encouraged to pursue those learned professions and make their contributions to the progress of science and profession in the country—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Will you please sit down?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar: Non-Muhammadian): I am, Sir, in the lucky position of having to argue a case which, in fact, was so well argued by the Mover, that, I find that the Defence Secretary, when he was replying, had to plead guilty to all the charges. The strongest point that the Honourable Mr. Kunzru urged was that racial discrimination was being unjustly made in favour of the Britisher. This point, the Defence Secretary admitted quite clearly and trotted out the explanation that the Britisher wanted to be treated by British doctors. I am quite sure that if he took the opinion of the members of his community, he will find that he is in the wrong. He further admitted that it was not on the score of efficiency that the Indian is being kept out, because he confessed that the Britisher was not found very willing to enter into open competition with the Indian. If such is the position, Sir, the case which the Defence Secretary wanted to establish was hopelessly weak and bereft of all merits. It is too late in the day for anybody to stand up and say that although Indians are available in abundant numbers, although they are in no way inferior in capacity—generally equivalent, sometimes superior—to their British compatriots in the same Service, they cannot be taken in larger numbers because the British population in this country refuses to be treated by any one except doctors of their own race. The Britisher can press his claims, if any, but not his prejudices. In the I. M. S. the position is wholly incompatible, because we find that in the other services—the I. P. S. and the I. C. S.—the proportion of Indians to British officers in 50:50. Perhaps in the Railways, the proportion is even higher—(perhaps 75 per cent.)—in favour of Indians.

(At this stage, the Honourable the President vacated the Chair which was taken by the Honourable Sir David Devadoss.)

[Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.]

Go to the big Indian cities, you will find doctors drawn from the Indian communities standing shoulder to shoulder with others and maintaining their reputation in the profession as well as the British doctors. I do not understand then with what face Government rise up and say that they cannot increase the proportion of Indians in the I. M. S. having no ground to resist our claim.

With these words, Sir, I support the Motion for Adjournment moved by my friend Mr. Kunzru.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIB JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I think Honourable Members will agree that this very important Motion has been discussed in this House with great moderation and in a calm atmosphere. There has been none of the excitement which I understand a Motion of a similar kind caused in another place.

Before I proceed to deal with the points raised by the Honourable Members opposite, I should like to state that my Department are greatly obliged to Mr. Tottenham, the Defence Secretary. I think Honourable Members who have heard him recognise his Parliamentary ability. I can say that in dealing with this very difficult question I have had much assistance from Mr. Tottenham and I very much regret that this may be for a long time his last appearance in this House, as he is shortly proceeding on leave. I hope I am conveying the wishes of the whole House that he will have a very pleasant holiday.

Now, Sir, I come to the main point in the Motion. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Defence Secretary have explained why a certain number of European I. M. S. officers are required as a war reserve. It is a very natural question to ask as to why there should be European officers as a war reserve? Well, the answer to that is really the whole crux of the matter. The answer is that it has been recognised for a long time that the British personnel both in the army and in the civil services requires to be treated by European doctors. I shall be asked, why is that so? It has been said in the course of the debate that many people have not this prejudice of being treated by men of their own nationality, that many people go to the best doctor irrespective of whether he is a European or belongs to any other race. I think I could not answer that question better than to read out what Lord Zetland said during the proceedings of the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference.

(At this stage the Honourable the President resumed the Chair.)

As Honourable Members know, Lord Zetland is at present the Secretary of State for India. Well, this is what Lord Zetland said in regard to this very important question as to why there is this feeling about being treated by European doctors among the European personnel of the civil services and in the army :

"The second answer to the question is that, rightly or wrongly, you cannot get over the fact the European members of the services do demand that there should be within reasonable reach of them and their families, their wives and their children, a European medical officer. It may be thought that this is an unreasonable prejudice, but you cannot get over the fact that that prejudice exists. The Lee Commission which made its report only some six years ago and on which there were certainly four Indian members, said that the almost universally expressed anxiety of British members of services in India to have access to British medical advice for themselves and their families was intelligible."

And this is the quotation from the Report of the Lee Commission which Lord Zetland gave to the Committee :

“ And in our opinion this provision is vital to their contentment ”.

Then Lord Zetland goes on to say :

“ That therefore is the second part of the answer to the question why a number of military medical officers are employed in civil employ under the Provincial Governments in India ”.

Well, I do not think I can add more to what Lord Zetland said in regard to this desire, which he says may be a prejudice but there it is, to have European medical treatment for the European personnel. My Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru said that this question was raised for the first time by a despatch from the Government of India in answer to a despatch from Lord Morley. I am afraid it has not been possible for me to verify that. It may be that what my Honourable friend says is a fact. Possibly the reason why this question was not raised in correspondence was that, as pointed out by Mr. Tottenham, even till 1922 practically all the civil surgeons in the provinces were Europeans and it is quite possible that this question, whether a time would come when there would not be enough European doctors for the European personnel, may not have occurred to any one. But I know that this question was raised by the Secretary of State more than 18 years ago. We find in a despatch of 1918 that this question of providing adequate medical attendance for the European services was raised by the Secretary of State.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : The Government of India raised it 26 years ago.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : As I said, I have only guessed that may have been one of the reasons. That being the position, that it has been accepted by the Secretary of State that if you are to have Europeans in the services, both in the civil and in the army, in view of the feeling which exists a certain number of European doctors are necessary. Starting from that basis, it is obvious that the most economical method is to utilise the war reserve for the purposes of the civil European population, otherwise you would get to the position of having a war reserve doing nothing at all. I do not suggest for a moment that Honourable Members opposite should accept the proposition that Europeans must have only European treatment, but if it is accepted that in solving this problem the Government of India had to take this fact into consideration and they come to the decision in consultation with higher authority that the European personnel of the services civil and military must have European medical treatment, then I hope the House will agree that the present arrangement is the most economical. The only question then to be asked is whether the number of European I. M. S. officers who are allotted to the provinces are more than the needs of the situation require ; and on that point I do not think we have had any statement from the other side that the number of people who are being allotted to the provinces is more than is required for the needs of the civil European population.

Now I come to the other question. I am glad that my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru did not press the point that Indians in the I. M. S. should not be employed in a civil capacity. That is a matter which has been argued before, that if there was to be a civil side of the medical profession, there is no need to get men from the army, but if it is assumed that I. M. S. officers should be employed on the civil side, I think it will be recognised that it is only fair that the door should be kept open for Indian I. M. S. officers also. Now my

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

Honourable friend has said that Indians have not had a fair chance of rising to the top—I think I understood him aright—that when entering the I. M. S. they had not the opportunities of rising to the top. If my Honourable friend will look at page 3 of the communique he will find that there are 37 appointments which are under the Department of which I am in charge for the moment—I mean the Education, Health and Lands Department. Out of those 37 appointments reserved for the I. M. S. he will find that only five are reserved for European I. M. S. officers and those five are reserved for the reasons which I have already given. They are mostly the civil surgeoncies in some of the bigger places where there is a large congregation of the European population. But amongst the posts which are open to Indian I. M. S. officers are those of the Director General of the Indian Medical Service, the Deputy Director General of the Indian Medical Service—and at the moment an Indian is the Deputy Director General of the Indian Medical Service—and a large number of other high administrative appointments. Honourable Members know that in a number of provinces at present the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals is an I. M. S. Indian officer, that the Director of Public Health in places is also an Indian I. M. S. officer. Therefore so far as administrative posts are concerned, there is no bar to any Indian rising to the highest post. As regards the question of certain civil surgeoncies being reserved, and those being in the most important towns, I explained the position last year. Those places which have been selected are not only large centres of the Indian population but are also large centres of the European population and if it is accepted that Europeans should have a European doctor to treat them, then naturally the places where European civil surgeons will be posted will be those where there is a larger proportion of Europeans than in other places. That is the reason why certain civil surgeoncies in the provinces have been reserved for European doctors.

I do not know if there are any other important points to which I have not referred. I quite recognise—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have only one minute more.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: I quite recognise that this is a very complicated question, that there have been differences of opinion and that these differences have existed for a very long time. I hope, however, that I have been able to explain to the House the reasons why this action has been taken and I hope I have been able to convince them that so far as Indians in the I. M. S. are concerned they can rise to the highest posts and that there is no intention to put any obstacles in the way of their promotion. My time is now up and I am afraid I cannot proceed further with the discussion of other points.

(The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru rose in his place.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have got a right of reply, but let me inform you that if you address the House again the Member in charge of Government will have a right of reply too.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Sir, I shall be delighted to hear the Honourable Member who has recently spoken on behalf of Government again, for there are many points which still require elucidation.

I recognise, Sir, the efforts made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Defence Secretary and my Honourable friend Sir Jagdish Prasad, to clear up the matter to our satisfaction. But I am sure that not one of them had the slightest hope in his heart of hearts of being able to carry conviction to us. They all know the facts of the case too well to suppose that the effort in which they have indulged could meet with a successful issue. Now, Sir, what is the reply that the Government spokesmen have given to my observations? In effect what they say is this. "You are misled by the figures published in the communique. It seems that the number of Indians in the I. M. S. has been reduced from 263 to 198. This does not mean that Indians are to be excluded from any post that they occupy at present, but only that the posts which have now been excluded from the cadre of the I. M. S. will in future be under the entire control of the Provincial Governments. Is not this what you wanted us to do? Did not you want that the cadre of the I. M. S. should be decreased and that the authority of the Provincial Governments in regard to making appointments to the higher medical posts in their medical department should be increased. We have given effect to your wishes and yet you come forward and charge us with having gone against Indian interests". Now, anticipating this, I had made it clear at the outset that there were two questions involved in the Resolution before us, one relating to the size of the I. M. S. and the other relating to the opportunities which Indians have of entering it. If the cadre of the I. M. S. has been reduced—and it certainly has been reduced—can that be any reason for our being content with the present state of things and not challenging the existing ratio of recruitment to the service, namely, two British officers to one Indian officer? I will give the Honourable Members opposite an illustration which will enable them to understand the Indian point of view in this matter. In 1886 the Public Service Commission recommended that about 106 posts should be excluded from the I. C. S. and set aside for promoted members of the provincial services. Did that, however, stop the Indian agitation in favour of simultaneous examinations for the I. C. S. in India and in England? Again, when the Public Services Commission of 1912 recommended that 25 per cent. of the officers recruited every year to the I. C. S. should be Indian, were we satisfied? Anyone who knows the history of this question will be able to give a decidedly negative answer. What we wanted was that Indians should be on a footing of absolute equality with Britishers in the matter of appointment to the I. C. S. Now, however, the question is a different one. The question is whether any Britishers ought to be entertained in any of our services at all? This being the situation I wonder really how Honourable Members who have spoken on behalf of Government could for a moment think that the provincialisation of a certain number of posts would satisfy us? It is not merely that we are asking that the strength of the I. M. S. should be reduced, but that Indians should have unfettered opportunities of entering that service itself. And what are the grounds which my Honourable friends have given for maintaining the present state of things? My Honourable friend Sir Jagdish Prasad referred to Lord Zetland's speech at the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. Now I shall refer, Sir, to the recommendations of the Sub-Committee itself. That Committee, some of whose recommendations have been referred to in the communique of the Government, asked that no posts in any of the districts should be listed as being reserved for Europeans. My Honourable friend, Sir Jagdish Prasad, quietly omitted to refer to that. The Government communique deals with the recommendations of that Committee, in fact prefaces its observations with a summary of the recommendations of that Committee but somehow forgets to refer to this small and unimportant matter. If Honourable Members

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

quote from the report or proceedings of the Services Sub-Committee, let them also acknowledge that in the matter of reserving posts in the districts for British members of the I. M. S. they have gone clean against the recommendations of that Committee. And I should also say that, while there were differences of opinion on other points between the Indian members on the one side and some European members on the other, on this particular question so far as I remember there was absolutely no difference between Indians and Europeans. The European members who took exception to certain recommendations of the Committee had, I believe, no adverse remarks to make with regard to this particular recommendation. Well then, how is it that Government have come to list civil surgeoncies in certain districts as reserved for Europeans? My Honourable friend, Sir Jagdish Prasad, said that British I. M. S. doctors had been posted only to districts where there was a large British element. Does it mean then that, if the present British element, in the 11 districts referred to in the Government Resolution in the United Provinces, continues that we should give up the hope of ever having Indian civil surgeons there? Is this the reply of the Government to our demand for the Indianisation of the I. M. S.? Take again the question of the professorships in the Indian Medical College. Now what reason is there for reserving the professorships of medicine and surgery for European members? In some places, particularly in my province, the Medical Colleges are under the jurisdiction of the Universities, but is the autonomy of the Universities now to be fettered in this matter? For some time in the past; I believe that in Lucknow the Professor of Medicine was a member of the Provincial Medical Service. At any rate, some time ago, the Professor of Surgery was an Indian belonging to the Provincial Medical Service. I believe this is so still, but now under this new scheme, which pretends to advance our position or at any rate not to make it worse, we are to give up the post which we have held and held with credit for some time. The autonomy of the Lucknow University is to be curtailed and it is to be compelled by the Provincial Government to substitute Europeans for Indians. The Local Government have no direct control over the University but they can compel it to respect their wishes by threatening to withdraw its grant or curtail it. The Lucknow University will therefore have no alternative but to submit to the unjust orders of Government in regard to this matter.

Now, Sir, there is one other matter that I should like to refer to in connection with the speech of my Honourable friend, Sir Jagdish Prasad. My Honourable friend dealt with the medical officers under him and seemed to point out to us with pride that out of the 37 posts under him only five would be reserved for Europeans but he has given absolutely no answer to the question that I raised in my opening speech. I pointed out that there were 13 residuary posts, of which only five were reserved for Europeans, but there would be only four residuary Indian officers among the I. M. S. officers who would be recruited by the Government of India. Now, why should their number be limited to four? No prejudices of the superior civil services stand in your way here. The army does not present any obstacle in this matter. You have full power to deal with the matter as you like. And yet you propose to take only four Indians apart from the war reserve when there are eight posts which they can fill. Is this a just policy? Is there the slightest justification for it even under the existing conditions?

Now, Sir, take the Provincial Services. My Honourable friend, Sir Jagdish Prasad, speaking on the 17th April, 1936 in this House, said that

there was no reason to be alarmed by the number of posts occupied by British officers in the provinces. He said :

“ If my Honourable friend will refer to the communique which was issued by the Government of India in 1928, he will find that the total number of British officers to be employed in the provinces is only 112. It is only 112 officers throughout the whole of India ”.

And now according to the communique we find that the provinces will be required to employ 122 officers. I should like some light to be thrown on this subject. How is it that in a communique which professes to convince us that our position in future will be at any rate no worse than it is at present, it has not been stated why, if my Honourable friend's figures were correct, the number of officers to be employed in the province has been increased by 10.

And now, Sir, I shall come to the question of the prejudices of the British officers and soldiers in regard to treatment by Indian doctors. I pointed out earlier, Sir, that the European part of the war reserve in the I. M. S. would be needed for the British Army. And I asked why this reserve should be included in the I. M. S., thus unjustly restricting the opportunities enjoyed by Indians of being appointed to responsible posts. I asked why provision should not be made for this reserve in the R. A. M. C. It did not seem to me that any danger would be involved if the military authorities were unable to provide European medical officers immediately a mobilisation occurred and the arrival of additional R. A. M. C. officers from England took some time. However, conservative the British soldier may be—and I venture to think that he is much more progressive than many officers of the higher civil and military services—he will be reasonable enough to understand—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. As the debate has not concluded within two hours, it has now automatically terminated under Standing Order 23.

Honourable Members, before I adjourn the House I am sorry to intimate that I have received a message from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy which I wish to give you. The message is that owing to the critical illness of the Viceroy's mother, His Excellency has decided to cancel the reception to the Members of the Indian Legislature on the 2nd of April.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 3rd April, 1937.