THE

COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

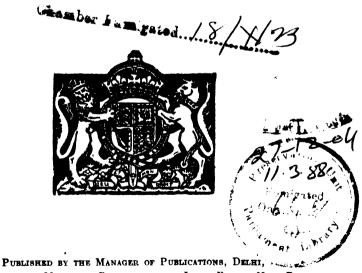
VOLUME 1, 1938

(14th February to 8th April, 1938)

THIRD SESSION

OF THE

FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1938



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

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Thursday, 10th March, 1938.

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 Mr. Charles MacIver Grant Ogilvie (Defence Secretary).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

INITIAL AND RECURRING EXPENDITURE FOR A FLEET OF SIX ESCORT VESSELS.

171. THE HONOURABLE MR. B. N. BIYANI (on behalf of the Honourable Mr. G. S. Motilal): Will Government be pleased to state the initial and annual recurring expenditure for a sea-going fleet of not less than six modern escort vessels which the Government of India, pursuant to arrangement with His Majesty's Government, propose to maintain?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: The details of initial and recurring expenditure have not yet been fully worked out. The Royal Indian Navy has already two modern escort vessels. It has been estimated that the arrangement with His Majesty's Government relating to the cost of the replacement of the four obsolete ships and also the provision for local naval defence, as well as all recurring expenditure involved, can be met from the existing budget allotment, including the amount of the contributions now remitted by His Majesty's Government.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: On a point of information, Sir. Is it a fact that a new contribution of Rs. 14 lakhs is being made in the Naval budget of the Government of India?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: No, Sir. The contribution of Rs. 14 lakes to the sinking fund has been made in past years except last year when it was intermitted.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: What is the balance at the credit of that fund?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: It does not arise out of the question. I disallow it.

RECOGNITION OF MEDICAL DEGREES OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY BY THE GENERAL MEDICAL COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN.

172. THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY:
(a) Are the medical qualifications granted by the universities under the

Indian Universities Act automatically registrable by the provinces entitling the holders of such qualifications to practise all over India?

- (b) Do not the Ind an Medical Council maintain a Register of their own?
- (c) Has the General Medical Council of Great Britain recogni ed Degrees of the Indian Universities excepting those of Calcu ta from 1930?
- (d) Have not the Graduates of the Calcutta University been recognised by the General Medical Council of Great Britain from 1930 to 1936!
- (e) Did the Indian Medical Council request the General Medical Council of Great Bri am to give retrospective recognition to these Graduates of the Calcutta University?
- (f) Has such a request been rejected by the General Medical Council of Great Britan? If so, do Government propose to take steps to remove disqualifica ions imposed on a large number of Graduates of the Calcutta University affected by the adverse decision of the General Medical Council of Great Britain?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a), (b) and (d). No.

- (c) Yes; except that the degrees of the Patna University have been recognised for the first time with effect from the 11th May, 1935.
 - (e) Yes.
- (f) The reply to the first portion of the question is in the affirmative. As regards the second portion, the Medical Council of India who are concerned with the recognition of medical degrees are taking necessary action.
- Number of Ciboles under the Central Public Works Department, Delhi, etc.
- 173. THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Will Government stat.—
 - (i) the total number of circles under the Central Public Works Department;
 - (ii) the names of the circle officers;
 - (iii) the date of appointment to the grade and the circle of the present circle officers?
- (b) Are executive engineers and subordinates transferred from one division to another in the interest of public service and also in order to acquaint these officers with different kinds of work? Does this practice apply in the case of circle officers? If not, why not?
- (c) Will Government state how long the present Superintending Engineer in charge of the 2nd Circle has held this post? How long does Government propose to retain his officer on this post?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB: (a) I lay on the table a statement giving the information asked for by the Honourable Member.

(b) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative As regards the second part, transfers of Circle Officers are made according to the exigencies of the public service. In view of their standing and experience it is considered unnecessary to transfer Superintending Engineers merely to enable them to acquaint themselves with different kinds of work.

(c) Since September, 1931. The question of his transfer will be taken up along with the transfer of other officers.

Statement showing the total number of Circles under the Central Public Works Department, the names of the Circle Officers and their dates of appointment to the grade and the Circle.

Number of Circles.	Name.	Date of appointment to grade.	Circle and date of appointment thereto.
Two permanent and two temporary.	(i) Mr. F. T. Jones, C.I.E., M.V.O., V.D.	27th January,	T Circle, 28th September, 1937.
:	(ii) Sardar Bahadur T. S. Malik, C.I.E.	19th September, 1931.	II Circle, 10th September, 1931.
	(iii) Mr. A. Croad (Officiating)	15th December, 1932.	Aviation Circle, 21st October, 1935.
	(iv) Mr. A. W. H. Dean, M.C., (Officiating).	14th February, 1935.	Delhi Provincial, Circle, 1st April, 1937.

NUMBER OF SIKHS EMPLOYED IN THE SECOND CIRCLE OF THE CENTRAL PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT, DELHI.

- 174. THE HONOUBABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Will Government state what is the total number of Sikhs, officers, subordinates, clerks and monials, etc., employed in the 2nd Circle of the Central Public Works Department and how their number compares with the staff of other circles?
- (h) When a vacancy occurs in any posts in the 2nd Circle is the appointment filled by a nominee of the Superintending Engineer?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB: (a) I lay on the table a statement showing the number of Sikhs employed as officers, subordinates and clerks in the four Circles in the Central Public Works Department. Information regarding menials and work-charged establishment is not readily available.

(b) No. Vacancies are filled by promotion or transfer or by recruitment in accordance with the orders of Government including the orders governing communal representation in the Central services.

Comparative statement showing the number of employees and of Sikhs employed as officers, subordinates and clerks in the four Circles of the Central Public Works Depurtment.

								Total strength.	Sikhs.	
I Circle	•							106	7	
II Circle . Delhi Provincial	Circle	•	•	•	•	•	•	183 110	21 6	
Aviation Circle	•	•	•	• ,	•	•	•	57	4	

SUPERSESSION OF MUSLIM OFFICERS IN THE ARCHAROLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

175. THE HONOURABLE HAII SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Will Government state how many senior Muslim officers in the Archeological Department have been superseded by junior Hindu officers and how many senior Hindu officer have been superseded by junior Muslim officers in matters of promotion, confirmation, etc., during the las two years?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: Two Muslim officers have been superseded during the period in question. No Hindu officers have been superseded during this period by their Muslim juniors.

Charges of Fraud made against the Superintendent and the Accountant of the Office of the Director General of Aboulmology in India.

- 176. The Honourable Haji Syrp MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Have there been certain allegations against the Superintendent and the Accountant of the Office of the Director General of Archaelogy of fraudulent drawal of travelling allewance and has the matter lately been brought to the notice of the Department of Education, Health and Lands?
- (b) If so, will Government place a copy of these allegations on the table of the House and also state what steps, if any, have been taken on the report?
- (c) Was an officer of the Archeological Department punished some timeago in connection with almost a similar case of fraudulent drawal of travelling allowance?
- (d' If the answer to part c) is in the affirmative and that to the latterpart of (b) in the negative will Government state why a distinction has been made in these cases?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a), (b) and (d) Charges of fraud have been made and are under investigation. I cannot anticipate the decision that will be taken when the enquiry is complete; this will depend upon the results of the enquiry.

- (c) Yes.
- NUMBER OF MOSQUES AND HOLY SHRINES IN RELIGIOUS USE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.
- 177. THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Will Government state the total number of mosques and how shrines under the protection of the Archæolog cal Department and how many of each kind are still in religious use?
- (b) Will they state whether all the mosques declared open to religious use are provided with such necessities as arrangements for water for public and private ablutions, sweeping and storage of prayer mats, etc.?
 - (c) Do Government propose to look into the matter ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) 207 mosques, of which 130 are in religious use and 297 "holy shrines", i.e., tombs of Muhammadan saints, mausoleums, etc., of which 133 are in religious use.

(b) and (c). The Archeological Department does not deal with the matters referred to in part (b) of the question.

- INSTALLATION OF A TELEPHONE AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT,
 OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAROLOGY IN INDIA
- 178. THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Will Government state whether the Office Superintendent of the Director General of Archæology has been provided with a telephone at his residence at Government expense?
- (b) If so, will they state from what date the telephone has been allowed at his esidence?
- (c) Was a residential telephone ever allowed to the Superintendent of the Office of Director General of Archæology previously?
- (d) If the answer to (c) is in the negative, will Government state what special circumstances have now justified the installation of a telephone at the Superintendent's residence?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) Yes.

- (b) From the second week of August, 1937.
- (c) No.
- (d) The installation was sanctioned as an experimental measure. The question whether the arrangement need be continued will be examined.

GRANT FOR PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

- 179. THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Will Government state whether the special grant under Demand No. 35 in the last budget for the preservation of ancient monuments was sanctioned substantially for work on the Taj Mahal, Agra?
- (b) If so, how much of the grant has so far been spent on the Taj and what portion has been diverted for use on other monuments ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

DISCOVERY OF REMAINS THROWING LIGHT ON THE PERIOD OF ARAB OCCUPATION OF SIND.

- 180. THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Will Government state whether any remains throwing light on the period of the Arab occupation of Sind have been discovered by the Archæological Department ever since it began to function?
- (b) If the reply to (a) is in the negative will Government state whether they propose to take steps for the discovery of such remains?
- (c) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the articles and notes regarding the condition of Muslim monuments and remains in Sind appearing in the magazine of the Orien al College. Lahore and Muarif of Azamgarh which deplore the indifference of the Archæological Department in this matter?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) Yes. The result will be found in the publications of the Archæological Department.

- (b) Does not arise.
- (c) The Director General of Archeology in India has seen the articles and notes in the magazine of the Oriental College, Lahore, but not those in the *Muarif*.

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE ARCHAROLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT, LAHORE.

- 181. THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to articles published in the Eastern Times, Lahore, dated October 30, November 6, 13 and 27, 1937, and Zamindar, Lahore, dated November 14, regarding certain allegations against the Archæolog cal Superintendent, Lahore?
- (b) If o, have they made any enquiries on the various points mentioned in these articles and with what result? If not, do they now prop se to institute neces ary en juiries? If not, why not? Will they make a statement on the subject?
- (c) Has the Director General also dismissed, removed or transferred some Muslim servants from Taxila and recruited non-Muslims in their places?
- (d) What steps do Government propose to take to protect Muslims in this Department?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) Yes.

- (b) Government have made enquiries and have come to the conclusion that the allegations are unfounded.
- (c) In the interest of departmental discipline a Muslim member of the Taxila staff has been transferred elsewhere. No Muslim has been dismissed or removed from service or replaced by a non-Muslim.
 - (d) Does not arise.

RESOLUTION RB DISTRIBUTION OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURE BETWEEN THE LAND, SEA AND AIR FORCES.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I may inform Honourable Members that I have received a letter from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief informing me that on account of various important duties he is unable to attend the Council today. He says:

"I should be very grateful if you would be good enough to explain to the House that my absence is due to other urgent business which has arisen".

His place is taken by the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie who will reply to the Resolutions on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to redistribute the defence expenditure between the land, see and air forces so as to provide for the more adequate defence of the country by sea and air."

Mr. President, the Budget for 1938-39 provides for a defence expenditure of a little over Rs. 45 crores. It may be regarded as a stroke of temerity in these days to say that this expenditure is high in proportion to the economic condition of India. We see military expenditure going up in every country. To take the example of England alone, compared with 1935-36 the defence expenditure in 1938-39 will absorb three times the money devoted to it then. But we may be allowed to point out that there are compensating circumstances.

in the case of England which are absent in the case of India. England is paying for the maintenance of the Empire, of which she is proud. Then her forces consist entirely of Britishers. Again in the process of the development of the defensive measures, steps have been taken to add to the economic strength of the country. These mitigating circumstances are either wholly or largely wanting in the case of India. We have consequently asked that the expenditure on the defence of India should be reduced even below the figure to which it has been brought down during the last five or six years and we have suggested measures for achieving this purpose without reducing the total strength of the army. Our proposals, as was to be expected, have found no favour with the authorities. Well, we ask then, Sir, that if a large amount of money is to be spent on the defence of India, larger than the country can afford to bear even in these perilous times, we should see whether it is being spent in such a way as to adequately modernise the defences of India.

Now, Sir, looking at other countries, notably England, we find that steps are being taken there to strengthen not merely the army and the navy but also the air force. It is this arm that is principally claiming the attention of Governments all over the world. The last war demonstrated its potentialities and now it is being developed not merely with a view to co-operation with the Army or Navy but in order to perform an independent role, to carry the war, so to say, into the enemy's country, to destroy the morale of the civil population, and to attack the industrial centres and the system of transport so as to disorganise completely the defensive measures of the enemy. Now, if we are going to incur a large expenditure on defence and we are asked to follow the example of other countries, we are entitled to demand that the measures that are taken ought to be in accordance with the policies that are being pursued elsewhere. It is obvious that an agricultural country like India cannot compete in regard to expenditure, whether for purposes of defence or for civil purposes, with highly industrialised countries, but there need be no difference in the policies that are followed in the various countries, whatever their economic bases may be. Now, if the air arm is being considerably developed elsewhere, I think we have a right to ask that, if a large sum of money is spent on the defence of the country and additions are to be made to it now and in the future, that we should be provided with those defensive arms in which India is particularly deficient. I have spoken of the air arm because it is the arm that is regarded as most important at the present time. Another advantage in deveveloping the Indian Air Force will be that we shall have a force which will be entirely Indian in personnel; both its men and its officers will be Indian and we may hope that in a short time it will be able to replace the Royal Air Force which, as the House knows, is a part of the British Air Force. At present, there is hardly any Indian Air Force. The Indian section, I understand, consists of two flights or eight aeroplanes. The Royal Air Force section, I believe, consists of about 100 aeroplanes. Now, not merely is our total strength in this respect far below that of any of those European countries of which we read in the newspapers but the situation is particularly humiliating when we come to look at the Indian section of the Force. The Air Force is a new creation. England had no particular advantage in that matter over India. Such developments as have taken place have done so only during the last 25 years. If adequate measures are now adopted by the authorities there is no reason why the Indian section of the Air Force may not be rapidly developed. I think that if Government are only serious, the Air Force cannot merely be strengthened further, taking into account the total strength both of the Indian and the Royal Air Force section, but can replace the British section also.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kungru.]

Now, as regards the Navy, Sir, the Indian Government by their own actions admit the need for strengthening it. I gave notice of my Resolution before the Finance/Member delivered his Budget speech. It appears from this speech that His Majesty's Government have remitted a contribution of nearly Rs. 17 lakhs which we were making to it, on condition that a sea-going fleet of six escort vessels was maintained. We have five escort vessels now. The strength is therefore going to be increased by one and I gather from what my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie said a few minutes ago in reply to a question that the old escort vessels will be replaced by more modern ones. Now, Sir, the establishment and maintenance of the Navy are far more expansive propositions than even the maintenance of the Army. Countries that have navies worth speaking of do not rely on escort vessels. They rely chiefly on capital ships, the cost of which these days comes to about \$8,000,000 apiece. It is obvious that India cannot for a long time to come dream of having a capital ship of her own. Her economic condition is such that she cannot even have a first or second class cruiser. There then remain only the other categories, namely, the surface torpedo craft and the submarine. It is hazardous for a layman like me to speak on a subject which might appear to be wholly technical but considering, Sir, that countries which are economically in a much better position than India and which are regarded as being among the major powers of the world are placing reliance for their naval defence to no small extent on the two types of vessels that I have mentioned, we shall not, I think, be far wrong in asking that, if India is to have a Navy at all, it should provide for measures not merely of defence but also offence by the employment of these cheaper vessels on which increasing reliance is coming to be placed even by first class powers. The need for strengthening the naval defences of India has been recognised by Government. If that is so they might well take into consideration the need for adding such vessels to the Navy as would enable it to discharge at any rate a part of the task that a navy in Indian waters might be called upon to perform.

Now, Sir, a difficult question arises here. All these measures that I have suggested are bound to cost a great deal of money. Honourable Members opposite will ask where all this money is to come from? I suggest in my Resolution that this money should be obtained by reducing the expenditure on the land forces. I ask not merely for the provision of more adequate aerial and naval defence but also for a reduction in the expenditure incurred on land forces in order to provide the money that will be needed. How is the expenditure on the land forces to be reduced? We have repeatedly asked for a reduction in the strength of the British forces but this has always been strongly opposed. I am not going to put forward that demand today. I am only going to suggest measures which are of a more modest kind and which, it seems to me, are not merely rendered desirable but necessitated by the military history of India of the last 70 or 80 years. We have been recently informed that certain units of the British Army, which are stationed in this country, are going to be mechanised. The total expenditure on mechanisation, according to my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie, is going to be about Rs. 215 lakhs. Rs. 80 lakhs of this will be met by His Majesty's Government and the remaining Rs. 135 lakhs are to be provided from the Indian revenues. The units to be mechanised are four cavalry regiments and four infantry battalions. So far as the British cavalry units are concerned, let us see whether there is any need for their retention in this country. The question of mechanisation will arise only when it is proved that the British cavalry is needed in this country. If

we consider the campaigns on the North-West Frontier, from 1852 up to the present time, we find that there have been very, very few occasions indeed on which the British cavalry has been brought into action. There is a book called Clampaigns on the North-West Frontier, written by Captain Nevill. I gather from it that from 1852 to 1908. British cavalry was employed only on three occasions and on each of these occasions, not more than one regiment was employed. In the Third Afghan War, I believe a British regiment was again employed. But during the Waziristan operations, at any rate those of 1919-20. there was not a British cavalry regiment in the force that was mobilised deed, I understand that the entire force was Indian. Judging from the account published by the Military authorities of the recent operations in Waziristan. the entire cavalry used there was Indian. We thus see, Sir, that during the last 85 years, the occasions on which British cavalry has been utilised have been notably few. If that is so, there does not seem to be any reason why it should be maintained in this country. My Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie. discussing the subject of mechanisation in another place, said that out of the five regiments maintained in this country, one will be sent back to England, and the remaining four will be mechanised. I ask him to explain why the remaining regiments too, considering the little use to which they have been put during the last three-quarters of a century, ought not also be sent back to England? There is no military justification for their retention in this country. But, if they must be retained and retained even when I believe they can no longer be designated by the name "cavalry", let the entire cost of the mechanisation be met by the British Government. We have been told that as the equipment will remain in this country, the material will belong to the Government of India, and that we are therefore bound in equity to provide all the money that is needed for the mechanisation of the units that I have spoken His Majesty's Government have however generously made a contribubution of Rs. 80 lakhs and we ought to be grateful to them for this. The equipment, whether it remains in this country or not, will be for the use of the British Army. It has not been asserted that the Army is being mechanised here owing to Indian conditions. The replies given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in this House, and by my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie elsewhere, clearly show that the mechanisation is due to the needs of England. It is being carried out because conditions of modern warfare in Europe have necessitated such a step. If that is so, if this expenditure is not necessitated by Indian conditions, if it has been incurred on an arm which has not been of any use in this country, what justification is there for throwing even a small portion of the cost of its mechanisation on Indian revenues? The bait has been thrown out to us that when the mechanisation is completed, the permanent cost will be reduced by Rs. 161 lakhs. That seems to be due more to the sending back of a regiment to England than to any economy caused by mechanisation. But, whatever the reason for it may be, I for my part am very doubtful whether the economy in expenditure that is anticipated now will be realised in practice. I am almost certain that before many years are out, we shall be told that certain other improvements have become necessary, or that the former calculations were a little too optimistic, and that the expenditure must either remain at the old figure or even go considerably above it. I do not for a moment believe in the assurance of economy that has been held out to us. But, whatever the economy resulting from mechanisation may be, our first demand is that the cavalry regiments should be sent back to England as they are not needed by India. And our second demand is that if they are retained here, the entire cost of mechanising them ought to be borne by the British Exchequer.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Now. Sir. there is one other source of revenue, or rather reduction of expenditure, which I venture to press once more on the attention of the Military authorities. We are going to spend a sum of about Rs. 58 lakhs out of our revenues on the mechanisation of British units in the year 1938-39. This I contend should not be permitted and if the suggestion that I am going to make with regard to the Indian Army and which was originally made by the Incheape Committee is accepted, the saving in expenditure will be appreciably above this figure. The Incheape Committee pointed out that the peace time strength of Indian battalions was a little higher than the strength needed on mobilisation. It pointed out that there was no justification for this. asked consequently for a reduction in their strength. But not content with that, it also proposed in accordance with the example of other countries that the battalions should be maintained on a cadre basis and that their peace time strength should be 20 per cent. below the war establishment. Now this suggestion has been made on the strength of the Inchcape Committee's recommendation more than once in this House, but we have never been told why it has not been carried out. The reserve is up to its sanctioned strength. It can be made stronger if the Military authorities so desire. There can therefore be no difficulty in bringing the battalions up to war strength on mobilisation. Why is it then that the battalions are even in peace time maintained at the strength that would be necessary on mobilisation and Indian revenues unnecessarily burdened?

Sir, there are other recommendations that could be made but I see that my time is nearly up. I will therefore only point out in the end that the policy that has so far been followed by the British Government has not merely led to heavy and unnecessary expenditure on defensive measures, but has unfortunately also tended to deceive even those people who have protested year after year against our heavy military expenditure. Judging from the debate that took place in another place a few days ago Indian members are asking for the mechanisation of the Indian Army; and why has this demand been put forward? Not because the mechanisation of the Indian Army is necessitated by the conditions prevailing on the North-West Frontier but simply because the equipment of the British Army is going to be changed. Now, I may be told that I am wrong in assuming that conditions on the North-West Frontier do not demand a change in the equipment of the Army. Well, if the conditions have changed materially it is the fault of the Army authorities that we have not been provided with information on the subject. We ask year after year for information in regard to changes in world circumstances affecting the safety of India, but our requests have so far been met with a stubborn and exasperating refusal. The Army asks both for our money and our lives, but does not vouchsafe to explain the circumstances which necessitate these demands. This year the Budget provides for additional expenditure on the Navy. It provides for expenditure in other directions also, but not a word of explanation has been offered with regard to the change of circumstances during the last year or two which have made it necessary for the British Government to take these steps.

I would just put in one word more, Sir. Our defensive measures must follow our political policies. The enemies whom we have to defend ourselves against on the North-West Frontier can only be Afghanistan or Russia. Afghanistan we are told is now friendly to the British Government and so is Russia for the time being. And they are likely to remain friendly for some time at ...

The tribal areas do not necessitate the modernisation of our equipment. What we have is more than enough for the indisciplined and disorganised tribes, however brave they may be. And if both these countries are friendly to us, are compelled to be friendly because of the circumstances that surround their national lives, why has the Pritish Government chosen this particular moment for adding to the expenditure on the land forces? May we not, taking advantage of the present situation, reduce the expenditure on them and utilise this breathing space to strengthen our aerial and naval de-I venture to think that more money is being spent on the Army, not to satisfy Indian needs but to enable the Indian Army to co-operate with the Pritish Army outside India. The expenditure on the mechanisation, not merely of the British but also of the Indian Army, is being undertaken in order to keep the Army in India ready for the performance of Imperial duties. Sir, I shall be glad to hear what my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie has to say on the subject, but so far as I have been able to understand the questions at issue the Indian revenues are entitled to relief with regard to the expenditure on the Army, and we as the representatives of the people of India are entitled to ask that attention which has so far been concentrated on the Army, should now be devoted in an increasing measure to the development of the aerial and the naval forces of this country.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE (Defence Secretary): I have listened with very great interest to the clear and thoughtful exposition of my Honourable friend the Mover. I feel, however, that the actual facts have not been taken fully into consideration, though I admit that a number of the disadvantages under which India suffers in the matter of defence have been clearly recognised by him. In the first place, it appears to me that he does admit the necessity for an army and no one who realises the long land frontiers and the enormous population of India can doubt that the army which is being maintained is too large or too strong. It is numerically much smaller than that of any considerable military powers and in fact smaller than many of those which may be described as second class powers. Its functions are to preserve the internal tranquillity and to repulse external aggression and in all the circumstances I do not think that any one can seriously consider that it is too big for its task. The nature of the Frontier problem is I think not fully understood. The North-West Frontier generally speaking is one enormous military obstacle and it is inhabited by people who are not, as the Honourable Mover said, indisciplined and disorganised, but who are, particularly in their own country or in similar country, probably among the most formidable fighting men in the world. Owing to the nature of the case they have the initiative and we have to be very careful to see that they do not use it. The fact that the Settled Districts have been immune from invasion and that the actual raids which have taken place have been on remote villages may lead people who live far removed from the Frontier itself to think that the task is an easy one. I can assure them that it is not and that those who keep the cordon on the North-West Frontier are entitled to our honour and to our sympathy, to honour for the way in which they discharge their most onerous duties and sympathy for the hardships, difficulties and dangers in which those tasks are performed. regards the nature of the troops required, be it admitted that in such a country and against such an enemy they must be of the very best. There is to be answered the Honourable Mover's point that mechanised highly modernised troops are not required. The Honourable Mover complained that if such refinements in the art of war were now required on the Frontier it was the full of the Army authorities for not having explained the reasons. He mentioned

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in this connection the Budget in which various changes have taken placed. Well I think he can not rightly lay the blame on us because they were Members were afforded opportunities if they had explained. chosen to avail themselves of them and the matters which were to be explained would undoubtedly have been explained. Despatches have, however, been published. Two have already appeared in the Press and one will shortly appear and those. I think, will give the Honourable Member and all those interested in this subject adequate information on the type of armaments now required to deal with the Frontier Tribes. We did not use these arms before because we had not got them and in any case in 1920, 1921 and 1922, which was the last occasion of serious fighting on the Frontier, the types of mechanised arms had certainly not reached the pitch of perfection necessary for employment in country of the Frontier type; also there was none of it in India; but we have found in the last campaign that a certain number of light tanks were invaluable; they saved casualties and prevented ambushes; probably many men are alive today owing to the fact that we had some. of the main complaints which the Honourable Mover made was that the British cavalry had been mechanised. He gave for his reasons the fact that they had very seldom been used in active operations in India. He does not, however, suggest that no measure of mechanisation is desirable for India. Apart fr om the Frontier there are other potential dangers which I need not go into at any length, in fact not at all, but they exist just the same and it is obviously ne essary that our Army should be kept in step with modern developments with due regard to Indian conditions and again with due regard to the overriding claims of finance. We should like to be able to spend much more on the Army than we do. The mechanisation of these four regiments will give us a nucleus of armoured troops. Even for Indian conditions or other conditions in which India may find herself one day we do not regard that as sufficient, and, as has already been announced, schemes are already in an advanced stage of consideration for the mechanisation of a number of units of the Indian Army. As the Honourable Mover is doubtless aware, the purpose of the Indian Army is largely to deal with minor dangers. There are however major dangers about and the Indian Army as well as the British, which is fully trained and equipped to deal with major dangers, must also be kept up to date as far as possible. I do not think the Honourable Mover can have it both ways. complain against us for not mechanising the Indian Army and at the same time complain against us for insuring its progress and development.

I will now turn to his main thesis, which is that expenditure on the Army should be reduced and should be devoted to increase of expenditure on the Navy and the Air Force. The expenditure on the Army has been reduced since 1922 by Rs. 23½ crores. Have we spent that on the Navy or Air Force? No. The reason why is that the cost of the civil administration has greatly risen and also that it is necessary to give every possible chance to the people of India to attain to prosperity, and to progress, and that they should not be stifled by overwhelming expenditure on defence armaments. Not a penny therefore of the Rs. 231 crores saved in the last 15 years on army estimates has gone to any defence service. India alone of the countries of the world is today spending far less on armaments than she was 15 years ago when the dangers we now see around us did not exist and the mighty armaments both in the East and the West had hardly come into being. Well, supposing we could save some more from the Army—and only one solitary approach has been suggested—what then? The argument usually is—I think the Honourable Member was referring to it—that British troops should be exchanged for Indian troops. I do

not propose to go into that at any great length. It has been thrashed out in this House and in another place many times. All I propose to say is that were we to abandon what is for India an absolutely invaluable asset, what should we gain thereby! We should gain some Rs. 7 crores, and for all practical purposes we might as well gain seven annas. The Honourable Mover realised to the full. I think, the enormous cost of a modern navy. The United Kingdom this year is spending £123 millions on the Navy, which as far as I know is almost equal to the entire income of the whole of British India. He suggested. however, that destroyers and submarines might be built instead of escort Well, the whole of this matter has been considered in all its bearings and the conclusion has been reached that for the present, in existing circumstances, escort vessels would give India the best value for her money; that any more highly technical and complicated type of ships, such as destroyers or submarines, would necessitate vastly increased cost, not so much on the ships themselves as on the shore establishments necessary to maintain them. The machinery and engines of escort vessels can be maintained by our own Royal Indian Naval Dockvards. Those of submarines and modern destroyers and torpedo boats certainly could not. That is only one of the technical difficulties. The cost too would be in practice prohibitive. A single destroyer will cost nowadays up to £350,000. Its annual maintenance would cost very much more than that of an escort vessel. A small fleet, a single squadron, a unit of nine destroyers, would really be of very little practical use. They would be of some use certainly but India would still have to rely in the main enormously in the main, on the Royal Navy. As the Honourable the Mover very rightly said, no agricultural country can possibly compete with the intolerable burden imposed by modern armaments and we must be thankful that we do anot have to pay. The cost of a modern air force is almost as great as that of a modern navy. For any independent measures, measures which would make India independent of Imperial support either in the air or on the sea, such an expenditure would be involved as would put it completely outside the sphere of practical politics, even beyond that of the imagination of reasonable men. The cost of a fighter machine now is Rs. 11 lakhs, of a medium bomber Rs. 2 to Rs. 21 lakhs, and of a heavy bomber Rs. 3 lakhs. And a squadron has to have two if not three fully equipped planes in reserve, ready to take the air, in addition to the one actually in use, as in time of war under service conditions aeroplanes are very rapidly expended. When you multiply these figures by the number of squadrons which it would be necessary to have to be entirely independent of outside help. I think one realises that we are up against almost as impossible a proposition as the building of a first class navy. What we can do is to keep going an air force which is adequate for our own needs. We would. it is true, like to spend more money, but we cannot afford more than the Rs. 21 crores or thereabouts which we annually spend. If we could spend more, we would. Put the idea of making ourselves independent of help from the Royal Air Force is, as far as can be seen at present, impossible. The Indian wing of the Air Force is still in the experimental stage. It is, I understand, doing well. But I would like the Honourable Mover to realise that the presence of a portion of the Royal Air Force in India is an incalculably valuable asset. It means that a number of officers of the Royal Air Force are constantly being trained in Indian conditions and that, should Imperial reinforcements on a great scale be necessary, large numbers of them could be found who are aware of conditions in India, of the flying conditions which are very different from those subsisting in

Finally, Sir, I suggest that the fact that we are able to rely in time of need upon Imperial assistance is not a matter which ought to trouble us very

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much. The converse would mean that we made an attempt—and I think it would be an attempt that would be bound to fail—to enter those regions of astronomical defence expenditure in which so many of the peoples of the world are now forced to live.

I have no option, Sir, but to oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR'A. P. PATRO (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the Resolution moved by the Honourable Member is a very reasonable one. The reasonableness of it was admitted by the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie when he said that considering the vastness of the country and the operates of her coast and the troubles on the Frontier and the war clouds hanging so seriously in the East and in the West, the defence force is not adequate considering the population and the size of the country. Therefore, Sir, this Resolution recommends that, in order to have an effective defence force, it is necessary that the three arms of the defence force should be developed and brought up to modern conditions, because in the matter of the Navy, we have hardly any of our own. During the war, we had 12 vessels of a very simple character. They have been gradually scrapped and replaced by others.

Roors nisation took place. But, even the latest development of having six modern escort vessels does not go very far in the defence of our coast. We have entirely to depend upon he Royal Navy. The term used is no doubt "Royal Indian Navy" but it is only to co-operate with and assist the Royal Navy when occasion arises. In the meanwhile they do police work on the sea. As I said the other day, suppose come big power quietly comes in and innocently has a basin in the Bay somewhere. Are we prepared to meet such a contingency? All along, we have been spending Rs. 54 crores of the pople's money. Is the Government prepared to meet such a centingency? I realise that we have no mine-laying and mine-sweeping mechanism at all. These escort vessels—what will they do by themselves?

THE HONOURABLE MR KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY: We w.ii escort them!

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Escort to Bengal perhaps! That is why my Honourable friend is referring to it But Bengal is in the greatest danger today if any power establishes itself in South China. Just as the "Emden" threatened the whole of the East Coast another vessel escaping the vigilance of the Singapore basin may come to the West Coast and do havoc before the British Navy can be brought in to assist us. So, what is it that we have got in the nature of a war vessel, giving opportunities for training Indians for war purposes? Nothing. According to reports, these six vessels are to be manned by one Indian officer to two European officers. That is a very welcome proposal. That will also bring down the cost to about Rs. 571 lakhs as proposed. But, Sir, my complaint is that the defence of the coast is not at all sufficient and adequate for the needs of the country. The object of the six vessels that we have got is to train the personnel for sea warfare during the time when there is no war. The second object is to organise and perfect the defence of India on the coasts and merchandise. Are these vessels in a fit condition to do so without the assistance of the Royal Navy? If India is to be self-dependant and to support herself, are we not to spend more money in making her naval defence stronger and more effective? I know the cost would be great. It is said that a cruiser of 7,000 tons will cost about

Rs. 2 crores. That is true. But, we can gradually build up out of the savings. As pointed out savings could be effected and these savings could be spent on improving our coast defences. Then, the protection of Indian trade in Indian waters is very important. We find jealous countries watching keenly the trade in India. Our neighbours are not very friendly with us, and yet, what is that we have got to provide against these nations? We have nothing. These vessels may scour the sea, watch and patrol the coast, and yet, how will they be able to fight a fleet of vessels? Therefore, it seems necessary that these six vessels of which two only are modern, namely, the "Hindustan" and the "Indus,"—the other vessels are to be scrapped gradually,—should be strengthened and improved.

Then, as regards the Air Force, till recently we were under the protection of the Royal Air Force. We had no air force of our own. It is necessary that we must have a properly developed Indian Air Force. There will be expenditure. But we have to spend the money. I shall later on point out how we can have the money. We have now got eight squadrons of the Royal Air Force, consisting of 12 aeroplanes in each squadron, working for the defence of India. But the Indian Air Force has only got a nucleus. They are now being trained. But it will take a long time, and therefore, opportunities for developing themselves will be very slow. Thus, in the matter of our Navy and Air Force, we are asked to depend upon the Imperial Forces. Without Imperial aid, we will be nowhere. All these 50 years we have been depending upon British protection. Unless the British Royal Navy protected coasts, and unless the British Air Force protected us, India is nowhere in the matter of her defence. Therefore, in the matter of her Navy and Air Force. it seems to me absolutely necessary that we should improve and develop our defence. Today, we have eight squadrons of air force. It has been pointed out by the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie that six squadrons were there first and then two more were added and one bomb transport flight of aircrafts, all containing about 98 aeroplanes. As regards the personnel, 164 officers and 980 other ranks man these aeroplanes. This is hardly adequate for the whole country. It is therefore right that this House should draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of strengthening the naval and air defence. No doubt, the question will be asked about expenditure. In regard to the land forces, it has been suggested by the Honourable Mover that some regiments of cavalry may be scrapped. I am not one of those who think that there should be no European element. For defence purposes we want the infantry or the cavalry. But the cavalry is now being mechanised, and so much of that expenditure will be a saving. It is not merely for the purpose of equalising the Indian Army with the British forces that this mechanisation is taking place. There will be training given to both European and Indian forces in India, which will be provided by the modern state of equipment and modern state of defence. It is not therefore only for purposes of Great Britain that this mechanisation takes place. The purposes of our Army, as has been pointed out by the Esher Committee, was defence against external aggression and maintenance of internal peace. External defence is to be carried out by the British at their expense. This was the object with which the Indian Army was formed. The strength of the Indian Army was about 179,000 men. The total fighting or field force is only 69,000. It is surprising that for all this vast country that should be the field force and how the defence of the country can be carried on by so small a force. I note that from the war up to date the strength of the Army has been reduced by 58,000. The total strength of 179,000 is divided as follows. About 70,000 are assigned to internal security and duties on the lines of communication; the covering [Sir A. P. Patro.]

troops on the Frontier are 42,000, and the field force is 69,000. The Auxiliary. Territorial and State forces do not come into account at all as they are not properly trained or equipped. If that then is the total force in India, is there any possibility of further reduction after 58,000 have been reduced since 1914 : An Honourable Member asks what is the strength of the British forces? The real fighting or field force as I have said is only 69,000, and that includes also the British units in that force. The British units are mixed together in the categories I have mentioned and are not kept separate from the Indian Army, and it is clear that at present the total strength is not at all adequate even for land defence if any emergency arises. It is true at present we are friendly with Afghanistan and we may not have trouble from Russia. That is theoretically correct, but we see, national unexpected eruptions are taking place all round; we cannot be sure of what will happen next. Therefore under present world conditions it is desirable that we should be prepared, and the way of improving aerial and naval defence is not by reducing the Army. I have here a note which says:

"The fact is that about half the Army in India would be incapable of taking the field in the war formations required for any campaign of modern dimensions".

That is the real truth. You have not got sufficiently strong land forces to be able to defend India against foreign aggression, and that is the important point that we must develop the Indian defence forces on all sides.

Then of course mechanisation has been going on. We have the armoured cars, the light tanks and improved automatic machinery. That is one form of mechanisation. The one now proposed is a different thing and that is what we want Britain to bear the whole expenditure on, because so long as we are not responsible for defence policy and so long as Great Britain undertakes responsibility, she must pay for the discharge of that responsibility. And with that contribution we shall surely be able gradually to improve both the naval and air defence. We cannot have improvement in one or two years. Gradually, by Indianisation as well as by contributions from Great Britain our finances and the position in regard to mechanisation can also be improved.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): I rise to support the Resolution which has been so ably moved by the Honourable Mr. Kunzru. The Honourable Mover has dealt with the subject so fully that he has not left much for me to say. I agree with the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie that the people on the North-West Frontier are formidable fighting men. But from my own experience on various committees of this Legislature I have found that that formidability of the Frontier Tribes has been overdone for some time. The British policy of peaceful penetration has been successful because it has raised the standard of living and given these tribal people luxurious habits. That has reduced the fighting capacity of these people. I myself have been on the Khajuri Plain, at Landi Kotal and Landi Khana and other places and in the caves of these tribal people, and I find that they are vindictive but hospitable and not so ferocious or so formidable as they are said to be. The British policy has made them better people and they care more for the sanctity of life than they used to in times past.

By the addition of an Air Force we expected that there would be a considerable saving in the army expenditure in certain units. I should like Mr. Ogilvie to say how much reduction has been made and in what direction?

Then mechanisation of the Army has come, but I fail to understand why that mechanisation should have begun with the British forces lent to us for short periods. In reply to my question the other day the Honourable the Army Member said that these forces were not lent but they came here for a number of years and when they went back they were replaced by similar units. All the same, my own opinion is that it was not the responsibility of the Indian Government to mechanise the British units lent to us for a short period: it was the responsibility of the War Office and that the Indian Government was forced to take that step. If the Indian Government felt it was necessary to mechanise, it was their duty to mechanise the Indian units before mechanising British units. I am glad, Sir, that the Army Member in reply to my question the other day in this House stated that when these lent units of the British Army when they leave India the equipment will be retained here. After all, that is a consolation. It is the duty of the Government of India to insist upon the War Office to find the money for the mechanisation equipment of British units themselves.

As regards the Frontier, the other day a letter was published in the papers from the Faqir of Ipi to Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru containing certain serious allegations and I expected that the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie would throw some light as to whether the contents of that letter were correct and if they were wrong up to what extent and on what point they were wrong. As I see it, the Fagir of Ipi accuses the British Government that all this fighting which has taken place recently is due to their policy of aggression and annexation Sir, that is a very important point, because we find that of tribal areas. over Rs. 21 crores have been spent upon these recent expeditions to the tribal areas. We should like to know whether it was due to the forward policy of the Indian Government to occupy the land beyond their old established I understand that when the Loi-Shalwan Railway was built it cost several crores of rupees and later we found that the tribes who resented the construction of that railway took possession of it, blew away the bridges and thus rendered the line ineffective. If I am wrong, I hope the Honourable the Defence Secretary correct me. Sir, notwithstanding the annexation of the tribal areas to India. I find the number of raids on British subjects and kidnapping of people has not diminished; and that even now although we have cantonments at Razmak, Thal, Parachinar and other places, far in the frontier these raids still continue and result in casualties. I should like to ask the Defence Secretary why, notwithstanding this huge expenditure on the Frontier and notwithstanding the laying of new roads for mechanical transport extending over several hundreds of miles, the raids still exist and exist in large My friend the Honourable Sir A. P. Patro talked about the Indian numbers. The Indian personnel of the Air Force, although it has been very very small, has proved a great success during the last war. One of our Punjabi officers, Mr. H. S. Malik, whose records of flying in the war were mentioned even in Despatches, did very well and did gallant work there. My own information is that although he was wounded in his plane he succeeded, though wounded, in getting to the ground several enemy planes. As far as Indians in the Air Force are concerned, the example of Mr. H. S. Malik, whom perhaps you all know and who has lately been appointed as Trade Commissioner in New York, will amply prove that Indians in the Air Force are as good as any other nationality. So, Sir, the pace of Indianisation of the Royal Air Force ought to be increased. As regards the addition of the six small defending boats to the strength of the Indian Navy, it will not achieve the object which Indians have in view. India is the most valuable component part of the British

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

Empire. It finds service for such a huge number of Britishers on salaries which are unknown in any other part of the world. It is a great recruiting centre, I should say, the greatest in the British Empire, for the recruitment of man power during war. British India therefore is the greatest asset to British people and as such some portion of the army expenditure should reasonably be borne by the War Office. Hitherto, Sir, the entire naval defence of India was the duty of the British Navy. I know, Sir, that the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie has observed that we do not maintain such a big army as other important countries of the world do. But, Sir, I must say with due deference to him that the proportion of the expenditure on the Army as compared to our revenues is an unparalleled example in the world. No country in the world, as far as my information goes, spends over 50 per cent. of its revenue on the army. It is all right, Sir, to say that in case you calculate the cost of the defence per head of the Indian population it is small. That may be, but after all we have to go by our means. No country spends more than 50 per cent. of its revenue on the army and as India is the most valuable asset of the British Empire a reasonable proportion of this expenditure should be borne by the War Office. The contribution of Rs. 10 lakhs which the British Government has foregone this year is not enough. The status quo should have been allowed to remain and the defence by sea of India should have rested with the British Navy as was the case in the past. I will make before I sit down. The expenditure on British cavalry and British units in India should be borne by the War Office as we Indians consider that this is an army of occupation and this contribution is not levied India will feel that at least partial justice has been done.

With these words, Sir, I strongly support the Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Mr. President. the most important point that we have to consider is whether the mechanisation that is now in progress is demanded by Indian conditions. Now, I ventured to state that in my opinion it was due entirely to extraneous circum-My Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie questioned that view and said that the rearmament of the Indian Army was necessary in view of developments on the North-West Frontier. He also said that we should not think merely of the North-West Frontier. There were other danger spots too, which we ought to keep in view. But he was not at all explicit on the subject. He was tantalisingly brief. If he meant to refer to the North-Eastern Frontier, why could he not express himself more clearly and frankly? It is our complaint year after year against the Military authorities that, while they expect us to bear the full burden of defence, they will not show any frankness on their part and give us the information that is our due in view of the responsibilities that we are asked to shoulder. My Honourable friend pointed out the huge expenditure that England is incurring on rearmament. But he forgot to bear in mind the differentiating circumstances that I had briefly touched upon in my opening speech. But, Sir, whatever the expenditure incurred by England may be, the Members of Parliament are not asked to vote the necessary expenditure without being furnished with adequate information. The British Premier and Foreign Secretary take Parliament into their confidence and speak as frankly and fully as diplomatic circumstances allow on the conditions which have made it necessary for England to strengthen her army, navy and air force. Why should the authorities here

be more reticent than the authorities in England? Why cannot they tell us what possible dangers India might have to face, either from the east or from the west? Can they not, without giving offence either to Italy or Japan, tell us how the conquest of Abyssinia or the operations in China have affected the future security of this country? So long as they observe silence in regard to these important things, they must thank themselves if the statements that they make or the demands that they put forward from time to time in regard to increase in military expenditure are viewed with suspicion by the people of this country.

Sir, as I pointed out a little while ago, my Honourable friend roundly asserted that, apart from European conditions, a change in the equipment of the Indian Army was necessary because of changing conditions on the North-West Frontier. Now, he dealt with the subject in another place three or four weeks ago, and he pointed out there that mechanisation was no new thing. It had been going on on a small scale ever since the close of the Great War but he also pointed out there that there was one new development and that was the complete mechanisation of certain cavalry and infantry units owing to the change in the equipment of the Army in England. He himself admitted that this major programme of mechanisation was due to change of policy in England. We had to follow England whether we liked it or not, whether we were able to foot the bill or not. Apart from that, Sir, His Excellency the Commanderin-Chief very frankly admitted the other day in reply to a question that the reorganisation of four British cavalry units and four British infantry units was due primarily to the mechanisation that was being followed in the British After this admission on the part of His Excellency, it is too late for my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie to get up and assert that the mechanisation is chiefly due to the change in the conditions of warfare on the North-West Frontier.

Dealing, Sir, with my request for the strengthening of the Navy and the Indian Air Force, he pointed out the heavy cost that would be involved in the acceptance of my proposals. I would like to ask him whether the mechanisation of the Army would be a cheap affair? The mechanisation of eight units is going to cost us nearly Rs. 21 crores. I do not know how many units of the British Army will be mechanised but judging from the policy that is being followed in England, I take it that in course of time all the units will have to be mechanised. Now, how much expenditure will this throw on the Indian revenues? And if all the Indian units are also to be mechanised, what will be the further cost they will have to bear on this account? I do not believe that in the end there will be a reduction of any kind in expenditure. My Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie pointed out to the Assembly that one cavalry regiment would be sent back to England. Well, a cavalry Well, if the saving in expenditure regiment costs about Rs. 17 lakhs. on account of the mechanisation of certain units of the British Army is going to be Rs. 161 lakhs, it means that it is due entirely to the elimination of one cavalry unit.

To revert to my point, Sir, the mechanisation of all the units of the British Army will involve us in heavy expenditure. The mechanisation of the Indian Army will throw a further burden upon us. If, however, we keep purely Indian conditions in mind, I think we shall be able to reduce the expenditure on the land forces and at the same time to provide for the strengthening of the navy and the air force.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Sir, my Honourable friend in his speech dealt with many of the points that I had raised but omitted altogether to tell us why in the Indian Army alone it was found necessary to keep the Army in peace time on a war footing. This point was raised, as I said earlier, by the Inchcape Committee. I thought it was important enough to merit the attention of my Honourable friend, but he has remained studiously silent about it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: I shall deal with it in my reply.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I am very glad to learn from my Honourable friend that he will deal with it in his closing speech. Well, Sir, if we can save the expenditure that we shall have to incur on the mechanisation of the British units and can accept the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee for reducing the peace strength of the Army, I venture to think that we shall be able to find a sufficient sum of money to make a modest beginning in the direction that I have indicated.

The Commander-in-Chief told us the other day that the Government of India had asked the British Government to bear the full cost of mechanisation of the British units. We asked him how it was then that the Government of India came to accept the grant of Rs. 80 lakhs only. He said he could add nothing to the answer he had already given. I hope that my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie will be able to throw some light on that question. If the Government of India had asked the British Government in the first instance to pay the entire bill, I take it it was due to a consciousness on their part of the fact that the British Army was being mechanised owing to British needs. I hope that there is still time for the Indian authorities, in view of the support they have received both in this House and elsewhere, to press this matter once more on the attention of the British authorities and ask them to do justice to India in this small matter.

Sir, there is one other point in my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie's reply which I would like to deal with before I sit down. He told us that in asserting that the mechanisation of the Indian Army was not necessary, we were showing our ignorance of the nature of the North-West Frontier Province. To repeat his words, the nature of the problem was not fully understood by us. Now, Sir, we all know that the tribesman on the Frontier is an extremely brave and hardy fellow. The history of the last 80 years points eloquently to that fact. But all the lessons of modern warfare tend to show that mere bravery in the field is not enough these days. If bravery were enough, China would not have suffered in the way she is doing at the present time and the Abyssinians would still have been masters of their country. In these days, equipment counts for much more than man power. We have never been told before that our man power and our equipment are in any way inferior to that possessed by the tribesmen. On the contrary, all that we have been told has tended to foster in us the impression that however backward we might be from the European point of view, our standards were far higher compared with the equipment possessed by the tribesmen. The tribesman's bravery is undoubtedly extraordinary, but that does not in any way alter the fact that our equipment is immeasurably superior to his and that we can without mechanising our army deal adequately for a long time to come with the danger on the North-West Frontier.

THE HONOURABLE MB. C. M. G. OGILVIE: Sir, I propose first to deal briefly with the arguments adduced by Honourable Members on the subject of the Royal Indian Navy and its inadequacy for the duties which it has to perform. Its duties are simply these—to assist the local naval defence organisation which is, or is about to be started in the task of keeping Indian ports and their approaches free from enemy submarines and minelayers; secondly, to act as escort vessels, that is, as sea-going ships, to escort convoys of merchant ships or transports and to protect them against attack from submarines or light surface craft. More they cannot do. For defence against a raid by even a single heavily armed ship, India must rely upon the Royal Navy. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das was wrong in thinking that India, by accepting the remission of the contribution, has forfeited her claim to defence by the Royal Navy. She has not. She now will obtain that defence free of all charge—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I am glad you have corrected me.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE——the defence that is costing England in the coming year £123 millions or so. The position is entirely unchanged except that India, instead of having to pay something, pays nothing.

I cannot say very much about the remarks of the Honourable Sir A. P. Patro who thinks that not only should we increase the Naval and Air Force but also the Army. I am in this matter in entire agreement with the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das who says that the expenditure on defence in this country is already as high as it ought to be. I cordially agree with this, and every effort is being made by Government to keep it down. Where we can get the services of armaments free, we take them. Where we can get grants from His Majesty's Government to eke out our slender resources, we take them, but we take them thankfully. As regards the grant for mechanisation. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has said in this House that we are all thankful for what we have got. His Excellency is perfectly right. If we could have got more, we should be even more thankful than we are now. It is not, however, correct to think that the rearmament of the British Army demanded a certain type of equipment and that was unhesitatingly applied to India. The reason for the sudden rearmament or rather the decision to effect rearmament—they have not yet done it—the decision was due certainly to the fact that there was a change of organisation in England. But we should not have accepted it if we were not convinced that it was for the benefit of the Army in India. Again, there is no doubt I think that we could quite readily maintain our position on the Frontier without mechanisation, but we should maintain it at a greater cost of men and ultimately of money.

I was asked to say why we kept Indian units up to war strength. The answer is that the Army has been reduced to so small a size that it is imperatively necessary to keep what we have on a war footing, ready to go to war at once. Also our experiences in the last war in the matter of reservists was that if they had been absent from the colours for any length of time they were not at once efficient physically for the hardships of modern war. We cannot therefore afford to fill up with reservists when war starts. Reservists we must have to replace casualties, but we do not want to depend on them to take the field in the first instance.

In his last speech the Honourable Mover made all manner of gloomy prophecies. He said that he believed to start with that the saving which has

[Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie.]

been envisaged on the mechanisation of certain units of the Army will not materialise. The answer is that as far as I know at present it will exceed the sum stated. He appeared to find a grievance in the fact that much of the saving had been secured by sending one of the cavalry units back to England. I do not see why. Surely we are entitled to get our savings in any way we can. Mechanisation is an extraordinarily expensive process. It will cost a very great deal; but the saving was effected and I do not think that the method of effecting it should be a cause of wrath. We shall have to work out some similar scheme for any further degree of mechanisation that is found to be necessary. But as for a vast additional burden, in addition to that which at present rests on this country, being imposed by an enormous expansion of mechanisation in the future, I can assure the Honourable Member that that will not happen. We are fully aware that this country cannot afford to endure much more of a burden than it does already. At present India has to rely for her defence at sea and in an emergency also in the air on the Empire. She can to a very great extent rely on herself for defence on land. If it became necessary for England to take that burden upon herself also, she would do so rather than cripple the people of India.

One or two other misunderstandings I think I must mention before I sit down. Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das in opening his speech said that he thought that the people of the Frontier were becoming less dangerous, less ferocious and more kindly disposed towards their fellowmen. At the end of his speech however, he said that raids and kidnappings still went on as before in spite of the expenditure on Frontier operations. Well, he may be right about their becoming more amenable and civilised. I think to some extent he is. He is certainly right that raids and kidnappings do still go on, and the conclusion is that if the expenditure which we have had to bear had not been incurred, those raids and kidnappings would have been multiplied accordingly.

The Honourable Pandit Kunzru at the close of his speech said that modern equipment was not necessary against people on the Frontier because the only asset they had was bravery, and compared them with the Abyssinians and the luckless Chinese. I assure him that he is entirely mistaken. The only equipment they have, it is true, is their rifles. But they know how to use them and know how to use their country, which is their most valuable asset. If they were to come out into the plains and take on the Regular Army in the open, then of course they would stand no chance whatever. But they do not. They bide their time. (An Honourable Member: "What about the Fakir of Ipi's letter?") I am not very clear about the Fakir of Ipi's letter. I do not remember myself having seen it, but all that I can say on the subject of the Fakir of Ipi is that his aggression on British territory, the aggression inspired by him, was deliberate and unprovoked.

With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: My Honourable friend promised to deal with the suggestion of the Incheape Committee that the Army in ordinary times should not always be on a war footing.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: I did so at considerable length.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to redistribute the Defence expenditure between the land, sea and air forces so as to provide for the more adequate defence of the country by sea and air."

Question put: the Council divided:

AYES-14.

Biyani, The Honourable Mr. B. N.
Chettiyar, The Honourable Mr. Chidambaram.
Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr.
Kalikar, The Honourable Mr. V. V.
Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir.
Kunzru, Honourable Pandit Hirday
Nath.

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Mahapatra, The Honourable Mr. Sitakanta. Mitha, The Honourable Sir Suleman Cassum Haji.

Motilal, The Honourable Mr. G. S. Muhammad Husain, The Honourable

Haji Syed.

Padshah Sahib Bahadur, The Honourable Saived Mohamed.

Pantulu, The Honourable Mr. Ramadas. Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.

Ray Chaudhury, The Honourable Mr. Kumarsankar.

NOES-25.

Akram Husain Bahadur, The Honourable Prince Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad.

Ataullah Khan Tarar, The Honourable Chaudhri.

Buta Singh, The Henourable Sardar.
Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Raja.
Devadoss, The Honourable Sir David.
Ghosal, The Honourable Sir Joana.
Govindachari, The Honourable Rao Bahadur K.

Haidar, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din

Hissamuddin Bahadur, The Honourable Lt.-Col. Sir.

Ismail Ali Khan, The Honourable Kunwar Haji.

Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Kunwar Sir. Khurshid Ali Khan, The Honourable Nawabzada.

Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.

Muhammad Yakub, The Honourable Sir. Niamatullah, The Honourable Chaudhri. Nihal Singh, The Honourable Sirdar. Nixon, The Honourable Mr. J. C.

Ogilvie, The Honourable Mr. C. M. G.

Puckle, The Honourable Mr. F. H.

Reid Kay, The Honourable Mr. J. Roy, The Honourable Mr. S. N.

Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie.

Singh, The Honourable Raja Devaki Nandan Prasad.

Williams, The Honourable Mr. A. deC. Yeatts, The Honourable Mr. M. W. M.

The Motion was negatived.

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

The Council reassembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE REDUCTION IN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to form a Committee of the Members of the Central Legislature to examine the Defence Budget with a view to reducing the expenditure generally, and in particular to attain the following objectives: (a) reductions in Ancillary and Engineering Department expenses; (b) increase in the income from disposal of stores; (c) the possibility of transferring part of pension charges to the British Government; (d) the feasibility of questioning the composition of capitation charges; and (e) the equity or otherwise of charging the whole or part of the contribution for the National Health Insurance and the Unemployment Assurance for British soldiers."

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

Sir, this very long Resolution has been brought forward with a small objective, that is, to reduce the expenditure of the Government of India on its Defence Department. There is a similarity between the Resolution which our Honourable colleague Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru moved and the one I am now moving.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: If you say it is a similar Resolution to that, I will disallow it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Sir, what I am saying is, that which was a means for him is an end for me, that one of the methods which he adopted for the attainment of his Resolution is the objective of my Resolution. What was a means to an end for him is the end itself for me.

THE HONOUBABLE THE PRESIDENT: If you argue that it is substantially the same Resolution, I will not allow you to move it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: It is not substantially the same. His objective was quite different to mine, but one of the methods which he adopted is the objective of my Resolution.

Sir, the terms of the Resolution are wide enough to embrace in it the whole question of the defence expenditure, including the strength, equipment and composition of our defence forces. But I am going to impose a self-denying ordinance on myself in not questioning the equity of fostering British forces on Indian revenues. And, Sir, when I say this, I bear also in mind that even this Government of India had once claimed from the Garron Tribunal that His Majesty's Government should pay us the entire cost of the British personnel in the Army in India. That will remain, Sir, a monument of unwilling nationalism—although it was not pursued—of the Government of India. Sir, the Motion which I move is not a cut Motion in which I have to substantiate my claim before I can ask the Government to accept the demand. It is a recommendation that a committee should be formed to examine certain items. And for that, Sir, my duty is simply to make out a prima facie case and leave the details and the items to be worked out by the committee, if it is ever formed.

Sir, before we take up the items of my Resolution I should like to mention two things which would help to give us a correct picture. Are the defence expenditures now and that of former years comparable? Usually, Sir, the net figure of defence expenses is brought forward and we are told that a saving has been made over the past expenditure. But the correct method is to look at the gross budgeted amount without any reduction being made for receipts from His Majesty's Government and from the Defence Reserve Funds, because His Majesty's contribution of Rs. 2 crores per year is a new item. It did not exist formerly and the reduction in the expenditure charged to the Defence Reserve Fund does not mean that the defence expenses have been brought down.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Ogilvie told us this morning that since 1922, Rs. 231 crores have been reduced in the military budget.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Sir, I am not going to trace the history so far back but I will be able to trace it for about five or six years.

The fact that Burma has been separated from India has also contributed to a reduction in the expenses. These three items—contribution from His Maiesty's Government, separation of Burma, and payments from the Defence Reserve Funds—are extraordinary items and not so small that they should be overlooked. I therefore suggest, Sir, that the comparable item of expenditure is the gross expenses. On that basis, Sir, I find that within the space of a year there has been an enormous increase in the defence expenses of the Government of India. The accounts for the year 1936-37 show that the gross expenditure of the Government of India at the time when Burma formed part of India was Rs. 50 crores 67 lakhs, and they have budgeted this year for an expenditure of Rs. 52 crores and 28 lakhs—an increase of Rs. 1.51 crores on expenses. And if you add to it the probable saving of Rs. 1 crore from the separation of Burma you really get the figure of increase between the expenses up to the 31st March, 1937 and for the coming year of nearly Rs. 2½ crores. This is what has been stated by the Henourable the Finance Member to be very minor increases in the defence expenditure. The items with which I am particularly concerned are the main heads in the Defence Estimates, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8. These are the parts which do not deal with the pay and emoluments of the fighting forces, I will call them the business part of the Defence Department. Here we find that in 1931-32, before retrenchment started, the Government had budgeted for an expenditure of Rs. 25.38 crores, and the accounts for 1936-37 showed that the expenditure incurred by the Government of India was Rs. 21.82 crores, but for the future the Government budgeted for an expenditure of Rs. 23.37 crores, which means an increase of Rs. 1.55 crores under these six heads. To this has to be added Rs. 40 lakes which the Budget papers show as the amount of reduction secured on separation of Burma under these six heads. So, the increase is nearly Rs. 2 crores on the business side of the administration of the defence forces in these two years. That, Sir, is alarming enough. But when we go into details, we find that the condition is still worse. The Honourable Member referred to the fact that our defence expenditure has been reduced by Rs. 22 crores-

THE HONOURABLE Mr. C. M. G. OGILVIE: Rs. 23½ crores.

The Honourable Mr. Hossain IMAM:——Rs. 23½ crores. That shows how great is the necessity of having a constant vigilance and care and scrutiny of the Department by outsiders. He will bear me out when I say that the first reduction was brought about by the Inchcape Committee and the second reduction of the enormous amount of Rs. 6 crores was brought about by the formation of the Retrenchment Committee in 1931. The Retrenchment Committees, whenever they have been formed, have borne fruit and but for them the Defence Department would not have been able to reduce the expenditure as substantially as it has done in these years. I do not complain, Sir. The Army people are notoriously good-hearted and are easily caught in this world which is full of business men who know only one thing, and that is, to make money, and whose one desire and whose whole attention is directed towards this laudable object.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: And what is your desire?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: I am suggesting that the Army Department are not quite as astute as the business men.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am speaking of your personal desire.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Everybody has got a desire to make money. That is why I say, the laudable desire of our business men. I do not condemn them for it. I was saying, Sir, that the Defence Department have committed a mistake in deciding that the ancillary services and manufacturing departments and other things pertaining to them should be run by the Military authorities. In England itself, this is not the system. There is a great deal of the civilian element there. The Retrenchment Committee also made a pointed recommendation to the effect that there should be more and more association of Indians on the business side of the Army. That one recommendation, if fully given effect to, would give beneficial permanent results. The fact is well known that a British soldier costs about three times more than an Indian soldier. The Army authorities employed to deal with the business side of the Defence Department could be substituted by Indian personnel at less than half the cost. That is a very fruitful source of gain. In one instance, I can say to the credit of the Defence Department, that they have accepted our demand. I am told that they are in this one instance acting on the principle of Indianisation. I am referring to the Cantonment Officers. They are taking Indians there. But in the manufacturing departments and in the administration of other ancillary services they do not take Indians. I hope that this measure will be adopted finally. do not want the present incumbents to be dismissed, but I certainly desire that whenever there is a vacancy, it should first go to an Indian and if an Indian is not available, then and then alone should it go to anybody else. I am told, Sir, that in the other House, a gallant Member, who has had some experience of the Army also, was very critical that the Defence Department employed British nurses in place of Indian nurses. That shows one of the ways in which economy might be effected by substitution of Indian personnel in new recruitment. It might be said that already there has been more than enough of retrenchment and that it was not necessary to flog a dead horse. But I may be excused if I say that slowly but surely expenditure is rising up to its ordinary old level. If the figures are suitably modified by taking into account, as I said at the beginning, the contribution of His Majesty's Government and the separation of Burma, you will find that the figure stands very nearly at the old figure at which it was about 1931. What is the harm if we form a committee? The committee will at the most cost you a few thousands. But do you believe that the management of the Defence Department is so perfect that there is not room for a saving of a few lakhs? There are any amount of loopholes left, not through any fault of the Department but merely because they being small are overlooked, and the great advantage of having a retrenchment committee is that it brings out the latent powers of scrutiny and improvement which there is in the officials. I can say from personal experience that we received more ideas from the Departments themselves than we could suggest ourselves, and it is only to bring out those latent possibilities that I want a retrenchment committee.

Now, let me deal with the general question which does not involve economy but appertains to the correct method of accounting. I was told that Burma is contributing something to the Government of India for the Indian troops serving in Burma, but in the budget estimates while there is a receipt for troops serving in Hong Kong there is no receipt shown from the Government of Burma. That would not make any difference in our total budget, but it would be a correct method if that income is shown in the defence budget rather than in the Finance Department's income. Secondly, there are the pensionary charges for military personnel which Burma is paying now on an actual basis. Formerly it was decided that the payments would

be on an estimated basis. Then it would have been difficult to distribute it between savings and military pensions. But since the appropriation committee have decided that the division should be on the actual payments made by the Government of India, I think it would be proper that this contribution from Burma for military pensionary charges should also find a place in the defence budget.

Now we come to the general questions of the relief given by His Majesty's Government by way of help for mechanisation and in letting us off from the naval contribution. The Honourable the Finance Member remarked that it is not proper to look a gift horse in the mouth, but I wonder what a man should do if the gift horse is only a carease which costs much to throw out. Our mechanization is of this nature. We are getting Rs. 80 lakhs so that we may be asked to spend Rs. 21 crores. That point has been sufficiently stressed in the discussion on Pandit Kunzru's Resolution and I need not dilate upon it. Suffice it to say that we all think that mechanisation has been forced upon us by the bait of Rs. 80 lakhs. Up to the time that Rs. 80 lakhs was not promised, the Government of India with all its callousness had not the heart to foist this scheme upon us. It is only under cover of this gift of the gods that they have taken courage and come forward with a mechanisation programme. We would not object to mechanisation provided a stabilised military budget at the actual figure of last year was fixed and savings in the Budget are utilised for mechanisation. But we seriously object to any increase of expenditure under whatever guise it might be. The fact that His Majesty's Government have absolved us from the payment for naval defence has been made dependent on the condition that we will maintain a better navy than we are doing at the present moment. My Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru and the Honourable Member on behalf of the Government have both stated how expensive the maintenance and equipment of a navy is. Everything starts from a small beginning. What we are really afraid of is that this is the thin end of the wedge. This year we might be able to balance our Budget without the Government coming up for supplementary demands. But will it be possible to do so continuously for years to come? May I suggest to him the possibility that India might utilise those vessels of the Royal Navy which on account of their being over-age and not quite up to date are being scrapped by His Majesty's Government. Every year there is a great amount of naval shipping which is scrapped, not because it is not serviceable but because it is no longer of first class equipment. If ships of that kind are given as a gift to India they would be very welcome gifts and they will not be looked in the mouth.

Now, I come to the detailed heads which I have given. I am afraid I have very little time to do them justice. The first item mentioned in my Resolution was reduction in the ancillary and engineering department expenses. Under these two heads our expenditure amounted to Rs. 10.38 crores in 1936.37, and we have budgeted for an expenditure of Rs. 10.88 crores next year, and this in spite of a saving of Rs. 27 lakhs due to the separation of Burma. So really the increase is Rs. 77 lakhs in these two items. The Retrenchment Committee in 1931-32 recommended a very substantial reduction. As I have not the time to deal with the whole of it I shall illustrate the point by only citing one department, the Medical Department. For the medical services the expenditure this year amounts to Rs. 1.53 crores. Before the retrenchment it amounted to Rs. 1.64 crores. Therefore there has been a reduction of Rs. 11 lakhs. We find from the estimates that a reduction of Rs. 8 lakhs is due to the separation of Burma. That means

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there has been a reduction of the paltry sum of Rs. 3 lakhs between the years 1931 and 1938. Compare this with conditions in His Majesty's forces in England. The number of officers maintained in those services is much below that required here. For an army whose strength is 140,000 His Majesty's Government maintain a force numbering 471 in the Royal Army Medical Corps, whereas we have 280 in the Royal Army Medical Corps and 300 odd in the Indian Medical Service. In addition there are the non-commissioned officers. referring to the officers with King's commissions. 260 and 288 are the correct numbers. Now in England it costs Rs. 1 crore and 40 lakhs to maintain the Medical Department and here it costs us Rs. 1 crore and 53 lakhs. England is a much more expensive country than India and is able to spend much more. Consider the expenditure of the Medical Department compared with the total military budget of His Majesty's Government and of the Government of India; the disparity will be simply staggering. It is one-sixty-third in England and one-thirtieth in India of military budget.

Sir, my second recommendation is that we should increase the income from disposal of stores. That, Sir, is a very petty item as far as the present income is concerned; but if you look at the value of the stores sold, you will find that there is a great waste in this Department. Things worth thousands are sold by the Military authorities not even for hundreds but for tens.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Will you please bring your remarks to a close now !

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Yes, Sir. I am skipping over things. I may simply here say that the Government is living upon the provinces in this particular respect. The stock of medicines carried by the Defence Department is foisted on the heads of the Provincial Governments for public bodies and Government requirements and they have to purchase things at a much higher cost than the market supplies. It is only recently that some daring Government authorities have decided to boycott the Medical Department, but that idea has not filtered through to all Governments that they can boycott and they can give it up as a bad job. If they do that, you will stand to lose Rs. 29 lakhs which you are now drawing from this imposition.

The third point is the possibility of transferring part of the pension charges to the British Government. That brings us to a very big question with which I cannot deal at the present moment. The Resolution of the House of Commons on the contribution to be paid by India and the expenditure to be borne by Indian revenues out of the war expenses is not explicit.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Please close your remarks. I have already allowed you five minutes extra.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: I will close in two minutes, Sir. That Resolution leaves a loophole for us to urge that His Majesty's Government should undertake part of the burden.

The feasibility of questioning the composition of capitation charges is a very important question, because on this the statement made in this House and before the Garron Tribunal do not agree. While the Government spokesman has told us that Government disputed liability for the whole of the capitation

charges, I find from the unabridged Report of the Tribunal that the items making up were also questioned, but the Tribunal did not come to any conclusion on the items and therefore it can be reopened.

Sir, about Health Insurance, I had intended to quote from the Act, but I find more information on these heads in the British Army estimates than from our own Budget papers. From the British Army estimates I find that the payment is made directly by the Government of India to the Ministry of Health for National Health Insurance, but the Act says that money will be paid by the Army Department out of the moneys voted by Parliament. I may refer Honourable gentlemen to section 57 of the National Health Insurance Act in which it is explicitly stated that for His Majesty's Forces the liability is on the Army Department out of the moneys voted by Parliament and from the constitutional point no expenditure can be incurred out of Indian revenues outside India unless it has the sanction of His Majesty's Government and that is why I have included it in the items which might be profitably looked into by this Committee.

Sir, I commend this Resolution to the consideration of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE (Defence Secretary): Sir. the Honourable Mover stated that the terms of his Resolution were wide enough to embrace the whole question of defence policy, finance and I think he said also the composition of the forces, but that he proposed to inflict a self-denying ordinance on himself and not to spread his net quite so wide. I accordingly wish to limit myself as far as I can to the exact terms of the Resolution and I do not propose again to go into the question of mechanisation of the Indian Army or the British Army or of remission of the contributions to the Royal Navy. The Resolution is divisible into two parts. The first is a general request for the appointment of a Committee to consider the reduction of defence expenditure. I can only ask Honourable Members to consider whether this is the time for such a general consideration? I need not again go into the facts of the world situation as they/present themselves; they are well known, and I submit, Sir, they do not ask for reduction, they ask for an increase. That we have been able to do without an increase is I think a tribute both to the way in which the defence services have conserved the tax-payers' money and the way in which the financial authorities have looked after us all. That in the present year of grace the Budget should stand at the figure it does, that last year's Budget, even the revised estimate, should stand at the figure it did, after the very considerable war charges have been met is, I submit, a matter for thankfulness and congratulation. The Honourable Member's main point, I think, was that our reductions have been set off to some extent by windfalls—contributions from His Majesty's Government and off-sets from Burma, and so forth. Even so, the Budget in 1929-30 stood at Rs. 55.1 crores and the Budget in 1938-39 at Rs. 45 18 crores. The saving therefore, even allowing for the fact that we have had these windfalls, amounts to Rs. 9.92 crores since 1929-30.

Now, we are still trying to effect economies. We try all the time and occasionally, in fact quite frequently, minor economies are discovered and made. But the idea now of solemnly sitting down to retrenchment on a large scale is quite unthinkable. We have, as you know, the Public Accounts Committ e, which does deal very fully indeed with the whole of what may be called the financial and business sides of the Defence Services. The Audit report, the

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Financial Adviser's review, the commercial appendix to the appropriation accounts, are all published in very great detail and they show with what particular care the Public Accounts Committee does its work. It would, I submit, be useless to appoint another committee to do the work which is already done by the Public Accounts Committee and done very well. They are at liberty to make any suggestion they wish for economies in the administrative sphere. As regards questions of policy, of course, the responsibility of the Executive here as in very other country cannot be encroached upon. It can neither be share I nor shelved.

I proceed now to consider the particular proposals of the Honourable Member. I am not sure if he is quite clear as to what the functions of the ancillary services are. His idea in this Resolution is a very wide one. But it is not too much to say that many of the trials and troubles to which the Empire was exposed from 1914 to 1918—the hampering of operations, the delay of achievement, the immeasurable hardships to the soldiers concerned—were due to the fact that the ancillary services were not in existence in sufficient numbers and had to be improvised. The conditions can better be imagined than described, but anyone who has read the history of the early days of the Great War should have no difficulty in realising that a large army of fighting troops is hopelessly handicapped if it has not its due p oportion of ancillary services. It is true to say that a small army, such as we possess, with a proper quantity of ancillary services, is a better fighting machine than a very large army without them.

The Military Engineer Service was briefly touched upon by the Honourable Member. Since the war, the accommodation and furniture supplied to Indian troops has been very greatly increased. Before, they had to provide their own barracks—they built them themselves—and they were given an allowance by Government for keeping them up. Now, they are provided with good barracks, properly furnished, and I should say, speaking at random, that the capital value of the Indian lines is now something in the vicinity of Rs. 10 crores, the upkeep of which will not be less than Rs. 12½ lakhs a year. The activities of the Military Engineer Service are moreover subjected to the closest possible examination by the Public Accounts Committee and I think that that body is now as fully satisfied as an Accounts Committee can be with the way in which the money is being spent.

As regards stores, I think the Honourable Mover was labouring under a complete misapprehension when he said that stores which were valued at enormous sums of money were sold for a small amount. It is indeed true that most military stores have no value except for military purposes and can only be sold as scrap. A 6-inch gun, for example, may cost £40,000. When it is worn out and it has to be sold; it is sold not as a 6-inoh gun but as a few tons of steel. The work, as a matter of fact, of the disposal of stores is most carefully and conscientiously done. It is concentrated in an organisation at headquarters. Such stores as can be disposed of to other Government departments are so disposed of. Such surplus stores as can be utilised in one way or another by the defence services are so utilised. The remainder are sold at prices prevailing in the world market. The income, which he complained of as being small, is I may say, likely to be reduced rather than to rise, as the vast bulk of surplus stores consists of metal articles which can be sold only as scrap. The price of metal is now rising, is indeed comparatively very high, and we are accordingly making every effort to use our own scrap to turn into new articles and are likely in consequence to sell even less than we do now.

As regards pension charges, India pays only for value received, and I do not think that anyone could seriously question the equity of the arrangement whereby services rendered to India are paid for by India and on the other hand services rendered to the United Kingdom by personnel on the Indian establishment are paid for by the United Kingdom.

As regards capitation charges, I was not quite clear as to what the Honourable Member had in mind, as to what particular iniquity he had discovered or was thinking of.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He said it was a big question and he could not discuss it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: I agree, Sir, that this is a big question but the basis on which these charges are made are calculated actuarially and so far as I know their composition cannot be questioned. I admit, however, without hesitation that the award which followed the Garron Tribunal Report was disappointing to us and we have made and will make every attempt, whenever the opportunity seems to be favourable, to have it readjusted.

As regards unemployment and national health payments also, I was not quite clear as to the Honourable Mover's opinions. But all I can say about them is that they are in discharge of the liability or rights to which the persons concerned are as entitled as they are to their pay. The amount concerned, though considerable, is not overwhelmingly large. It is, I think, about Rs. 18½ lakhs.

In conclusion, as I trust I have made clear, the present circumstances do not justify the appointment of a general committee of this character, and neither the general proposal nor the particular items mentioned commend themselves to Government as justifying the appointment of an ad hoc committee, like that of the Army Retrenchment Committee which sat in 1931. That, however, was for very good reasons. At present those reasons do not exist. Government does, however, recognise that occasions arise—they have arisen in the past and may well arise again—when non-official opinion on matters of this kind may well be of value. When such an occasion arises, an ad hoc committee will undoubtedly be appointed. For the present, however, I have no option but to oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. One of the main reasons is the unfortunate incidents which have taken place in this House and in the other House. In the British Parliament, assurances have been given that there are other ways and means in which the Legislature can have their say on the defence estimates and policy. Of course, I am not entering into that controversy for the moment. But all I want to say at present is that as a mark of goodwill, it is much better if they take Indians into their confidence at last and let them make suggestions. These subjects which my Honourable friend the Mover has narrated in his speech are not technical, as far as the civil side of the Defence Department is concerned. In case any recommendations are made by such a committee, they will be only in the form of recommendations to Government and it will be for the Government to decide which of those recommendations be adopted and which should be thrown out. Sir, I understand-if I am wrong, the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie will put me right-as regards the present strength of the Army which is retained in India, I understand

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

that there has been a saving of Rs. 90 lakes this year owing to the absence of British troops from India. Am I right?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: Yes.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LAIA RAM SARAN DAS: That Sir, is due to the curtailment of British troops in India plus a little shortage of Indian troops. This is a time which the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie has admitted is rather a very delicate period, and when in this delicate period we can make savings of Rs. 90 lakhs in a year, it follows that that saving can be made permanent. However, Sir, this is a matter which is worth considering, and at this juncture, when there is such a complicated international situation in the Far East as well as in the West, it is sufficient proof that you can do away with army expenditure to the extent of Rs. 90 lakhs a year.

As regards the saving in stores, I may mention for the information of the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie that some time back, there was a case of embezzlement or theft on the Royal Engineer's Park at Lahore, and I understand, the amount embezzled or stolen was about one million and odd rupees. I am not quite positive about the figure, but it was a big figure anyhow. We of course heard nothing about the result of the enquiry which was made regarding this loss of money. We also find that in certain supplies to the Defence Department, certain contractors became multi-millionaires in no time. That is a fact. One of them was a contractor who, within a couple of years, made several crores of rupees.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated: Indian Christians): Gold mine!

The Honourable Rao Bahadue Lala RAM SARAN DAS: I do not know whether it was a gold mine or whether it was a weak military mind! But something happened and certain contractors became multi-millionaires. That shows that there is some leakage or some defect somewhere. This being a purely commercial proposition, business people are the right persons to make useful suggestions in this direction. After all, when Government means to take Indians into confidence, and when they say that it is a matter of justice, in order to prove their sincerity of their own declaration, they must take Indians into confidence and set up this committee and see what recommendation it makes.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Are there any commercial people on the Public Accounts Committee?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: I am not saying that the committee might be from the Legislature, because, after all, the election to these sub-committees is made not on business grounds but on political grounds. You must have a man from a certain province whether he knows the job or not. Government cannot deny the fact that the composition of these committees is made on other than business considerations. Each province has to be given a chance and somebody has to be elected, and Government generally pushes the man who suits them best. I press for this because at a time when the privileges and suggestions of the Central Legislature are being withdrawn, and assurances are being given in England by the authorities concerned that the Indian Legislature can have even now opportunities of criticising the Budget, why not accept this committee? The

recommendations of this committee will not be binding upon the Government. After all, they will make recommendations, and it will be for Government to say how far those recommendations can be accepted. The time is quite opportune to show goodwill and to prove to the people of India that all this unfortunate controversy, which is still going on in the other House and also in this House as regards the change of policy and mentality of Government, is misunderstood. It will be a proof of goodwill from you and it will certainly pacify the feelings which have now arisen in the minds of the public that Government so far as defence expenditure is concerned, does not care for the wishes of the true representatives of the people.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces: General): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend. no mind to take part in the debate but certain remarks of the Honourable the Defence Secretary induced me not to give a silent vote on this question. It was stated this morning that the Defence Department have made a reduction of about Rs. 231 crores during the last 14 or 15 years. That very statement proves, according to me, the necessity of the committee desired by my friend. When the Inchcape Committee was constituted and recommended retrenchment in defence expenditure, the Defence Department never came before that Committee with the plea that their expenditure was higher than was needed in the interests of India. Then when the Retrenchment Committee of 1932 investigated the expenditure and made reductions of about Rs. 6 crores, at that time also the Defence Department never brought forward the plea that their expenditure was high. In fact every year we are told at the time of the Budget that the equipment of the Army is not up to the necessities of modern conditions and that more money is required for making the Army more efficient. These two facts clearly prove the necessity of a committee to review the expenditure of the Government of India and to see whether it can be reduced to the extent we desire. Sir, the question of policy and expenditure are interrelated. We can say on the authority of military experts that a large number of British troops in India are here for Imperial purposes and not in the interests of India. The late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his book stated quite clearly that much of the expenditure that India has to bear for British troops in India should be paid from the British exchequer. military experts say that if British troops are kept in India some of the ex penditure involved must be met by the British exchequer. So my friend desires that this question should also be investigated by the committee he proposes and then we shall know where we stand. The Honourable the Defence Secretary told us just now that the Executive cannot share responsibility for the defence of India with the Legislature. Here my frieod does not ask the Defence Department to share their responsibility, though we do, as representatives of the people, and as those who are burdened with high taxes for the sake of meeting this huge military expenditure, desire that we should share the responsibility for the defence of India. We do desire that the policy to be followed in the defence of this country should be guided and controlled by us. Sir, I am not a single individual holding this view. I may remind my friend the Defence Secretary that even the Simon Commission said clearly in their report the necessity of appointing such a committee. If the Honourable Member reads carefully the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor General he will find therein also that the Governor General is enjoined by His Majesty after the inauguration of Federation to consult his Ministers on certain questions of policy. So my friend Mr. Hossain Imam does not

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want his proposed committee to control military expenditure; but he wants through it to find ways and means of avoiding the unnecessary expenditure that is being incurred and which the Indian taxpayer has to meet for the maintenance of this huge army in India. For instance, the case of pensions was mentioned and it was stated that it was for the value of the services rendered to India. That is again a question of policy and expenditure being interrelated to each other. We shall come to know whether really the services are meant for the sake of India or for Imperial purposes. Sir, if really they are true to their declarations, if they want to take us into their confidence about military matters and if they really desire that we should know something of what is going on in the Defence Department, I submit my friend the Defence Secretary should not oppose this modest demand made by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United vinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President, there are only two ways in which this country can be helped to bear the burden of military expenditure. One way is the elimination of British troops and their replacement by Indian soldiers, and the other is the industrialisation of the country. Government have refused repeatedly to change their policy in regard to the withdrawal of British troops, notwithstanding the fact that their presence in this country imposes an extra charge of nearly Rs. 10 crores a year on us. As regards industrialisation they are proceeding slowly. The Defence Department is one of those departments which can help largely in the industrialisation of the country. To a certain extent the Defence Department is trying to make provision for the manufacture of ammunition and stores in this country, but I venture to think that this policy should be followed much more vigorously than the Defence Department seems inclined to do. If our suggestions were accepted, then without reducing the strength of the Army in India by a single soldier we could reduce the expenditure in this country and at the same time find money for the other arms which I dealt with in my own Resolution. And had the Resolution been accepted by Government it, I think, would have led to the starting of factories connected with the manufacture of equipment and stores needed by the Air and Naval services. But being helpless in these matters, we must now confine ourselves to making suggestions which would not be regarded as revolutionary by those in power.

Earlier in the day, I referred to an important source of economy, namely, the maintenance of the Indian Army in peace time on a cadre basis which would be 20 per cent. below the war establishment. I could not hear my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie's reply clearly. In fact on that point I could not hear him at all; but I gathered from those who heard him that all that he had to say on that subject was that the strength of the Indian Army had been considerably reduced during the last 14 or 15 years. If he said this, lot me remind him that the Incheape Committee, in accordance with whose suggestions the reductions to which he referred were made, suggested in spite of those reductions that the Indian Army should not in peace time be maintained on a war footing. It is not a suggestion made before those reductions were carried out. The suggestion was made by the very Committee which recommended a reduction in the strength both of British and Indian troops. To say therefore that the Indian Army is not as strong in numbers as it was in 1922-22 when the Incheape Committee reported is to say absolutely nothing on the subject. The example of every country warrants our demand that in peace time the strength of the Indian battalions should be 20 per cent. less than that needed on mobilisation. I hope that the Honourable Member opposite will give a more adequate reply on this point than he has done so far.

Several Honourable Members have dealt with the economies that can be made in the Budget without affecting the efficiency of the Army. My Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie was surprised at the audacity of the men who in these days of increasing expenditure on defence in every country asked for a reduction in defence expenditure here. But why should such a demand perturb him? My Honourable friend the Mover of the Resolution did not suggest that the Army in India should be disbanded; he did not even suggest that it should be reduced by 50 per cent. All that he said was that no expenditure that was not justifiable or necessary should be incurred. My Honourable friend must meet that point if he wishes to convince us and not deal in airy generalities which are almost an insult to our intelligence.

Sir, I said earlier in the course of my speech that one of the best ways of reducing the expenditure on the Indian Army was to Indianise it. I do not wish to take up the time of the House unnecessarily but there are certain points connected with Indianisation on which I should like the Defence Secretary to throw some light. The Army Sub-Committee of the Central Retrenchment Advisory Committee which reported finally in 1932 made recommendations with regard to the substitution of Indian for British personnel in certain departments. I cannot deal with all those departments at the pre-I will refer only to three or four of them. I shall take up first, Sir, the Army Ordnance Factories. Now, the staff that is employed here is of two kinds. There is the ordinary supervisory staff and there is the inspectorate. Now, the recommendations of this Committee were that in both these directions efforts should be made to appoint a substantial number of Indians. In regard to the employment of Indians on the supervisory staff the Committee, although a Retrenchment Committee, was prepared to suggest the incurring of additional expenditure in order that Indians might be given adequate facilities for receiving the necessary technical instruction. As regards the inspectorate even after paying due regard to the views of the Military authorities that it was necessary to have for purposes of inspection military officers possessing practical knowledge and experience of the use of the stores, the Committee recommended that the ratio of military to civilian officers should be reduced. It asked that young Indians with high educational qualifications be recruited with a view to their training in lower grades and subsequent promotion to the officer class if they proved fit. Another instance to which I may refer is furnished by the India Unattached List. From this List men are drawn for various departments of the Army, for instance, for the supply services and animal and mechanical transport services, and so on. Now, the Committee recommended the substitution of qualified Indians for British other ranks of the Unattached List in all these establishments. Similarly there were other recommendations dealing with the Indian Army Ordnance Corps. Now, I ask for information in regard to these things because the pamphlet, "Summary of important matters concerning the Defence Services in India", gives very brief information with regard to the employment of Indians. For instance, with regard to the Ordnance Factories all that is said in the Summary for 1936-37 is that one Indian with requisite academic qualifications had been appointed as Assistant Works Manager in an Ordnance Factory. Nothing is said here with regard to the policy which is going to be followed in future. The other day, I looked up the Army List in order to find out what was the number of Indians appointed in the

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

various factories under the control of the Defence Department. And what did I find, Sir? There is one Indian in the Ammunition Factory at Kirkee who was appointed at the commencement of the current year and there are two Indians in the Inspectorate of Commercial Stores at Kirkee. As regards the higher personnel in the remaining factories, I do not find the name of a single Indian. Take, Sir, the Harness and Saddlery Factory at Cawnpore or the Clothing Factory at Shahjahanpur. Even there I did not find the name of a single Indian. The other factories deal with the manufacture of rifles, ammunition, etc. It may be said that the men employed in them must possess military experience or high technical qualifications. As regards the first point, I would say that I find the names of a number of civilians in their staffs. Do not substitute Indian civilians for the military men employed in these departments, if you think this cannot be done. But when you employ civilians, you can certainly take care to see that an adequate number of Indians are employed. I could, Sir, refer to a number of factories to bring out the point that I have in view, but it is not necessary for me to dwell any more on the subject. As regards the second point, I shall grant that it is necessary that those who are employed in the factories to which I have drawn attention should have received highly efficient and specialised training. Well, the Defence Department has accepted the policy of employing Indians in the Army Veterinary Department and I think is even prepared to send capable young men to England to receive the necessary training. Even if this be not so, what is there to prevent Government from sending capable men to England and giving them the necessary training. With regard to civil aviation, the practice of giving scholarships for the training of Indian young men is followed by the department concerned. In other departments too, under pressure from the Legislature a similar policy has occasionally been followed. Why should the Defence Department not follow these examples? I hope. Sir, that when my Honourable friend Mr. Ogilvie gets up to make his closing speech, he will be good enough to answer the questions that I have put to him so that we may know to what extent the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee appointed in 1931 have been carried out.

THE HONOURABLE MB. HOSSAIN IMAM: Mr. President, my task has been greatly lightened by the reply of the Honourable the Defence Secretary. He blamed me, Sir, for spreading my net too wide. But he should consider the magnitude of the budget for which he is responsible. Unless I spread it wide, I am afraid I will not be able to catch any fish.

Now, I come to his arguments. One was, whether the present is the time for revising and looking into our defence budget; on that question, Sir, the Honourable Pandit Kunzru replied that we do not want, at least in this Resolution, a reduction in the fighting forces. If we had asked for that, the reply of the Honourable Member would have been opportune. But when we ask that the administration should be looked into, I think this is the most suitable time to do it, because now we are embarking on an expansion programme. And it is in these conditions that expenditure outstrips the scrutiny of the Financial Departments. Everyone knows how profiteering went on during the war. I have learned of one instance even in my own country. A contractor in the Poona area was given a contract to build something. The war ended. The contractor was asked to stop the work and he was actually paid more for the unfinished work than he would have been paid for the finished work. That is the kind of thing which has the habit of cropping up in times

of stress, and therefore I thought this to be a most opportune time to investigate and to find out the condition of our military disbursements. Now, Sir, the Honourable Member stated that the Public Accounts Committee scrutinises all the expenses and therefore there is no necessity of having a retrenchment committee. Personally, Sir, I think the functions of the Public Accounts Committee are not of this character. It is not there to reduce expenses. Its proper function, Sir, as far as I have been able to study the question, is to scrutinise whether proper sanctions have been taken for all expenses or not, whether, if there has been an increase in the Budget, it was a preventible increase or not. It is more a body which examines the equity of the expenditure as affecting the Budget and not as affecting the expenses per se.

Sir, he referred to the fact that I have not been able to make myself clear about the capitation charges. I am sorry, Sir, that in my original speech I did not find the time, although I came prepared to deal with the question. There is not time even now to go into details but I would refer him to question No. 55 of the 27th February, 1935, in the Council of State. If he will study that and compare it with the unabridged Garron Tribunal Report, with the notes of the people composing it, he will find that there is a serious discrepancy, inasmuch as the items which make up the capitation charges were questioned in England by our representatives. But the Garron Tribunal did not come to any conclusion. In order to hide this fact, it is not publicly admitted that we had questioned the components of the charge. I have given a list of the items which are new charges imposed by the War Office after the war and which had not been paid in former years. We are paying capitation charges now for well nigh 65 years.

The Honourable Mr. Ogilvie also said that I have not cleared up exactly what I want in respect of the Military Engineering Service. I admit, Sir, that I have not done so. But I would remind him that in the Military Engineering Service, the position is that you have to maintain a reserve for your requirements during war. For peace time, such a huge army of officers as you maintain in the Military Engineering Service is not required. In England, they have tried a method whereby the civilians get a salary or payment from the War Office for making themselves liable to serve in war. This they have done in the Medical Department. Under the Warren Fisher Scheme, there has been a great reduction in the number of officers in the Royal Army Medical Corps. It is quite possible that in India we might do the same thing with the Military Engineering Service, if there is a will to do it.

I welcome the Honourable Member's assurance that when there is a necessity——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Your time is up now.

THE HONOUBABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Sir, I commenced only at three or four minutes to four.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You are mistaken.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Very well, Sir. I shall conclude now.

The Honourable Pandit Kunzru referred to a very pertinent question about the reduction from the sanctioned strength of the Army. The Honourable the Army Secretary referred us back to the reduction made in the strength

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of the Army. But what he meant was that the sanctioned establishment and the actual number of people on the establishment is different in peace time. In England, although the establishment of all ranks in 1937 was expected to be 155,225, the effective all ranks on the 1st January, 1937, was 130,000—a reduction of very nearly 20 per cent. It is this kind of reduction which the Honourable Member demands. Sir, the condition of the British Army in India was exactly the reverse. I find that the sanctioned strength of the British Army in India was 57,045, whereas the effective, all ranks, on 1st January, 1937, was 58,239, so that, of the British Army at least, the peace strength was more than the sanctioned strength. If we follow the precedent of the British Army, and maintain our portion also on the reduced scale, there will be an enormous saving not only in the British part of the army but in the Indian Army as well. Now, Sir, it is useless to try to convince Government because they cannot be moved until there is an earthquake like that at Quetta! But there are any number of methods by which we can reduce our expenses. There is an item—disposal of stores—to which I have referred There are bullets and shells and other things of that kind. Do they mean that these stocks are kept on from year to year and not disposed of? There must be a time when they will become either useless or obsolete or unreliable. They can be profitably dealt with if there is a desire to do so. I am told they are sometimes sent to be sunk in the ocean, but I can not vouchsafe the correctness of this.

I will only touch on one more point---

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You cannot go into a new point now.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: I am not going into any new point. The Honourable Member also referred to National Health Insurance, and said a very small sum was involved—Rs. 18 lakhs. I would remind him, Sir, that two very trustworthy persons recommended during the retrenchment campaign a course of action which the Government did not accept. In Appendix C to the Interim Report of the Army Sub-Committee of the Central Retrenchment Advisory Committee, in paragraph 5 it is stated:

"As regards certain items of expenditure in England, Mr. Mudaliar thought that the payments for National Health and Unemployment Insurance were not a fair charge upon India and that these items should be included with the capitation rate before the forth-coming Tribunal. Mr. Benthall was not prepared to give his opinion upon the justification for these payments but agreed that they should be dealt with as proposed".

I want to know, Sir, whether this case was placed before the Capitation Tribunal. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar is now a Member of the India Council, and Sir Edward Benthall needs no more to be said than the mere mention of his name. He is a person who is neither a revolutionary nor an irresponsible man as we are ordinarily called. There is enough ground for retrenchment if Government is ready to be convinced. There is no harm if we have a retrenchment committee, but it will disturb their equilibrium and that is why Government oppose this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. G. OGILVIE: Sir, I am surprised to hear the unqualified condemnation of Committees of the Legislature made by my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das. When talking of the adequacy of the Public Accounts Committee he said that Committees of the

Legislature were appointed from political grounds and not because they knew anything whatever of the subjects with which they were to deal.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I might mention that the remarks I made referred only to Government support of certain candidates on political grounds. I did not cast any reflection upon them. What I said was that when these political considerations prevailed the right sort of men who knew the subject very well could not be elected.

The Honourable Mr. C. M. G. OGILVIE: Well, Sir, I was going to say that I did not agree with the Rai Bahadur in his condemnation and that the Public Accounts Committee at any rate does its work extremely well. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam said that it had confined itself to more or less technical accounting. I think that is not so. If he will examine the evidence that is taken by it, which is printed in full in its report, he will see that every possible avenue of economy which may be revealed by any single business transaction of any kind, is investigated by them with the utmost care and that whenever possible alternatives of procedure are put forward designed to save the nation money.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: May I ask the Honourable the Defence Secretary whether these Public Accounts Committees go into the several instances which I and the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam have pointed out, and if they have not, why not?

The Honourable Mr. C. M. G. OGILVIE: The instances which the Honourable Member and Mr. Hossain Imam pointed out are extremely old. Whether they were examined by the Public Accounts Committee or not I really cannot off-hand say. One of them I know of myself concerned the Punjab and it took place during the vast upheaval of the war when owing to our complete unpreparedness in every way vast quantities of stores of every kind had to be bought at a moment's notice. I think it is quite true, that certain contractors did make a great deal of money. But I submit that it is no use going back to the hurly-burly of 1914 to find a reason for the appointment of a retrenchment committee in 1938. The Poona case I admit has escaped me, but I have no doubt it happened. It also apparently related to the days of the war when, as I pointed out in my answer to the Honourable Mover's initial speech, the administrative and ancillary services were not nearly so good as they ought to have been, and as they are now.

The Honourable Mr. Kalikar called my attention to the Instrument of Instructions. I must call his attention to the fact that the Instrument of Instructions applies to the period after the Federation has supervened and it is presumed that the Ministers in power would very strongly object to the Governor General, who will then be the authority responsible for Defence, consulting a committee of the House. They will presumably require that he consult none but the Government of the day.

My Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru said that there were only two ways of assisting this country to bear the burden of defence and armaments, the elimination of British troops and the industrialisation of the country. In other words, the only two ways that India can be helped are, in the first place by a calamity and in the second place by a miracle. He did however admit that as far as in us lay the defence services did endeavour to foster in any way possible any industrial enterprise which may assist them.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I did not say "any". I said they do something in this direction.

The Honourable Mr. C. M. G. OGILVIE: I accept the correction. I may say however without fear of contradiction that if the defence services were able to obtain every possible article which they require in this country the authorities responsible would be rejoiced. Wherever possible they do by educative orders encourage industrialists to undertake to produce articles at present not produced in this country. But when it comes to heavy industry, the Honourable Member must know as well as I do that an educative order would be quite impossible. Suppose we gave one for a battleship or even for a light tank, who could possibly fulfil it? He said that the making of ammunition, etc., should be pushed forward more vigorously. I thoroughly agree with him, but what we are talking about here is retrenchment and not spending more money, and the policy of pushing forward the making of ammunition more vigorously will require a lot more money.

Minor points—perhaps they are not very minor but they are certainly very detailed-were the extent of the Indianisation among certain ratings in the harness and saddlery and clothing factories at Cawnpore, Shahjahanpur, etc. I am afraid that I am not in a position now to answer detailed questions of that kind, but again I must fall back upon a general statement which may be open to contradiction and may arouse displeasure. It is that as far as these highly technical matters are concerned, particularly in metal works. I very much doubt whether Indianisation, however desirable, is an economy. Efficient trained Indian technicians, particularly in sciences requiring a knowledge of metallurgy, are rare, and the demand so far as I know exceeds the supply and they are correspondingly expensive. I should not myself be surprised to learn that they were much more expensive than Englishmen. Certainly to send men to England to give them the necessary training may be desirable from the point of view of Indianisation, but it is hardly, I submit, a measure of economy. As regards Indianisation of factories generally, the Honourable Member may recollect that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in this House stated that he was considering the finding of places for Indian commissioned officers in the Ordnance service among others.

Mr. Kunzru also said that I did not explain to any extent at all the suggestions that troops of the Indian Army should be maintained in peace time on a cadre basis. Well, Sir, I submit that I did so, that I said much more about it than either he himself heard or subsequently heard from others, and I think I need not again repeat what I said then. He went on to say that to say that the Army has been reduced since the Inchcape Committee made its Report is to say nothing. However, Sir, with all due respect, I must contradict him quite definitely. Since the Incheape Committee made its Report the Army in India has been very materially reduced, very materially indeed. Reductions have been going on year after year. Only comparatively recently 10 whole battalions passed away. Only the other day preparations were made for the despatch home of a cavalry regiment. He complains against airy generalities. I was not conscious of having given him any. I will now give him what I believe to be a solid and incontrovertible fact, and that is, that the Army as we have it today is not above strength and that to attempt to reduce it, either its fighting forces or its equally important ancillary and administrative services, would be an act of the gravest consequence; it is one for which no one at the present time would accept responsibility. I repeat that these days are not days for retrenchment. The Incheape Committee sat at a certain time when cadres of the army were very large owing to

the war which did not come to end in India until well into 1922. Reductions had to be made. We all thought then that the piping times of peace had come. In 1931 when the second Retrenchment Committee sat India had just received the full effects of the disastrous slump. At that time again the League of Nations and collective security held the field. The recent developments which have entirely altered the situation had not then even appeared above the horizon. Even so the Commander-in-Chief of the day was compelled to state that he was taking a very serious risk in going as far as he consented to go. That since that time the defence budget has not materially increased and that the Army on the other hand has increased in efficiency is, I submit, a triumph of organisation and economy. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to form a committee of the Members of the Central Legislature to examine the Defence Budget with a view to reducing the expenditure generally, and in particular to attain the following objectives; (a) reductions in Ancillary and Engineering Department expenses; (b) increase in the income from disposal of stores; (c) the possibility of transferring part of pension charges to the British Government; (d) the feasibility of questioning the composition of Capitation charges; and (e) the equity or otherwise of charging the whole or part of the contribution for the National Health Insurance and the Unemployment Assurance for British soldiers."

Question put and Motion negatived.

RESOLUTION RE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUPREME COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEALS.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West: Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to introduce measures to provide for civil appeals to the Federal Court from the judgments of High Courts in British India as provided by section 206 (1) of the Government of India Act of 1935 and to establish at the earliest possible date a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeals in India."

Sir, I consider this Resolution to be one of the most important Resolutions and the object of the Resolution is to expedite the matter as much as possible and to ask the Government to take the measures if they accept the principle of this Resolution. This Resolution recommends to the Governor General in Council to provide for civil and criminal appeals from the High Courts, Chief Courts and Courts of Judicial Commissioners in India to be heard in this country. There is already provision in the Civil Procedure Code for civil appeals to His Majesty in Council, but as everybody knows there has been a great demand and a long one to have these appeals heard in this country and as a result of discussion in the Round Table Conference a sort of compromise was arrived at and section 206 was enacted and thus the principle of hearing the appeals in this country from the judgment and decree of the High Courts has been accepted.

Now, I would like to point out to Honourable Members the section in the Government of India Act which gives power to the Federal Legislature to give by means of an Act, jurisdiction to the Federal Court for hearing all the

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civil appeals above a certain valuation from the highest courts in the provinces and that section runs thus:

- "206. (1) The Federal Legislature may by Act provide that in such civil cases as may be specified in the Act an appeal shall lie to the Federal Court from a judgment, decree or final order of a High Court in British India without any such certificate as aforesaid, but no appeal shall lie under any such Act unless—
 - (a) the amount or value of the subject-matter of the dispute in the court of first instance and still in dispute on appeal was and is not less than fifty thousand rupees or such other sum not less than fifteen thousand rupees as may be specified by the Act, or the judgment, decree or final order involves directly or indirectly some claim or question respecting property of the like amount or value; or
 - (b) the Federal Court gives special leave to appeal.
- (2) If the Federal Legislature makes such provision as is mentioned in the last preceding sub-section, consequential provision may also be made by Act of the Federal Legislature for the abolition in whole or in part of direct appeals in civil cases from High Courts in British India to His Majesty in Council, either with or without special leave.
- (3) A Bill or amendment for any of the purposes specified in this section shall not be introduced into, or moved in, either Chamber of the Federal Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor General in his discretion ".

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated: Indian Christians): On a point of order, Sir. Is it competent to the present Legislature or even to the Governor General to accept this recommendation?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Not at all, because there is no Federal Legislature as yet and Part II of the Act has not come into operation yet.

THE HONOURABLE SIE DAVID DEVADOSS: How is this Resolution relevant?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have to hear what the Honourable Member has to say.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: During the transitory period under section 316 the powers given to the Federal Legislature can be exercised by the present Legislature.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Only those mentioned in the Ninth Schedule to the Act.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: In this Resolution I say "to take immediate steps to introduce measures to provide for civil appeals" and one of the measures would be a recommendation to the Secretary of State for His Majesty's Standing Order in Council for the operation of this section. That is one of the things which will be taken up immediately and after that there will be no difficulty so far as my proposal is concerned.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: And if the Federal Legislature does not come into existence?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAI) HUSAIN: That does not matter. As far as the powers of the Federal Legislature are concerned, this

Legislature is seized of those powers. I want to read section 316 and that would make it quite clear:

"The powers conferred by the provisions of this Act for the time being in force on the Federal Legislature shall be exercisable by the Indian Legislature, and accordingly references in those provisions to the Federal Legislature and Federal Laws shall be construed as references to the Indian Legislature and laws of the Indian Legislature, and references in those provisions to Federal taxes shall be construed as references to taxes imposed by laws of the Indian Legislature".

Therefore, so far as that is concerned, there is absolutely no difficulty.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: There is nothing to prevent you from having an academical discussion of the subject but your recommendation to the Governor General will be absolutely unprofitable at this stage.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Sir, my respectful submission is that it is not a question of academic discussion. It is really a question of importance and Government ought to see whether it is time to adopt immediate measures with a view to provide work for the Federal Court.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Government cannot take immediate measures till Chapter 2 of the Act comes into operation.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Why not, Sir? I hope the Honourable the Leader of the House will enlighten us on the legal position.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I say there is nothing to prevent the Honourable Member moving this Resolution. I would not have allowed the Resolution if I found there was any legal difficulty. But, as I have repeated twice today, the Resolution would be absolutely infructuous and the Governor General can take no notice of it till Federation comes into force.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Thank you, Sir. But there is another thing I want to point out in this connection and I hope Honourable Members will consider it in that light also. The second portion of this Resolution has nothing to do with the new Act. The Government of India Act, 1935, has nothing to do with this. Nor has the Federal Legislature anything to do with it. The Legislature here can provide the highest court of appeal in this country.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I quite agree with you. Then you ought to have put that as a separate Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: There is no difficulty in joining the first part also and certainly the Government, if they want to get something out of the tremendous lot of money that they are spending on the Federal Court ought to take some measures to get the return and provide work for highly paid unemployment.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof! Enough one court! Why another court!

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Well, that is my view.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Please proceed with your speech.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Now, Sir, what I wanted to say was that the principle of providing for civil appeals has been accepted and there is no doubt about that. I have read the section and during the transitory period this Legislature has exactly the same powers which the Federal Legislature would have when it comes into existence. We do not know when it will come into existence and the form in which it may come is also uncertain. And it is not possible for us to go on waiting and spending about Rs. 75,000 a month and also imagining that the Federal Court is functioning without any function. It may be having a rest cure!

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: The American Federal Court did not function for four years. There were no cases.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: They could afford it.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: And that does no credit to them. The Federal Court is no doubt an accomplished fact. It has been formally opened and the taxpayers' money is being spent on it. Now, is it or is it not really the desire of the Members to get some return for that money which they voted and spent on the Federal Court? Who knows when Federation will come in the Centre?

THE HONOUBABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): It may not come at all.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Yes, it may not come at all. And we do not know in what form it will come, if it does come at all. We do not even know whether there is any chance of it coming within the life of this House. What we thought about the time of introduction of Federation last year is not the same what we think today.

THE HONOUBABLE THE PRESIDENT: All the greater reason why you ought not to move this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: I beg your pardon, Sir. I say, Federation may be anywhere, or nowhere, but what about the Federal Court which is staring us in the face with about Rs. 75,000 a month out of our pocket and which is an accomplished fact? You see, Sir, the Federal Court is essential. The units have been established. The new constitution is working in the provinces. How can they work without a Federal Court? So the Federal Court is there. It is a fait accompli. Therefore, we must try and take some useful work. In the first place, we want that we should get work out of them and in the second place we also want to provide for a great need of the people, which they have demanded for a very long time. Therefore, I want to impress upon the House, Sir, that this is one of the most useful and necessary things and Honourable Members on the other side ought to unanimously not only support it but try and remove every kind of difficulty from the way of providing for civil appeals to the Federal Court. As I have said, the new constitution is in full swing in the provinces and even those who were out to wreck the constitution are now working the constitution and, if I may say so, hugging it most passionately. While there is no certainty of the kind of Federation we are going to have in the Centre, there is at least certainty

of the constitution being worked in the provinces for a long time to come. Therefore the existence of a Federal Court is absolutely essential but, at the same time, there will be very little or no work for it until the Federal constitution is introduced in the Centre. Why not rise to the occasion and provide the work which you can, and work of the type for which there has been a great demand in the past? I have read to the Honourable Members the sections which give them power to provide the work, and which also gives them the authority during the transitory period to exercise that power. There is, no doubt. a preliminary difficulty in the way, i.e., the section has not come into operation. but this is probably due to the fact that, when the Standing Orders were promulgated about the middle of last year, we were expecting Federation at an early date and that is why this section was not included. Fut today the thing is entirely different. It is being opposed from every direction, although it is difficult to say which party opposes it ostensibly and which genuinely. However, it is not possible to say whether Federation will come at least in the lifetime of this House or not and until then the taxpayers' money will be entirely wasted on the Federal Court. You have already accepted the principle by giving power to the Legislature. Why not put the section into opera-That can easily be done if the Governor General in Council accepts the recommendation and approaches the Secretary of State for India for an Order in Council. When I say "immediate", I do not mean that the whole thing must be done within 48 hours. I mean that a step in that direction should be taken as quickly as possible. That is so far as the civil side is concerned.

The other part is, in my opinion, still more important. I will request Honourable Members to consider this aspect rather more carefully, because, on the civil side, as I have already said, there is provision in the Civil Procedure Code for appeals to His Majesty in Council but there is no such provision in the Criminal Procedure Code and so there is no right to appeal to His Majesty in Council. It is only very rarely that the Privy Council interferes in a criminal case, and that only on a point of jurisdiction. I take first the case of the three High Courts where criminal cases are tried on the original side. What about appeals from those judgments?

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS; They are jury cases.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: It does not matter what they are. After all, even in jury cases, the Criminal Procedure Code gives a right to appeal, but in these cases there is no Court to which you can go in appeal.

THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY (East Rengal: Non-Muhammadan): I think that on a fiat of the Advocate General there is a right of appeal.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: As I said before, it is only on a very limited point. You take another case, the case in which a person has been acquitted by the Sessions Judge, the Government files an appeal to the High Court and the High Court convicts the acquitted man. What remedy has he? Is it fair that an accused person, who already had an acquittal, should be convicted by appellate courts who do not have the witnesses before them and yet he should have no right to appeal? He may even be hanged but can not appeal. There are other cases also. Take, for instance, the jury cases. There are cases in which the verdict of a jury is considered by the Sessions Judge to be absolutely perverse; the cases are referred to the High.

[Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.]

Court and the High Court sets aside the verdict of acquittal by the jury and convicts the accused. What is that man to do? He has to sit quiet without any right of appeal. The most remarkable thing is that in cases of a very petty character-ordinary quarrels-a person after being tried and convicted has a right of appeal to the Judge, or District Magistrate, and from their decision he has the right to file an application for revision in the High Court or before the Sessions Judge if the appeal was heard by the District Magistrate. But in serious cases—cases of murder and other very serious offences in which the sentence is transportation for life—there is no right of revision. There is only one door which he can knock at and if that door is closed or if an adverse decision is made there, then every other door is shut. There are some High Courts who consider that they are doing a great charitable act if they interfere in revision. Even if there is a good legal point some Judges say, "It is a matter of discretion, and we may or may not exercise it". Therefore, in criminal cases, where a person's liberty, honour, and his very life is at stake, you do not give him even as much right as you give in cases where property worth about Rs. 10,000, or a little more, is involved. I cannot imagine that the consequences of a decision in a criminal case are less serious than those in a civil case. In the establishment of a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeal you do not even have to face the difficulty of any Standing Order or the introduction of the Federal Legislature. This Legislature has the power to amend the Criminal Procedure Code and to establish another higher court for hearing appeals in criminal cases. If you are convinced that the law on the criminal side is administered more to the detriment of the people concerned than on the civil side, then I think it is the duty of every one of us to remedy the defects. That portion of the criminal law which provides for appeals requires amendment. So far as that is concerned, my recommendation in the Resolution to the Governor General in Council is that a Bill to that effect should be introduced. Of course, it is very easy to introduce a private Bill, but this House has experience of the delay which takes place in getting a private Bill through he Legislature, and an evil should be removed as quickly as possible. That irreally the object of this Resolution, and if the principle of the Act in connection with civil appeals has been accepted as it has it should be given effect to. I would request my Honourable friends on the other side to seriously consider, and particularly the Member in charge, the necessity of taking steps to provide for civil appeals as soon as possible and to introduce a Bill to establish a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeal.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The debate on this Resolution will proceed on the next non-official day, and Members will have an opportunity also of studying the law and be in possession of the real facts of the case.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAE SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House): Sir, I think this House might transact only formal business on the 17th, that is to say the Finance Bill might be laid on the table, provided it is sent up to this House by that date. I suggest that there should be no questions on that day and that the only business should be the laying of the Finance Bill should it be sent to this House by that date.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I entirely agree with the Honourable the Leader of the House. This will give an opportunity to Honourable Members to go back to their homes during this recess of a few days. But I would request those Honourable Members who will be in Delhi to be present here for a few minutes on the 17th March at 11 A.M. when the Government hopes to lay the Finance Bill on the table of this House.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 17th March, 1938.