

15th March 1939

**THE  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

**(Official Report)**

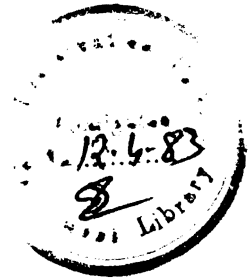
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**Volume III, 1939**

*(14th March to 28th March, 1939)*

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**NINTH SESSION  
OF THE  
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
1939**



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 15th March, 1939.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### RESTRICTIONS ON THE SALE OF BUILDING SITES IN AMBALA CANTONMENT.

1041. \*Mr. Sham Lal: (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Military Estates Officer, Ambala and the Cantonment authority, Ambala, require the residents to obtain the sanction of Government or to take lease, in case they wish to sell their building sites on old grant in portions?

(b) If so, is there any legal prohibition to it, and if so, what is it?

(c) What steps have Government undertaken or propose to take to stop this procedure?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) and (b). Yes. Land in Ambala Cantonment being the property of Government cannot be sold by private persons. If, however, the grantee of a site outside the Bazar area, which is held under the terms of Governor General's Order 179 of 1836, desires to put the site to a use which is not covered by the terms of the original grant by subdividing and selling his rights in a portion of the site, Government have been advised that as ground landlord they are legally entitled, before granting any such application, to demand that a lease should be executed for the subdivided portion. Government do not enforce their rights as regards sites in notified bazaar areas and in no such case have the Cantonment Board demanded that such a lease shall be executed.

(c) None.

**Mr. Sham Lal:** If the land is transferred in portions, is it against the grant?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Yes.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know if this was provided when the grant was given?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Certainly.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Does it apply to all cantonments or only to Ambala?



**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** It applies to all cantonments in which land has been granted under the old grant terms.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande:** Is it a fact that no rent was demanded before 1924?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** There was no question of rent here.

#### INDIAN MAJORS IN THE ARMY.

1042. **\*Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** Will the Defence Secretary state:

- (a) how many Indian Majors there are in the Indian Army;
- (b) how many years it will normally take for a cadet who passed out of the Indian Military Academy to become a Major; and
- (c) how many years it takes a cadet who passed out of Sandhurst to become a Major?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) Eleven.

(b) and (c) Seventeen years in both cases.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know what is the total number of Majors in the army in India?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I cannot answer that off-hand.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know if the number of years one has to pass, before he becomes a Major, is the same in the case of the Englishman trained in Sandhurst as it is in the case of an Indian trained in the Indian Military Academy?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Yes.

**Sardar Mangal Singh:** May I know how many of these are in the units?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I am afraid I shall want notice of that.

#### HIGHEST RANK REACHED BY AN INDIAN IN THE ARMY.

1043. **\*Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** Will the Defence Secretary state:

- (a) what is the highest rank that any Indian has reached in the Indian Army;
- (b) how many have held that post in the last ten years; and
- (c) how many are holding it now?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie.**—(a) Major.

(b) Thirteen.

(c) Eleven.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** May I know if these Majors are in the I.M.S.?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I have not referred to the I.M.S. here; I understood the question to refer to the general line. In the I.M.S., the rank which has been attained is Major-General.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** Is the Major in the infantry or cavalry?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I think there are Majors in both.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande:** Is any Major in charge of the units or Officer Commanding?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** No Major is in charge of an infantry or cavalry unit. They have to wait to become Lieut.-Colonels.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know why no Indian Officer has any rank above that of a Major?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Because no Indian Officer has yet had sufficient service.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** What is the maximum year of service which an Indian Officer has to put in?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I suppose about 18 to 19 years.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** How many Indian Officers have been made Majors?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Thirteen Officers have become Majors in due course, of whom eleven are now serving.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** May I know what is the earliest year in which, according to present calculations, an Indian Officer will be in a position to command Britishers in the Indian army?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** He would not command British ranks unless he became a staff officer in which case he might do that with the rank of Captain, unless he went to one of the corps in which British ranks are serving (they do not serve in the cavalry or infantry) or unless he became a Brigadier in which case he would presumably be commanding a mixed formation including British troops and British officers.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** What is the earliest year in which, according to any of these categories of tests which my friend has laid down, an Indian Officer will be in a position to command British ranks on the present basis of seniority of Indian Officers in the Indian army?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I cannot possibly answer so hypothetical a question.

#### VESSELS AND AEROPLANES FOR INDIA'S DEFENCE.

1044. \***Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) the total number of warships, cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines, if any, India has got for its defence;

- (b) whether Government contemplate adding any more units for the naval defence of India;
- (c) if the answer to part (b) be in the affirmative, whether Government will state the type of vessels and the appropriate cost and the number of vessels;
- (d) the total number of aeroplanes India has got for its defence; and
- (e) whether Government contemplate adding aeroplanes for India's defence, and if so, how many and of what type or types?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) The Naval Defence of India is the responsibility of the Royal Navy, assisted by the Royal Indian Navy. Particulars of ships will be found in the Navy List and the Royal Indian Navy List, copies of which are in the Library of the House.

(b) If the Honourable Member is referring to the role played by the Royal Indian Navy, the matter is still under consideration.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) and (e). I refer the Honourable Member to my reply to parts (a) and (b) of starred question No. 1666 on December the 1st, 1938..

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** How many warships have been added to the Indian Navy in the course of the last three years?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I think none.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** May I know the reason why?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Financial.

#### NON-INDIANS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

1045. **\*Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) the total number of non-Indians in the Indian Army, stating separately the country to which they belong;
- (b) the reason for enlisting non-Indian; and
- (c) the total amount spent annually on the non-Indian portion of the Indian Army, showing separately the amount paid to armies of different non-Indian countries?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) I refer the Honourable Member to the Strength Return of the Army and Royal Air Force in India, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

(b) I refer the Honourable Member to my reply to parts (c), (d) and (e) of starred question No. 1241 asked by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum on the 15th November, 1938.

(c) The Defence Services Estimates are not so maintained as to show separately the expenditure on the Indian and non-Indian portions of the Indian Army. The cost, however, of a Gurkha battalion is approximately the same as that of an Indian infantry battalion.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** May I know if in view of the acute unemployment in the country, Government will consider the question of reducing the number of non-Indians in the army?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I can only refer the Honourable Member to the full answer I gave in November last.

**Babu Kailash Behari Lal:** May I know the nationality of people who are non-Indians in the Indian army?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** British, Gurkhas and a certain number of people who might or might not be described as Indian, who inhabit tribal areas.

#### COLLECTION OF STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

**1046. \*Mr. Manu Subedar:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether any new heads of information are being added to the census statistics, which are going to be collected in the next census? If so, what are they?

(b) Are any old heads being omitted? If so, what are they?

(c) Has a representation been received by Government from the Indian Merchants' Chamber, suggesting that there should be a record of unemployment statistics?

(d) Have Government considered this proposal?

(e) Have Government encountered any material difficulties in instructing the Census Commissioner for the statistics of unemployment being collected simultaneously when the next census is taken?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) The possibility of collecting certain additional information regarding the size of families and means of livelihood is receiving consideration.

(b) The omission of tables regarding infirmities, and regarding caste is under consideration.

(c) Yes.

(d) and (e). Experience at the last census and the difficulty of obtaining reliable data make it doubtful whether the results of an attempt to obtain statistics of unemployment would justify the extra expense involved. No final decision has, however, been taken.

**Mr. Manu Subedar:** May I inquire whether the heading of "Occupation" for the next census is going to be retained or whether it is to be taken out?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I should require notice of a detailed question of that kind.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know if any revised forms for this census have been printed, or will they be available?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I do not think they can have been printed yet, because the Provincial Governments have not yet been consulted about the general scheme of the census.

**Mr. Manu Subedar:** May I know whether Government will make a statement on this subject before the House as to why unemployment figures cannot be collected—if the decision is that they should not be collected?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** If the Honourable Member means that he wishes a statement to be laid on the table of the House giving the reasons, I will consider that suggestion.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** Is it not a fact that during these census operations information regarding the occupations of various people is gathered?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I believe so, yes.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** Why is it that Government decline to collect the information regarding those people who have no occupation at all? What is the difficulty?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** Certain people, for instance, have occupation at one time of the year and not at another time of the year.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With reference to the answer to clause (b) of the question, I think I heard the Honourable Member to say that Government are considering the omission of information about caste. Am I right?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** Yes.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** May I know whether Government will consider the general public opinion of the country which is that we must not divide up the country into these castes and decide to drop all information about these castes?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I understand that that is under consideration by the Census Commissioner-designate.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will the Provincial Governments be consulted in the matter?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** Yes.

#### MEASURES FOR DEFENCE OF INDIA'S EASTERN COAST.

1047. **\*Mr. K. S. Gupta:** (a) Will the Defence Secretary please state whether there is anything in the contemplation of the Defence Department to fortify the Harbour of Vizagapatam to serve as a feeder to the Singapore base in times of emergency?

(b) What are the measures adopted or proposed to be adopted to safeguard the Eastern Coast?

(c) Is there anything in contemplation by the Defence Department to establish a voluntary National Service Register for India, as in Australia, which gives priority for defence works in the public works programme of the country?

(d) Is there any programme of reorganisation of the Civil Aviation administration in view of the Western and Eastern menaces? If so, what is the programme? Will it be placed before this House for discussion?

**Mr. O. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to parts (a), (b) and (c) of the starred question No. 622 of the 30th August, 1938.

(b) I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to starred question No. 1411 asked by Seth Govind Das on the same subject on the 23rd November, 1938.

(c) This part of the question is not understood.

(d) This part of the question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Communications Member.

#### COLLECTION OF STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

**1048. \*Mr. Sham Lal:** Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that preparations for the Indian census of 1941 have commenced; and

(b) if so, whether any new changes for the inclusion of unemployment figures amongst the educated, middle and labour classes are to be introduced into the next Census Report?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) Preliminary arrangements in connection with the census are being made.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to my reply given today to parts (d) and (e) of Mr. Manu Subedar's question No. 1046.

**Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** May I know, when the general scheme of the census is prepared, whether the House will be given an opportunity to record its suggestions after the general scheme has been prepared?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I said I would consider that.

#### RULES FOR EVACUATION OF VILLAGES FOR MILITARY MANŒUVRES.

**1049. \*Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Will the Defence Secretary state:

(a) if his attention has been drawn to the reply of the Government of the United Provinces on the 9th February, 1939, in reply to a question in the Provincial Assembly that Government had not made any rules under the Military Manœuvres Act of 1938 and that the evacuations of villagers in the district of Agra on the 25th and 26th October took place under the Revenue Manual (*vide Hindustan Times* of the 10th February 1939, page 5, column 2);

(b) if the model rules of the Government of India are ready; if so, whether a copy of the same has been sent to the United Provinces Government and when they were so sent; and

- (c) if Government propose to recommend to the Provincial Government of the United Provinces the extreme desirability of adopting these rules with such changes as they may consider desirable at the earliest possible date to prevent hardships to villagers?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). No. The power to make rules under the Military Manœuvres Act of 1938 vests in Provincial Governments and the Government of India never intended nor have they been requested to prepare model rules. I refer the Honourable Member to my speech of the 5th October, 1937, in which I stated that Government had decided that the right thing to do in this matter was to leave the working of the Act as far as possible to the local civil authorities.

As promised in my speech of the 1st February, 1938, the Defence Department addressed all Provincial Governments on the 18th June, 1938, with suggestions regarding the publication of notices under the Act.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know whether it is not the intention of Government to circulate model rules for the guidance of Provincial Governments?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** No, Sir. It is not the Government's intention. Conditions vary very much from province to province, and Provincial Governments are perfectly capable of framing their own rules.

#### BADLI-KI-SERAI MEMORIAL NEAR DELHI.

1050. \***Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Will the Defence Secretary state:

- (a) if Government have considered the implications of the acceptance by the Legislative Assembly in December last of the adjournment motion regarding the Badli-ki-serai Memorial; and
- (b) if Government have changed or intend to change the language on the inscription in any particular?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) and (b). I refer the Honourable Member to the replies I gave on the 14th February, 1939, to Mr. Satyamurti's starred question No. 370 on the same subject and the supplementary questions arising therefrom.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Arising from that reply, may I know who identified the skeleton of Lieutenant Harrison, and how was that identified?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I submit that does not arise from this question.

#### BAN ON THE ENTRY OF KAZI ABDUL WELI KHAN INTO THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

1051. \***Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

- (a) whether there is any ban on the entry of Kazi Abdul Weli Khan of Peshawar into North-West Frontier Province;
- (b) when Kazi Abdul Weli Khan left India and why;

- (c) whether Government have any information about his whereabouts;
- (d) whether they have received any communication from the Frontier Government on the subject and, if so, to what effect; and
- (e) whether Government have any objection to Kazi Abdul Weli's entry into the North-West Frontier Province through Afghanistan; if so, the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) I understand that he claims to be an Afghan subject, and cannot, therefore, enter India without a *visa*, for which he has never applied.

(b) He left India in 1919 of his own accord in order to evade arrest.

(c) and (d). No.

(e) His application will be considered on its merits if he applies for passport facilities.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** May I know when Government received the information that he had changed his nationality?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I cannot inform the Honourable Member of the exact date, but it is known.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** May I know if the Government of India ever received any intimation from the gentleman concerned that he had changed his nationality?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I said before that we had not had any application from him.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** May I know how the Government of India came to know that he had changed his nationality?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** They came to know of it somehow—I do not know exactly the source of the information.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know under what law these bans are placed?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** As I have often informed the House, there is no such thing as a ban.

#### STERLING REQUIREMENTS OF GOVERNMENT.

1052. \***Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the following statement in the annual report of the Reserve Bank of India for the year 1938;

“The total amount of sterling purchased by the Bank during the year was £19,058,000 as compared with £33,916,000 in 1937. As the former amount was insufficient to meet Government's sterling requirements which amounted to £36,010,000 during the year, the Reserve Bank had to transfer sterling securities amounting to £15,605,000 from its issue to its banking department, contracting its cash balances correspondingly”; and



(b) what is the latest position in the matter?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a) Yes.

(b) Sterling purchased by the Reserve Bank from the 1st January, 1939, to the 10th March, 1939, amounted to £18·4 millions; and according to the latest weekly statement of the Reserve Bank, the amount of sterling securities held in the Issue Department on the 3rd March, 1939, is slightly more than that held on the 1st January, 1939.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With reference to the "contraction of cash balances correspondingly", referred to in the above paragraph of the report of the Reserve Bank which I mentioned in clause (a), may I know what is the latest position with regard to the cash balances according to the information available to the Honourable Member?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** I have answered that question. Perhaps the Honourable Member did not listen. I said:

"According to the latest weekly statement of the Reserve Bank, the amount of sterling securities held in the Issue Department on the 3rd March, 1939 is slightly more than that held on the 1st January, 1939."

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** By how much?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** By a fractional amount.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** What is the exact amount?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** A lakh or so—something of that sort.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With regard to these sterling purchases by the Bank, may I know whether there is any arrangement between Government and the Reserve Bank in this matter, with regard to supplying Government's sterling requirements?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** Of course there is an arrangement; the Reserve Bank is our agent for purchasing sterling.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Is there any means of regular communication between the Reserve Bank and the Government of India in this matter? If so, how did it happen that the purchases last were small, compared with Government's requirements?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** Because the supply was less, and, therefore, we had to call upon the reserves of the Reserve Bank.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** On the whole, was there any loss to Government otherwise than by their own purchases?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** I do not understand the Honourable Member.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With regard to the insufficiency of the Reserve Bank purchases to meet Government sterling requirements, may I know whether there was any loss to the Reserve Bank which is ultimately the loss of the tax-payer?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** I simply do not understand the question. It seems to me to be of the same order as this: If you had to buy apples at a more expensive rate at one time than another, is there any loss in the matter?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** But if you have to buy apples at a higher rate, you have to pay more?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** And the price of sterling varies as the price of apples varies.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Is it not wise on the part of the Reserve Bank to buy, when you can buy them, at a cheaper rate?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** You cannot always do that just as you have to buy food only when it is wanted.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Is there no possibility of storing the food?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** That is exactly what we have done by accumulating a reserve.

#### FALL IN THE NUMBER OF SHAREHOLDERS OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA.

**1053. \*Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the statement in the annual report of the Reserve Bank of India for the year ending 1938:

“In the last year’s report mention was made of the decline in the number of shareholders since the inception of the Reserve Bank in April, 1935. As is evident from the figures given above, this tendency has continued during the year under report. Another characteristic feature of the distribution of shares is the increase in the number in the Bombay area at the expense of other areas, principally Calcutta and Rangoon”;

- (b) what are the latest figures with regard to the distribution of shareholders in the various areas according to the latest information available;
- (c) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the statement:

“So far Government have taken no action on our suggestion for the limitation of the maximum holding of shares referred to in last year’s report”;

- (d) whether Government intend taking any action in this direction; if so, when; if not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a) and (c). Yes.

(b) Attention is invited to the statement on page 2 of the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank for the year 1938.

(d) The matter is under consideration.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With reference to part (b) of the question, may I know what are the latest figure with regard to the number of shares in the Bombay area as compared to Calcutta and Rangoon?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** I invited the Honourable Member's attention to page 2 of the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank where the figures are set out for all the Circles

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Has the situation become worse or better from the point of view of concentration of these shares in a particular area?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** There is a general trend of movement to Bombay but also there is a general tendency for the shares to move about just before the elections.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** I quite see the sting in the Honourable the Finance Member's statement, but may I ask him whether Government do not consider it necessary to take some prompt and effective action in view of the fact that the Reserve Bank is intended to be a public institution and it should not be allowed to become a private bank?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** There is still a very large distribution of voting power. It is perfectly true that the large holdings are becoming larger or, at any rate, the number of holdings carrying shares in excess of those carrying the maximum voting power is becoming larger, but there is still a very wide electorate. As the Honourable Member says, there are methods of making the electorate rather narrower than it is.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will Government consider the suggestion of keeping the electorate as wide as it is, without allowing further tendencies for narrowing it, by some legislation prescribing the maximum shares?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** That is the question which I have answered by saying that the matter is under consideration.

#### VICTUALLING AGENTS EMPLOYED WITH BRITISH UNITS IN INDIA.

1054. **Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether victualling agents were employed with all British units in India up to 1927;
- (b) whether these posts were abolished as a result of a memorial submitted by them for betterment of their service prospects;
- (c) whether there are any victualling agents now retained and, if so, where they are;
- (d) whether these jobs are permanent and pensionable and, if not, why not; and

- (e) how many there are and what will be the financial effect in the defence budget of their being made permanent and their services being made pensionable?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) They were employed up to 1928.

(b) No.

(c) Yes, in certain hill sanitoria and depots the majority of which are open during the hot weather only and also in a few instructional establishments.

(d) All these appointments are of a purely temporary nature and consequently not pensionable.

(e) The number is about 25.

Leaving out of account those employed in hill stations during the hot weather only, the financial effect of making permanent and pensionable the services of those employed at instructional establishments, would be about Rs. 1,800 annually.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** In view of the fact that the extra amount involved is comparatively very small, may I know if Government will consider the question of making permanent pensionable services of these agents outside the hill stations?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** No, Sir. This form of employment is regarded as essentially temporary and might be dispensed with at any moment.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** How long should they continue in this temporary service?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I should think for a long time, but the word 'temporary' in these matters is rather a technical term.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Is there any immediate prospect of these establishments being dispensed with?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I would not say there is an immediate prospect but there is at all times a possibility. Their numbers have decreased very largely since 1928.

#### AIRCRAFT CONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

1055. \***Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to a leading article in the *Statesman* of the 4th February, 1939, entitled "Aircraft construction in India";
- (b) whether his attention has been drawn to the particular statement, "it is certainly important that they should think in terms of industrial expansion as well as man power";
- (c) what Government propose to do in the matter;
- (d) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to another statement in the article;

"Motor engines will sooner or later have to be built in India, for so long as war remains unabolished the country cannot face the possibility of being dependent on distant overseas sources for all its mechanical transport; and

- (e) whether Government propose to get into touch with the executive heads of industries and the Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress to find out ways and means of manufacturing all our mechanical transport?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) to (e). I refer the Honourable Member to the replies I gave to starred question Nos. 259 and 607 asked by Mr. Manu Subedar on the 9th and the 22nd February, 1939, respectively, question No. 368 asked by the Honourable Member himself on the 14th February, 1939, and the supplementary questions arising therefrom.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With regard to clause (d) of the question, may I know whether Government are taking any steps with regard to the manufacture of motor engines in India?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** The Defence Department are very anxious that some such enterprise should be started which would manufacture motor engines of the type that they need and would rejoice if it were so. But that is all that I can tell the Honourable Member. As to the reasons why no firm has started to make motor engines in this country, I suggest that he should apply to the Commerce Department.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** In view of this answer, may I know with reference to part (e) of the question, whether Government propose to get into touch with the executive heads of the Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress with regard to the possibilities of such a manufacture which the Honourable the Defence Secretary considers very good in the interests of India?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** The Honourable Member will find the answer to that question very fully both in the answers to the very numerous questions which have been asked on the subject referred to in my answer and to the supplementaries arising therefrom.

**Mr. Manu Subedar:** May I ask whether Government have received a report from the Principal Supply Officers' Committee on the possibility or the question of the manufacture of the aeroplanes in this country?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** The question of the manufacture of aeroplanes in this country has, to my knowledge, not advanced sufficiently far for any report to have been received.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** What is the number of motor engines which the Defence Department will be able to consume if such an industry were established in India?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** The Honourable Member will find the exact figures at present consumed given in an answer to a question by Mr. Manu Subedar which I have just quoted in my answer to Mr. Satyamurti.

#### CONTROLLING OF FREE EMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS INTO INDIA.

1056. \***Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to an article entitled "Foreigners paradise" in the *Bombay Sentinel* of the 30th January, 1939;

- (b) whether it is a fact that there are about 800 Germans in India and thousands of other foreigners employed in the Government Port Trust, Insurance, Banking and hydro-electric companies;
- (c) whether Government are aware that these foreigners are paid large salaries;
- (d) whether Government have examined with regard to non-British foreigners the question of limiting or controlling their free emigration into this country; and
- (e) whether Government propose to take any action in the matter or leave it to the Provincial Governments to legislate as and when they think necessary?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the Registration of Foreigners Bill, particularly to the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to that Bill and to the speeches which I made on the 9th March, 1939, when moving for consideration of the Bill and replying to the speeches of a number of Honourable Members. As I said then, Government have no information as to the occupation or whereabouts of foreigners in India and no information later than such as is contained in the Census Report of 1931 as to their numbers. As I stated in reply to Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar's starred question No. 862 on the 8th March, 1939, there were 951 persons in India in that year who stated that they had been born in Germany.

(d) and (e). While it is not a fact that foreigners have unrestricted entry to India since Consular Officers exercise a careful scrutiny into the antecedents and financial status of a foreigner before giving him a visa. Government have, from time to time, examined the question of foreigners in India and, as the House is aware, have decided to ask for power to register them, since reasonably accurate information is a necessary preliminary to the consideration of further measures of control. As the admission of foreigners into British India finds a place in entry 17 of the Federal Legislative List, it is a subject which is exclusively within the sphere of the Central Government.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With reference to the answer to clause (b) of the question, may I know whether Government have no information as to the number mentioned here of Germans, that is, 300, who are now in India?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** No, Sir, we have not apparently got accurate information as to the number of Germans in India but it must be much more than 300.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** May I know whether Government have watched the immigration of many people in India in recent months and whether the Government of India have any information, which may be even approximately correct, of the number of Germans, Austrians, and others who have come into this country?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** As far as I remember, actual visas have been given for about 250 Germans and Austrians but we do not know whether they have arrived in the country or not.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** May I ask whether Government do not insist on foreigners who are employed in Government or Port Trust or Insurance and Banking offices being reported to the Government of India as to their nationality?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I do not think Government have any power to require private concerns to supply information of that kind in the absence of power to register foreigners.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** As regards Government employees themselves, have Government got any information of those who are directly employed by them?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** The employment of foreigners under the Crown is regulated by section 262 of the Government of India Act, that is to say ordinarily they are not eligible for employment under the Crown.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** How many have since been exempted, and how many foreigners are now in Government employ?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I have not got exact information. If the Honourable Member likes he can give notice and I will try and find out. But I doubt whether it would be possible. Attempts were made in answer to a previous question during the Session to find out the figures, but we were not successful.

#### RESUMPTION OF LEASED LANDS IN CANTONMENTS.

**1057. \*Mr. Sham Lal:** (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state if it is a fact that the present policy of the Government of India is to resume leased lands in Cantonments, although there may not be any breach of the lease conditions by the lessees?

(b) If so, what is the number of such cases?

(c) Are Government aware that due to this policy of the Government, there is great discontent amongst the people?

(d) Do Government propose to reconsider such cases?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) No.

(b), (c) and (d). Do not arise.

#### COMMUTATION OF PENSIONS.

**1058. \*Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member state:

(a) whether Government are aware that the Madras Government have stopped the commutation of pensions;

(b) whether Government have calculated whether the commutation of pensions has worked to the disadvantage of Governments; and

(c) if so, what the net advantage to Government will be by the stoppage of commutation of pensions?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a) Yes.

(b) Government have not carried out the detailed investigation necessary to decide whether the system of commutation is in fact advantageous or disadvantageous. Theoretically it should be neither.

(c) Does not arise.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** In view of the fact that the Madras Government have come to the definite conclusion that it is advantageous to Government to stop commutation of pension, may I know whether Government will look into the matter?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** If the Honourable Member wishes to ask me for an expression of my personal opinion as to whether the stoppage of commutation of pensions would or would not be advantageous, at the present moment I am bound to say that it would be disadvantageous to Government to stop commutation, so that as I do not share the views of the Madras Government, it is not surprising that we do not propose to follow their action.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know whether the Madras Government's conclusions are based upon incorrect data? May I know whether the Government of India will make enquiries of the Madras Government about this?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** The Honourable Member should address this question to the Madras Government.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** May I know whether the Government of India have decided to charge the commutation of pensions to revenue and not to capital expenditure?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** Over a certain part of the field, I do not think the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee has been completely complied with.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** May I know whether the Honourable the Finance Member himself agrees that commutation of pensions should be charged to revenue and not to capital?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** In so far as my personal opinion has any validity whatever, it should be charged to revenue.

#### AMALGAMATION OF THE VETERINARY ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE ARMY.

1059. \***Sardar Mangal Singh:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether, in view of the progressive mechanisation of the Indian cavalry regiments, Government are considering the advisability of amalgamation of the veterinary establishments of the Indian Army Veterinary Corps and the Army Remount Department; and
- (b) the probable amount of saving after this amalgamation is effected?



**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) No, because their duties are entirely different.

(b) Does not arise.

**Sardar Mangal Singh:** May I know whether there has been any decrease in the demand for cavalry horses?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Yes, there has been some decrease.

**Sardar Mangal Singh:** May I know whether Government will reconsider the conditions of land grants for horse breeding?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I cannot see how that arises from this question.

**Sardar Mangal Singh:** This arises because of the decrease in the demand for horses?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I cannot see how that arises.

**UNWILLINGNESS OF THE PUNJAB VETERINARY GRADUATES TO JOIN THE INDIAN ARMY VETERINARY CORPS.**

**1060. \*Sardar Mangal Singh:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that no graduate of the Punjab Veterinary College has offered himself to join the Indian Army Veterinary Corps for the last four years;
- (b) whether Government have examined the reasons for the unwillingness on the part of the veterinary graduates from that college to join the Army;
- (c) whether it is a fact that the conditions of service in the Indian Army Veterinary Corps are not satisfactory and have ceased to attract the proper material from the Punjab; and
- (d) whether Government contemplate taking suitable steps in this direction?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) No.

(b) Yes. The reasons are (i) the number of graduates from the Punjab Veterinary College in recent years has been very small and (ii) the majority of those who prefer employment in the Civil Veterinary Department which offers better prospects of promotion to more highly paid appointments than exist in the Army.

In the near future, however, the number of graduates is expected to be considerably greater, and the number applying for the Army is, therefore, likely to increase.

(c) No.

(d) Does not arise.

**GRANT OF HONORARY KING'S COMMISSION TO VICEROY'S COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY VETERINARY CORPS.**

**1061. \*Sardar Mangal Singh:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Honorary King's Commission is granted to selected Viceroy's Commissioned Officers while in service;

- (b) if the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, whether it is a fact that this honorary commission is granted to Viceroy's Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army Veterinary Corps not in service, like the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers of the other branches of the Army, but after retirement only; and
- (c) whether Government are prepared to do away with this discrimination against Viceroy's Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army Veterinary Corps?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) and (b). All Viceroy's Commissioned Officers including those of the Indian Army Veterinary Corps are now eligible for the grant of commissions as Honorary Indian Commissioned Officers whilst on the active list and on retirement.

(c) Does not arise.

**Sardar Mangal Singh:** Since when has this change been introduced as regards the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers in the Veterinary Corps?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I cannot give the Honourable Member the exact date, but it was quite recently.

#### REPORT OF THE CHATFIELD COMMITTEE.

1062. **\*Mr. K. S. Gupta:** (a) Will the Defence Secretary state whether a copy of the Report of the Chatfield Committee has been received by the Government of India?

(b) Is the consideration of the Report of the Committee postponed for six months?

(c) Are the Government of India proposing to have a small committee to go into the recommendations embodied in the Chatfield Committee?

(d) What is the personnel of the committee?

(e) When is the committee to start its work?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to parts (a) and (b) of starred question No. 740 asked by Mr. Satya-murti on the 27th February, 1939.

(b) No.

(c) No.

(d) and (e). Do not arise.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** When do they expect to finish the consideration of this report?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I cannot forecast that.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know whether His Majesty's Government are in consultation with the Government of India just now over the Chatfield Committee report?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I have answered that question several times. No official reference has yet been made.

**CALLING OF THE INCOME-TAX ASSESSEES IN RAI BARELI DISTRICT TO FYZABAD.**

**1063. \*Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena:** (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state if it is a fact that most of the income-tax assesseees in the Rai Bareli district were called to Fyzabad this year for assessment?

(b) Is it a fact that a representation was made to the Commissioner of Income-tax, United Provinces and Central Provinces by the assesseees to the effect that in going to Fyzabad they had to incur considerable expense and trouble?

(c) Is it a fact that by way of explanation it was given out by the Income-tax Officer, Fyzabad, that he and his subordinates had no funds for travelling expenses and they had consequently to be summoned to Fyzabad?

(d) Are Government aware that Rai Bareli district is nearer to Lucknow than Fyzabad and forms part of the Lucknow division and not Fyzabad? If so, are Government prepared to consider the feasibility of including Rai Bareli district in the jurisdiction of the Income-tax Officer, Lucknow?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** A report has been called for and a reply will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

**REQUIRING OF THE SERVICES OF CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES FOR ENFORCING PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.**

**1064. \*Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether the services of the Customs authorities will be required for enforcing prohibition in Bombay City and suburbs, and whether Government have received any communication from the Bombay Government, and what decision Government have arrived at on the subject?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** The Government of India have received no communication from the Provincial Government on this subject.

**INTRODUCTION OF CHILDREN'S AND PROBATION LEGISLATION IN THE CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS.**

**1065. \*Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan:** Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of India have considered the question of introducing legislation such as Children's and Probation Acts for centrally administered areas and with what result;
- (b) if the answer to part (a) be in the negative, their reasons for it and whether Government propose to give their immediate attention to it;
- (c) the present regulations in force in the centrally administered areas for the trial and care of juvenile delinquents; and
- (d) if any figures are available about the number of juvenile delinquents, boys and girls, whose names are on official records in these areas for the last three years ending 30th June, 1938?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) and (b). The Government of India have not felt the need of such legislation and in the absence of any public demand they do not contemplate any such legislation at present.

(c) The Bombay Children's Act is in force in Ajmer-Merwara with some modifications. In all Chief Commissioner's provinces except Panth Piploda juvenile offenders can be dealt with under the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897.

(d) No.

**Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan:** Is it the policy of the Government to introduce legislation only when there is a public demand for it?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** The need for legislation of this character is usually evidenced by some kind of public demand.

**Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan:** Will Government not consider the advisability of introducing legislation in the interest of the public though they may not hear the public demand for it?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** Government are always considering legislation in the interest of the public, but they must have something to prompt them, I think.

#### PROBATION SYSTEM IN THE CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS.

**1066. \*Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan:** Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state if Government are prepared to examine the question of considering the subject of the probation system as a matter for the Education Department and working it through the officers of that Department, in the centrally administered areas, and if not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I will consider the Honourable Member's suggestion.

#### RECRUITMENTS TO THE ROYAL INDIAN NAVY.

**1067. \*Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) the number of visits of recruiting parties to (i) Bengal, (ii) Punjab and (iii) Surma Valley, the duration of the visits, the places they visited and the method of recruitment, for ratings to the Royal Indian Navy, since 1st April, 1936;
- (b) the reason why 72 ratings could be recruited since 1st April, 1936, from the inland Province of the Punjab, far away from the sea, as against only four from Bengal and sixteen from Madras, which are maritime Provinces; and
- (c) whether the bulk of the sailors of the mercantile marine come from East Bengal and Surma Valley through the Port of Calcutta and very few from the Punjab, if at all?

**Mr. O. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) (i) Nil.

(ii) Four.

(iii) Nil.

The average duration of each visit was two weeks. The places visited were Delhi, and Ambala, Jullundur, Lahore, Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Attock and Hazara in the Punjab. Recruiting parties also paid visits to the Konkan Coast, the Deccan, and Berar. Suitable and qualified applicants from all over India were also called to Bombay for interview with a view to selection.

(b) The policy of recruitment in the Royal Indian Navy is roughly the same as that in the Indian Army, viz., to recruit from the enlisted classes as far as possible, but the Service is open to suitable applicants of the required educational standard from all over India. No preference is given if the candidate is suitable and qualified.

(c) A considerable proportion of lascar seamen employed in the mercantile marine come from East Bengal and the Surma Valley recruited through the port of Calcutta, but a number of Punjabis are also recruited through the port of Bombay.

**Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Have the Government of India any idea as to the number of Punjabis in the mercantile marine?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I have answered that question to save trouble but any details on that subject should be asked for from the Commerce Member.

**Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** May I know why the recruiting party did not visit Bengal and Surma Valley at all?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I presume because they have not had many recruits from that part of the world in the past.

**Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Is not the existence of a large number of sailors in the mercantile marine from these two places an indication that probably recruits might be forthcoming?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I am not prepared to say that; I daresay there might be. At present owing to the very small size of the Royal Indian Navy it is not desirable to have too many classes represented in it though as a matter of fact there is a surprisingly large number already.

**Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** May I know the number of recruits from Assam in the Royal Indian Navy?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I am afraid I cannot possibly give that without notice.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** May I know whether the ratings recruited from the Punjab have got naval traditions?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Yes, in parts of the Punjab they undoubtedly have, and very large numbers of people, at any rate in the Attock district, have made their living on the sea for generations. It is strange, but true.

**FALSE CHARGES AGAINST AJIT KUMAR BARDHAN BY SERGEANT-MAJOR W. J. BERRANGAN WHILE TRAVELLING BY THE DARJEELING MAIL.**

**1068. \*Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether Ajit Kumar Bardhan, an *ex* student of the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, was acquitted by the Sessions Court of Ali-pore of the charge of "attempt to murder and cause grievous hurt" on the complaint of Sergeant-Major W. J. Berrangan of the 2nd Battalion, Border Regiment, on the defence of the accused that when he entered the second class compartment of the Darjeeling Mail train, he was accosted by the complainant calling him nigger and questioning what right the accused had to travel in the same compartment with a European and on the accused resenting such behaviour, the complaint attacked him and, in the scuffle, both of them were hurt;
- (b) whether the judge disbelieved the story of the sergeant-major;
- (c) whether the sergeant-major is still in service; and
- (d) the steps Government have taken, or propose to take, against the sergeant-major for preferring serious false charges against Bardhan?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) to (d). I am collecting the information and will lay it on the table in due course.

**PURCHASE OF AEROPLANES.**

**1069. \*Mr. K. Santhanam:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) with reference to his answer to starred question No. 94, dated the 6th February, 1939, whether the Government of India are free to buy the type of machines they choose for the Indian Air Force, and the Royal Air Force units stationed in India;
- (b) whether they are free to buy directly from the manufacturers in (1) Britain and (2) in other countries;
- (c) how many machines have been replaced as obsolete during the last five years;
- (d) whether any depreciation or renewals and replacements fund has been established for the purpose; and
- (e) if the answer to part (d) be in the affirmative, what is the percentage of cost price which is annually credited to this fund?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) Yes.

(b) The Government of India purchase in Great Britain only through the High Commissioner for India. To purchase direct from manufacturers in small numbers would be uneconomical.

(c) 49.

(d) Yes.

(e) 12½ per cent.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** With reference to part (b) of the question, have the Government of India come to the conclusion that only British machines are the best?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Yes, I think probably they have.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** May I know why they should not try one or two American or other machines to find out whether the British machines are as satisfactory as others?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** It is always better, if possible, to rely upon a source of supply from which you are comparatively certain of getting at all times the articles you need.

**Mr. K. Santhanam:** Is it the policy of Government to buy only from Great Britain and neither to manufacture it in India nor buy from other countries?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I submit it is no use talking about buying from India because it would be impossible to do so.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** In view of the fact that Britain recently bought a large number of these machines from the United States and Canada, may I know why this restriction has been imposed about purchases to be made exclusively from Great Britain?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** There is no restriction. The type of machines we have got are what we consider to be the best type. But in time of stress when we suddenly want a large number and more than our own workshops can produce, we may be, and sometimes are, compelled to go outside.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With regard to 49 machines becoming obsolete in the last five years, is that the normal number or were there any extraordinary causes, and if so what were they?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** No, Sir, there were no extraordinary causes.

STOPPAGE OF THE ALLOWANCE OF STATE PRISONER SARDAR TEJA SINGH SUTANTAR, M. L. A.

1070. \*Sardar Mangal Singh: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state whether it is a fact that the allowance paid to Sardar Teja Singh Sutantar, M.L.A., (Punjab), a State Prisoner, has been stopped?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will the Honourable Member please state when it was stopped and why?

(c) Are Government prepared to reconsider his case and give him adequate allowance?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) to (c). The grant of allowances to the State Prisoner referred to is a matter for the Provincial Government concerned and not for the Central Government.

**Sardar Mangal Singh:** May I know if there has been any correspondence between the Punjab Government and the Government of India about the stoppage of the allowance of Sardar Teja Singh?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** Not so far as I am aware.

**Prof. N. G. Banga:** Under whose orders is he held a State Prisoner?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I presume under the orders of the Provincial Government.

**PRACTISE BY ADVOCATES OF THE ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT IN THE DELHI COURTS.**

**1071. \*Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether the Advocates registered in the Allahabad High Court are permitted to practise in the courts at Delhi?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the negative, under what rules are they debarred from doing so?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) and (b). So far as I am aware there has been only one case in which the competence of Advocates enrolled by the High Court at Allahabad to appear in the Delhi Courts has been specifically raised. In that case the Honourable Judges of the Lahore High Court decided that while section 4 of the Legal Practitioners Act, 1879, enabled an Advocate of another court to appear in isolated cases in the lower courts at Delhi without permission, such an Advocate was not entitled to practise regularly without enrolment in the Lahore High Court.

**EFFECT OF THE SARDA ACT ON CHILD MARRIAGES.**

**1072. \*Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

(a) whether on 27th February 1939, the Honourable Mr. Puckle, the Home Secretary, stated in the Council of State in the course of the debate on the Honourable Mr. P. N. Saprú's resolution, asking for a committee to enquire and report on the question of desirability of legislation regarding Hindu Polygamy, Divorce, etc.,—that fear was expressed from some quarters that the reforms suggested might make the lot of Hindu women harder, just as the Sarda Act had led to more child marriages; and

(b) whether Government have definite information or reasons to believe that the Sarda Act had led to more child marriages and that the effect of that legislation has been the very opposite of what was intended; if so, what the information and the reasons are?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) Yes. If, however, the Honourable Member refers to the official report of the Honourable Mr. Puckle's speech he will see that Mr. Puckle took no responsibility for the accuracy of the statement made.

(b) No. Such material as is available is inconclusive.



**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Is it a fact that after the Sarda Act these marriages have decreased and breaches are punished?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I have no precise information. The Act is operated by the Provincial Governments.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** With reference to the answer to part (b) of the question, may I know whether Government are not satisfied that either the Sarda Act has lessened the number of child marriages, or have they formed the impression from the information available to them that the Sarda Act has been ineffective, or at any rate they have no means of forming any conclusion?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** All that I meant to convey was that Government have no data which would justify them in expressing any positive opinion one way or the other, but they have no reason to suppose that the facts are as alleged.

**Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan:** Does the statement of the Honourable Mr. Puckle in the Council of State mean that Government intend to oppose any legislation for reforming the existing Hindu marriage laws?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** No, Sir.

#### DETAILS OF "OTHER REFUNDS" UNDER CENTRAL EXCISE DUTIES.

**1073. \*Mr. Manu Subedar:** (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state the details of "other refunds—Rs. 23.15 lakhs" in the accounts of 1937-38 under Central Excise Duties?

(b) Under what circumstances and on account of what reasons are such refunds given? To whom are they given?

(c) On what grounds is the amount of such refunds reduced for the budget of 1939-40 to Rs. 9 lakhs only?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a) A statement is laid on the table.

(b) The refunds are granted mainly on excised goods exported to places outside British India in accordance with the rules framed for the purpose and are paid to exporters.

(c) The difference is due mainly to the separation of Burma. Prior to separation duty on Burma motor spirit and kerosene was classified as "Central Excises"; since separation such duty has been classified as "Customs". Consequently refunds payable in respect of Burma motor spirit and kerosene held in stock in British India at the time of separation were debited to "Central Excises". In the year 1937-38 such refunds amounted to a sum of approximately Rs. 18 lakhs. With the exhaustion of excised

stocks the payment of refunds under "Central Excises" on account of Burma motor spirit and kerosene has virtually ceased.

*Statement showing refunds and drawbacks under "Central Excise Duties" in British India during the year 1937-38.*

	(Rs. lakhs.)
Motor Spirit . . . . .	14.80
Kerosene . . . . .	6.06
Sugar . . . . .	0.60
Matches . . . . .	0.62
Iron and Steel . . . . .	1.07
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>23.15</b>

#### REVISED DUTY YIELD ON MATCHES, ETC.

1074. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state why the revised duty yield on matches, match splints and veneer was raised from Rs. 4.10 lakhs to Rs. 18 lakhs in 1938-39?

(b) Was this due to a change of rates of duty, or to any sudden importation of large and unexpected quantities?

(c) On what grounds is it expected that more material would continue to arrive from abroad, yielding Rs. 18 lakhs as provided in the budget for 1939-40?

(d) Has the Finance Department drawn the attention of the Forest Research Institute and the Railways to the possibilities of using Indian material in place of the imported material?

(e) Have Government examined the proposal to raise the duty on foreign match splints in order to lead to a larger use of Indian material?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a), (b) and (c). The variation is accounted for by a change in the procedure as regards Burma. Duty on matches manufactured in Burma and imported into India is collected by means of banderols sold in Burma. The proceeds were formerly credited under the head "Central Excise Duties" and are now credited under the head "Customs".

(d) and (e). Do not arise.

#### EXPORT DUTY ON MANUFACTURED JUTE.

1075. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state what is the export duty on manufactured jute? On what basis is this calculated for purposes of the budget of 1939-40?

(b) Was the large order for two hundred million bags from the United Kingdom provided for in this calculation?

(c) Are goods purchased by His Majesty's Government in this country liable to the payment of the export duty?

(d) Have Government examined the possibility of an improvement in this source of revenue during 1939-40 on account of further orders from the same direction or from other countries in Europe?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a), (b) and (d). For the year 1939-40 the revenue from the export duty on Jute, raw and manufactured taken together, has been estimated at Rs. 420 lakhs, which is the same as the revised estimate for 1938-39. On the basis of previous actuals the share of jute manufacturers in this total is Rs. 240 lakhs. The estimate was framed after taking into account all factors expected to have a bearing on the trade during the year.

(c) Yes.

**Mr. Manu Subedar:** How much allowance was made for the extraordinary order of two hundred million bags which was received and for further large amounts about which it is said that the orders are forthcoming?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** Answering the second question first, the possibility of further orders from the United Kingdom was too problematical to be taken into account at all. As regards the actual order I cannot give the exact figures because it depends on the question as to how far these orders are an addition to the normal production or how far they push over the normal production. As the Honourable Member knows, at the moment this order has not necessitated the lengthening of working hours. So the presumption is that it will tend to displace the ordinary orders.

**Mr. Manu Subedar:** May I know whether in Government's opinion the total export of manufactured jute will not be greater than it was in the previous year on account of these orders?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** I have given the Honourable Member the best attempt at prophecy I can in the budget estimates. I may perhaps supplement that information by telling him that I think the revised figure of 420 lakhs for 1938-39, that is, the year about to end, is on the high side—probably 10 lakhs too high.

#### PROTECTION OF INDIAN INVESTORS FROM DOUBTFUL FOREIGN VENTURES.

1076. **\*Mr. Manu Subedar:** (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether Government have seen the appeals sent out by companies not registered in India or the United Kingdom, such as, the Commercial Pine Forests Limited of New Zealand, canvassing for funds and investments in shares and bonds in this country?

(b) Have Government any information as to the number of cases in which Indian money has been lost through weak or bogus foreign concerns giving exaggerated accounts and tempting Indian investors in enterprises in British Colonies generally, and particularly with regard to orange groves in South Africa and timber in New Zealand?

(c) Under the new Companies (Amendment) Act, what are the requirements which a company not registered in India or the United Kingdom must satisfy before it approaches Indian investors with an appeal canvassing for funds?

(d) Are there any obligations imposed on the local agent, manager, or broker, who undertakes such work?

(e) Have Government considered the question of strengthening these requirements?

(f) Have Government considered any other means of warning Indian investors in cases where Company Registrars or the Finance Department of the Government of India have reason to suspect some danger for Indian investors from any particular appeal of this kind?

(g) Will Government make a brief statement of their policy in the matter of protecting Indian investors from doubtful foreign ventures?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** The question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Commerce Member.

**Mr. Manu Subedar:** There are portions in this question which relate to finance—collecting of capital in this country by foreign companies, etc.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** The Commerce Member has undertaken to supply the Honourable Member in due course with the information which he asks for; and if after that he is dissatisfied, perhaps he will address me another question.

#### OFFICERS AND MEN SERVING IN THE ROYAL AIR FORCE.

1077. \***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) how many officers and men are at present serving in the Royal Air Force;
- (b) how many of the above are Indians and how many non-Indians;
- (c) whether there is any proposal to increase the strength of the Royal Air Force, and, if so, by how much in the number of aircraft and in personnel; and
- (d) whether Government are considering the desirability of sending Indians in much larger numbers to England, or other places for training with a view to their being employed in the Royal Air Force in India?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a)—(d). I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to his starred question No. 2029 on the 9th December, 1938.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair would tell the Honourable Member that when a question has been answered already, he ought not to repeat the question again.

**Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar:** What about the answer to parts (c) and (d) of the question?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Any portion that has been answered ought not to be repeated.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I think I answered the whole thing. Parts (a), (b), (c) and (d) have been repeated in this question word for word.

**APPOINTMENT OF A THIRD SECRETARY IN THE DEFENCE DEPARTMENT.**

**1078. \*Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that recently a third Secretary has been appointed to the Defence Department;
- (b) whether the Defence Department deals merely with the Secretariat side of the Army Headquarters, every branch of it having its own Secretariat under military officers; and
- (c) what is the necessity for three Secretaries for this Department?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a), (b) and (c). I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to starred question No. 2080, dated the 9th December, 1938. There is now one Secretary only in the Department.

**PURCHASE OF "ENVOY" AEROPLANES.**

**1079. \*Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that recently two "Envoy" aircrafts were purchased; if so, at what cost;
- (b) whether it is a fact that two aeroplanes were in use during the Viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon; what has become of those planes and whether the present Viceroy is using them; and
- (c) what is the necessity for purchase of new machines?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a), (b) and (c). I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to his starred question No. 2081 on the 9th December, 1938.

**WARNING TO THE PUBLIC IN CALCUTTA AGAINST EVASION OF STAMP DUTIES.**

**1080. \*Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:

- (a) whether a Press note has recently been issued in Calcutta, warning the public against evasion of stamp duties and about the exemplary punishments provided in sections 62 and 65 of the Stamp Act II of 1899 in the following cases:
  - (i) when a purchaser demands a receipt in token of payment and the seller acknowledges such payment in the "cash memo"; and
  - (ii) when the seller voluntarily wishes to acknowledge the receipt of money in the "cash memo";
- (b) whether the Press note has been issued by the Government of India, or by the Provincial Government with or without the approval of the Central Government; and
- (c) whether Government are prepared not to put the law into operation in the case of cash memo. by executive order or by instructions to provincial authorities or to amend the law?

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg:** (a) and (b). The Central Government have seen such a Press note which was apparently issued by the Provincial Government. It was not previously approved by the Central Government, nor is such approval necessary.

(c) Executive authority in this matter vests in Provincial Governments with whom the Central Government do not propose to interfere.

### POSTPONED QUESTION AND ANSWER.†

#### PERMISSION TO JEWISH REFUGEES TO LAND IN INDIA.

‡495. **\*Mr. Manu Subedar:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state how many Jewish refugees from European countries have been allowed to land in India?

(b) Is it a fact that many of them landed before Government put restrictions?

(c) What is the nature of the restrictions now put and under what circumstances would a German Jew be allowed to land and to live in India?

(d) Have there been any cases of repatriation of such refugees from India?

(e) Have the Government of India been approached directly, or through the Secretary of State, by the Central Committees for the relief of Jewish refugees in this country?

(f) If so, what is the position taken up by the Government of India in this matter?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) and (c). I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given by me on the 9th February, 1939, to Sardar Mungal Singh's starred questions Nos. 240 and 256.

(b) I have no reason to believe so.

(d) No.

(e) and (f). I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given by me on the 6th February, 1939, to part (a) of Mr. Thirumala Rao's starred question No. 139.

### THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

#### SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

##### DEMAND No. 12.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—*contd.*

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The discussion on the demands will now continue. It is the turn of the Congress Party to move their motions.

#### *Government's Defence Policy and Administration.*

**Mr. S. Satyamurti** (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100"—  
(To censure the Government for their Defence Policy and administration.)

†Vide page 1096 of these debates.

‡Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner having exhausted his quota.

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

We have taken advantage of the suggestion of the Honourable the Finance Member that we can raise a debate and have the vote of the House on this question by moving a reduction in the vote for the Executive Council. Therefore, I want the House to vote on this cut motion as a censure of the Government's defence policy and administration.

I should like to know what is the Government of India's defence policy. Ultimately, all defence policies are dependent on the foreign policies of the governments concerned. Who are the Government of India's enemies and who are the Government of India's friends? The answer depends on who are the enemies and friends of the British people and of the British Empire. So far as that is concerned, the foreign policy of the Government has been, for many years, now a spineless policy. This morning's telegrams about the events in Central Europe must have convinced any Honourable Member of this House, who has read them, that this continual surrender to Hitler and Mussolini is leading nowhere, and that there is going to be no peace in Europe and the great democracies are now merely shaking before the dictatorships. Our foreign policy, to the extent to which it impinges on defence policy, is entirely settled by the Government of Great Britain, and we are not at all consulted: we have no foreign policy of our own, and on any questions we may put, we get very unsatisfactory and uncommunicative answers. We, in India, can evolve our own foreign policy, provided we are free to do so. So far as our neighbours are concerned, except on the North-West and now on the North-East Frontier, we have almost impregnable borders; and in Asia itself, provided we do not pick up a quarrel with Russia and China—God knows what is going to happen in China—or the Muslim powers of Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia and Iran, I do not see what there is for us to fear from any of these nations. I recognise Japan is coming rapidly into the picture, and her imperialist ambitions are not checkmated by England or America. Japan's answer to England's moral protestations is always and rightly "Physician, heal thyself". So far as our coast line is concerned there are pregnable portions thereof, but, ultimately, we are constantly told in this House—even this morning we were told—that the naval protection of India is the main concern of the British Navy to which we have only to make a minor contribution. But we are weak in the one arm of defence where the next war is likely to be decisively fought, and that is the Air arm. There, we find, that we are not allowed to make such progress as we can make, considering that in the Air Force even England is comparatively a modern country. It ought to be possible to Indianise the Air Force completely, provided the Government of India have an honest and sincere policy of Indianising the defence of India. But conceding that we are weak, I recognise that India's foreign policy need not involve us in limitless defence commitments, because unlike other nations we have no territorial or even commercial ambitions over other countries. Once India is free and self-governing, she will be quite content to be friends with all her neighbours and with all the powers of the world. Even for commerce, India is a huge country: we can be practically self-contained, exporting a few articles that we must, and importing a few articles in return, that we must. Therefore, we can be strictly neutral in the event of wars of other countries. We also believe in universal disarmament as the panacea for all human ills. I know Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence is not yet accepted by humanity, but I make a present to those friends, who think that non-violence is not a solution, of the possible picture of this

piling up of armaments on armaments. What is going to be the next war? What is going to be its result? In all wars, there is no victor or vanquished. If another war takes place in Europe or in any part of the world, I think it will be the destruction of European and westernised humanity. Whether it is a blessing or not for the rest of humanity, I will not say. But, I think that all statesmen with large visions are convinced that this piling up of armaments on armaments is doing no good to anybody. Of course, they all say: "We are arming only in self-defence, and we are not arming against others". But it seems to me that India will have no need to follow that mad race for armaments. Our ideal defence policy should be a minimum, highly-equipped land force with a second line of Indian citizens as a defence. That is where the Defence Department has woefully failed. The Defence Department does not trust India or the Indians. The Defence Department is the most secret, the most uncommunicative and the most expensive of the Government Departments. Indians are not wanted there, neither in the fighting units, nor even in the clerical units. Why, even in the Army Headquarters British officers are employed, British clerks are employed and Indians are at a disadvantage. That is because they do not trust us, they suspect us, and the real reason, Mr. President, is they do not want to defend India as such; they want to defend British Imperialism in India, and India's constant fear is not of any wars against India or by India, but against Britain by her enemies which may involve India in those wars.

And, moreover, Sir, I say that the defence policy of the Government of India deserves to be censured on the ground that the Defence Department of the Government of India consistently refuses to take the House and the public into confidence. The recent performances of the Government with regard to the Sandhurst Committee were the subject of a censure motion yesterday, and I will say no more about it, but the House has expressed its opinion. As regards the Chatfield Committee, the Government will not tell us what they are going to do about it. I can multiply instances, but I do say that the Defence Department keeps India at arm's length. They add insult to injury by saying—you have no knowledge of the army matters, and, therefore, you cannot be taken into confidence. They refuse to give us opportunities of gaining knowledge, and then turn our so-called ignorance against us.

As for defence expenditure, I want to say that, so far as the actual defence expenditure is concerned, it is not controlled by the Governor General in Council at all. The Defence Department puts forward its estimates, and the Government have got to accept them. Even in England, Mr. Lloyd George said: "I have been a member of a great many Cabinets and the control of the Cabinet is not as intimate, as close, and as effective as one would wish it to be. After all, what really happens in the Cabinet is that the Secretary of State for War brings forward his estimate and his Right Honourable friends bring forward their estimates. Then they do not criticise each other's estimates. There is a classic understanding that they will support each other's estimates". But in India, Sir, the position is much worse.

The other point that I want to make on defence expenditure is that the bulk of this expenditure, a not inconsiderable portion of the expenditure, is wasted on what is called the North-West Frontier, and on this



[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

matter, although our friends constantly tell us that they are trying their best, they have not been able to get peace. Let me quote to them from Captain J. R. Kennedy, where he says:

“For close on a hundred years now we have been fighting wars on the North-West Frontier of India. The area involved is only some 450 miles in length and a few miles in depth. Lives and treasure have been poured into that little strip of country directly during wars, and indirectly during peace in the maintenance of huge armaments in preparation for the next outbreak. Nearly all our wars have been failures from the point of view of good military execution, and all have failed to achieve anything in the nature of permanent peace.”

I think, Sir, taking the matters up-to-date, the position is the same. They waste money in war time and in peace time, and on the Frontier, war and peace time are identical,—all time is war,—and they achieve no results whatever. We have offered other solutions. If you want to make them part of India, then govern them; or leave them alone, and come to terms with them. The Frontier Government can help, Mahatma Gandhi can help, but the Government must follow that cat and mouse policy, waste money, and achieve nothing worth achieving. And it does seem to me that this idea of having a peaceful policy for the whole of India does not suit them. Ultimately, the problem of the self-government or the freedom of India is also the problem of the defence of India. We realise that, but they do not allow India to raise her own forces, to officer her own forces, and they must have partly an army of occupation, and partly an army of mercenaries in this country. That is not going to have any results either from the point of India or of her large question of defence.

And, Sir, on this question of Indianisation, they have been tinkering with the problem. They are not sincere. I make that charge deliberately that the Government of India do not want really to Indianise the army. They really want to have all officers in their hands. They have got their British Units, and there is no doubt, whatever, that the speech which was reproduced as an Appendix to the Skeen Committee's Report, under which British boys entering the army were assured that at no time would they be compelled to serve under Indian officers, is as true today, as it was when they were uttered. The Government of India do not want Indian officers really to become so numerous, so effective, and so influential as to command British ranks, and they want to exclude Indians. They make a great point of the fact that the number of candidates for Sandhurst has fallen. The answer to that is, you do not encourage our Indian officers, you treat them as inferiors, and, therefore, you are not able to attract the best in our country, and, Sir, it seems to me that unless the Government of India completely change their policy and accept the policy of Indianisation at once, there will not be a peaceful or honourable solution of the problem of India's freedom, for it seems to me that the question of India's freedom is a question of a few years. It is bound to come. When it comes, how is India going to defend herself? The Britishers say if they go, we will not be able to defend ourselves. I cannot and will not accept that argument. It is an insult to God the Creator. God did not create the Anglo-Saxon as the policeman of the world. India can and will defend herself, but when that time comes, it can be made easy and comfortable, provided the Government of India even now agree—I believe it is not too late,—but the sands of time are running out fast,—it is not yet too late, hopelessly too late, to grasp the question firmly and say here and now “we shall have a programme of definite Indianisation; at

the end of 10, 15 or 20 years, every officer in India will be an Indian; the British Units will be completely withdrawn, and India will have an army of which she can be proud, and which will defend herself against foreign aggression”.

Then, Sir, the next point is the question of expenditure. The Honourable the Finance Member in his speech patted himself on the back and said no other country in the world has escaped increasing its military expenditure,—India is an exception. I have two answers. India has increased her military expenditure this year. Britain gave her five hundred thousand pounds last year; four battalions have been transferred, and you have transferred nearly half a crore from the defence reserve fund. As a matter of fact, therefore, your defence expenditure is not cut down as it ought to have been cut down, but has been kept up on the same level. Even that figure is deceptive, Mr. President, because the loss on strategic Railways and the services lent to other departments and many other things have to be taken into account. According to us, it is roughly fifty crores, but whatever it is, it is a very high proportion, nearly 50 per cent. of the Central Revenues or nearly more than 25 per cent. of the revenues of the whole country are wasted on defence expenditure, and to say that other countries are spending less and cite figures is not conclusive. To a man earning Rs. 100, Rs. 2 is of much more value than it is to a man earning a thousand rupees. Considering the abject poverty of India, the expenditure to the tune of nearly fifty crores, on defence, is simply such that we cannot afford it. We must halve it. We cannot spend more than 25 crores, and to say that we must spend fifty crores to defend India is begging the question. What do you defend? A country of skeletons, hunger and poverty does not need all that heavy expenditure; you must defend a country full of teeming millions who live decent comfortable lives. But what do you do? You starve the nation, impoverish them, and yet you want to defend your Imperialist policy. That is not defence which ought to be charged on the revenues of India. And, Sir, it does seem to me that, unless we are able to reduce the expenditure to a very large extent and see that we get full value for our money, we can never solve this problem. The British ranks in this country cost us three to four times the Indian ranks. They ought to go, and they should be substituted by Indian ranks and officers. That will give us a saving of about seven to twelve crores a year. I will not commit myself to any specific estimate, and if in the defence purchases and defence supplies strictest economy is practised, I believe there is money on the whole to the tune of 15 to 20 crores. And we can save that money without affecting the efficiency or the strength of the army.

The next point I want to make is, what are the functions of the Indian defence forces? “Internal security” they say. It is more and more the concern of the Provincial Governments. I do not think the military authorities like the use of the forces for putting down internal disorder, nor would the civil authorities like. I am one of those who are optimistic and believe that very soon, with popular Provincial Governments in power, it will be possible for us to dispense more and more with the use of foreign mercenaries for the sake of putting down disorder. On the other hand, all of us who are patriotic, who are national, who are self-respecting, must do our best and use all our endeavours to see to it that we keep internal order and peace with the use of the normal police forces of the country.

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

As for external aggression, I believe that what Afghanistan has been able to do for the frontier tribes we ought to be able to do, and we ought to say that we have no territorial ambitions and, therefore, we do not want these colossal defence forces against foreign aggression. It seems to me that really the problem is now more on the North-East than on the North-West Frontier, with Japan coming up on that side. Therefore, I suggest that this problem has got to be looked at from the point of view purely of Indian defence and not from that of the imperial interests in the East. It is not being done. Therefore, I ask the House to censure the Government for its defence policy and administration. Moreover, throughout the defence administration of this country there is a racial sting and a racial stigma.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** I shall finish within that time, Sir. In quarters, in furniture, in amenities, the Britisher is treated as if he is a superior being, and the Indian is treated as if he is an inferior being, in his own country, out of monies you and I pay, and I suggest, Mr. President, they deserve condemnation and censure at least for that. So far as the question of improving the defence policy and administration in this country is concerned, I make the following suggestions to the House, so that we may carry them out when we are in power. We must have a scheme of Indianisation with a definite time table, which must work out automatically. Then this pretence of Indians being fit or not fit is nonsense. India existed before England came, and India will exist after England leaves this country. And every country is fit to defend for herself, and no country can go on defending another country. We can defend ourselves, we have the material, we have the man power, and we have the resources. Moreover, we want to reduce the defence expenditure by half, and we should have a first class second line of defence, a completely Indianised air force and a minimum naval force. Last but not least, in administering our Defence Department, we must so administer it as to add to the wealth of the country by encouraging industries subserving the defence needs, and by making supplies possible only in our own country. I believe that under both these heads, policy and administration, the Government of India have no policy. Whitehall lays down the policy and Delhi and Simla have got to carry it out, and we have got to pay for it. So far as administration is concerned, they are secretive, they are uncommunicative, they will not Indianise, they are insincere about Indianisation, and I feel that, as self-respecting representatives of the people, we ought to censure the Government of India for lack of policy on defence and for their bad administration of Indian defence matters. Sir, I move.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Cut motion moved:

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

**Mr. F. E. James** (Madras: European): I have listened with very great interest to the speech which has just been delivered by my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti. He prefaced his speech by a reference to the foreign policy of the United Kingdom. That foreign

policy has from time to time been open to criticism by those who hold a different view, but I wish to indicate in his remarks one inconsistency. In the first part of his speech my Honourable friend appeared to blame the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government in that it was not more aggressive than it is today. He talked about the surrender to dictatorial powers, and yet, later on in his speech, he indicated that in his view Almighty God did not make the Anglo-Saxon the policeman of the world. In other words, he would wish Britain's foreign policy to be based upon the extensive role of policing Central Europe. On the other hand, his view was that the Anglo-Saxon was not made by Almighty God for that particular purpose. I would tell my Honourable friend, that whatever may be the vagaries of foreign policy in the past of His Majesty's Government, one thing is perfectly clear that today British prestige stands higher than it has stood for many years . . .

**An Honourable Member on the Congress Benches:** Question.

**Mr. F. E. James:** . . . . throughout Europe, throughout the world.

**An Honourable Member:** Have you read this morning's papers?

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Czechoslovakia denies, Hitler denies.

**Some Honourable Members:** Abyssinia, Palestine, China, everywhere.

**Mr. F. E. James:** My Honourable friends may not like that fact, but they cannot deny the facts of contemporary history. My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, suggested that it would be possible for this country to remain neutral in time of war. I am not sure that he is correct in that statement. Speaking on a serious note, I suggest that it is almost inconceivable that in any war which is possible in the near future, India can, in fact, remain neutral, even if constitutionally it were in her power to do so. I am supported in that statement by the frequent references which are made by Leaders of the Honourable Member's own Party, in which they speak of the danger to India which threatens not only from the West but from the East. His third point had reference to the universal desire for disarmament. I am perfectly sure that every one in this House, and in fact, in this country would re-echo the desire that he expressed that a time might come when there might be some concerted effort among the countries in the world for progressive disarmament. But I would ask my Honourable friend whether, in spite of that noble and high ideal, the time is propitious at the moment. Let it not be forgotten that the position in which the United Kingdom found herself three or four years ago, internationally, was largely the result of the amazing extent to which His Majesty's Government had acquiesced in a policy of unilateral disarmament, and it has only been through rapid and efficient re-armament in these recent years that His Majesty's Government has recaptured the position, which it had once held, in which it can look other countries in the face without fear or without shame. Then my Honourable friend went on to discuss the general defence policy of the Government of India and pointed out that defence policy was intimately linked up with foreign policy and that inasmuch as India did not control foreign policy, therefore, she did not control her defence policy. He went on to indicate what in his view should be the policy of the defence authorities in this country and I hope that if I recapitulate his views I shall be doing full justice to them. First of all, he said that India needs a well-equipped

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land force supported by an Indian citizen army as a second line of defence. I say at once that I agree with him there. I think less attention has been given than it deserves to the equipment of the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces as a proper second line of defence in this country. I have been associated with both the Territorial Forces and the Auxiliary Forces in South India and I do know how difficult it has been to secure adequate funds from the Defence Department for the extension of both those forces. I do suggest, very strongly indeed, that the time has come when there should be a re-orientation of policy, both in regard to the Territorial Forces and in regard to the Auxiliary Forces throughout the country. As far as South India is concerned, there is ample material available for the extension of the Territorial Force, in spite of the allegations that are sometimes made that the South Indian does not belong to the martial classes.

Then, Sir, my friend went on to speak of the cost of defence and of the control of the people of India over that expenditure. First of all, in regard to the cost, I do not agree with him that the present cost of defence, even if it is assumed to be at the level of 50 crores, is out of all proportion either to the size or the revenues of this country. The Honourable the Finance Member, the other day, pointed out that the cost represented as 50 crores was equal roughly to about three per cent. of India's national income. Even if there is some doubt about those figures of Indian national income, there is no doubt about the figures of India's revenues both Provincial and Central and reckoning the cost at 50 crores, the amount is only roughly about 23 per cent. of India's total revenues, including the Provinces and the Centre. I have not been able to get figures as to the revenues of the Indian States but a proper picture of the relative proportion of this cost to Indian revenues should not exclude the revenues of the Indian States or the cost of their contributions to the Indian Exchequer for that purpose. If Honourable Members will look round the world today—and after all we have to face the realities of a difficult and dangerous situation—I think they will realise that the cost of India's defence is not out of proportion, when compared with the cost of the defence of other countries. The real question is not whether the cost is so much as to whether we are getting full value for the money that is being spent. There, we hope, that the results of the Chatfield Commission will ensure that there will perhaps be a more equitable distribution of the available finances over the various arms of defence. It has been felt, in some quarters, and not without justification, for a number of years that too much of India's defence money has been spent on the land forces and too little on her navy and certainly too little on her most important Air arm. I for one hope—and I think I am voicing the opinions of my colleagues in my Party—that one of the results of the Chatfield Commission's report will be that there will be,—what, in our view, is most essential—a more equitable distribution, having regard to modern conditions of warfare, of the money available for India's defence purposes.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, also went on to say that one of the rather natural complaints which he and his Party have, in regard to defence expenditure, is that there is no control over that expenditure by the people of the country as expressed through the Legislatures. That undoubtedly is true. That is partly the result of the peculiar constitutional relationship which exists between India and the

United Kingdom. But I would point out this,—that under the scheme of Federation, whatever may be thought of that as a constitutional scheme, the influence of the ministry of the Federation over the defence expenditure of the country will be far greater than the influence of this Legislature over that expenditure today. I do not want to go into detailed constitutional arguments but I am sure Honourable Members will recognise that a Federal Ministry, though it is not responsible for finance, will, in the future, be able to exercise over defence expenditure a far greater power than is exercised at present by this House.

**An Honourable Member:** How?

**Mr. F. E. James:** I would ask you to read the Government of India Act.

Now, Sir, let me pass on to one other matter which my Honourable friend raised in dealing with defence policy generally and that is the need which he expressed, and with which I wholeheartedly sympathise, for more publicity on the part of the Defence Department in regard to the activities of the defence service and also a different attitude in regard to seeking the co-operation of the people of this country in matters of their own defence. There is, no doubt, that in the war of the future the distinction between the combatant and the non-combatant will be largely obliterated. If that is the case, the co-operation of the people with the defence forces of the country becomes not only desirable but absolutely imperative, for an army or the defence services of a country cannot fight their country's battles unless they have behind them the people of the country. I know it is difficult at times to secure the kind of co-operation which I believe is necessary. I do not think that the fault is altogether on one side alone but I do appeal to the Honourable the Defence Secretary to realise that behind this demand of my Honourable friend, Mr. Satya-murti, there is support from many of those who do not see eye to eye with the Congress, politically, who believe that a larger measure of co-operation between his department and the people of this country is essential in view of the difficulties that lie ahead. Sir, I have not the time to deal with all the other points mentioned by my Honourable friend. He referred to the functions of the army. He referred to internal security. I am sorry to observe that internal security has not improved in some of the provinces since the Congress Ministries came into power. Therefore, it is quite impossible for my Honourable friend to suggest that the army should be used less, in the future, for the purposes of internal security than it has been used in the past. My own community feel very strongly in regard to that matter—that no re-disposition of the forces should be undertaken which would, in any way, weaken the power of the military arm to intervene, if need be, for the preservation of internal security.

My Honourable friend's final summing up of his own motion may be, I think, put under these three demands—first of all Indianisation. Secondly, co-operation and thirdly, control. In all those matters my Honourable friend has a considerable amount of sympathy from this side. Indianisation is a difficult process. You cannot achieve it by waving a wand. A committee has been appointed and we shall look to the recommendations of that committee with great interest. The co-operation of the people with the Government is essential: and I would suggest to some of my Honourable friends that that co-operation requires some effort on

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both sides: and if we ask for co-operation from the Defence Department, we are entitled also to get that co-operation on the part of the people. Finally, in regard to control, there is no control at present. We sincerely believe that in the next step which has been envisaged in the constitutional progress of India, there will be a larger degree of control over the defence expenditure of this country than has yet been experienced, and it is with that hope and that expectation that we for ourselves are prepared to go forward.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, we support the cut which has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti. Though we may not ditto all that he has said, and we may not agree with all the arguments which he has put forward, the main purpose of his cut motion has got the full support of our Party. We want to know—what is the defence policy pursued by the Government of India at present? We have to examine it carefully. We find that it is failing hopelessly in many respects.

First of all, I will take the expenditure. The expenditure which is incurred unnecessarily, and the human lives which are lost without any justification or bringing any proper reward cannot be supported by us. We think that the callousness of operations in Waziristan and the forward policy of the Government of India are bringing no fruits to this country. We do not know for whom and for whose benefit the Government are pursuing that policy. Government, we find, are bringing no benefit to the Indian Exchequer. The British do not say that they want any territorial gain in that country or that their territory will bring in any benefit to India. We find that that policy is opposed by the Congress as advocated by my friend, Mr. Satyamurti. We know that the Frontier Government do not want that policy. They do not want to add any more territory to their province. We see that Mahatma Gandhi does not want to do it, although he has not resorted to fasting on this question. . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): You want him to fast for this?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Yes, if he can stop pursuing with a useless policy in Waziristan. Why not? (Interruptions.) Sir, I never followed him anywhere and I do not want to follow him, but here we find that the head of the British Government in this country followed him, and we want him to follow him there too. If the Viceroy was anxious to save Mahatma Gandhi's life in Rajkot, he will certainly come forward here to save Mahatma Gandhi's life if he begins a fast in this matter of Waziristan also. That is one point. Sir, we cannot see eye to eye with the British Government in this respect. My friend, Mr. Satyamurti, has said that we do not require British troops at present. Well, I do not subscribe to or agree with his views that under the present circumstances we can do away with the British troops in India, but what I do suggest and where I do take my stand is that British troops may be necessary even for the defence of India under the present circumstances in which we are placed today, because we have not got a sufficient and a well-equipped army of our own and there is a danger, if not from the west, at least from the east of the Indian territory. But what we have

been pressing and we do want to press again is that the British soldier in India is not kept only for the defence of India, but he is a part and parcel of the British Imperialism. The British army is kept in India for the purpose of defending the British Imperialism. If that is the case, then India may share, to the extent that it would pay to the ordinary Indian soldier, for each British soldier in India, British soldier must be charged to us only to the extent that India would pay otherwise for the upkeep of the Indian soldier. As regards the British officer, whatever is otherwise to be paid to the Indian officer, that should be charged for the British officer from the Indian Exchequer, and the rest of the cost of the British soldier and officer must be found from the British Exchequer. If Britain keeps sixty thousand British soldiers here, I do not mind, but whatever India can afford to pay for sixty thousand Indian troops, that only must be charged from the Indian revenues and the rest must be found from the British Exchequer. That will be the equitable adjustment for the future. We think the policy should be pursued in this manner that, until we have a properly trained army which may replace the British troops, the British troops must be kept here.

Sir, I do not see eye to eye with my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, when he says that the popular Governments will not require any army for the purpose of keeping the internal peace. The internal peace must, for a long time to come, be kept by the army. Though we think that the police force is sufficient in some cases, but in some matters it is really the dread of the army which keeps the people straight or brings them to order. I find that from the hopeless condition in the province of my own. We have had so many riots in Benares, Cawnpore, Budaon and many other places, even in the small villages where we had never heard that there could be any communal riot, and yet, these communal riots have sprung up suddenly within the last one or two years everywhere. Even in the small town of Marehra having a population of only four thousand we find people murdering each other and committing riots by desecrating Tazias. Now, where are you going to get such a large number of police to keep your towns and villages in order? An army must be required for this: and the advent of a popular Government is bringing a certain change in the mentality of the people, so that the people who are the most rowdy class of people have begun to find that they gain by creating rowdyism, so that life and property and other things must be secured and the internal peace must be kept by the army. Therefore, I do not agree with the views put forward by my friend, Mr. Satvamurti, that we do not require British troops for these contingencies. I will be happy and I shall be only too pleased and my Party will find itself in a very happy position if and when we will find that these riots do not occur and the riots are kept down by not creating any kind of hardship to those communities which require protection from the Government of the Province.

Another point which my Honourable friend has made is that we must come to a certain definite policy as to what shall India do in case the British have to leave this country. Have they got anything in their mind? Supposing a war in Europe takes place and the emergency arises, as it did arise in 1914, when only 4,000 British troops were left in this country to defend our country especially in view of the menacing condition of Japan and its recent activities in China, will we be able to defend our country ourselves? So, we do not think that this is a safe policy



[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

which should be pursued. It is only those Governments who have given less thought to remain always prepared to meet any kind of aggression that have lost. The British Government had not properly equipped itself and the army of the British Government was not sufficiently strong to deal with the situation that had arisen within the last five or six years in Abyssinia, Europe, China and other places, and that is why they had to eat the humble pie, and that is why, as some of my friends have said, the British prestige has got a great blow. My Honourable friend, Mr. James, may say that the British prestige has risen. Whether it has risen or it has got a blow, I am not going to discuss at present. But as England was not fully prepared, Mr. Chamberlain's policy got the best in the circumstances, and that was the only right policy which the British Premier could pursue. If they had gone to war, then, instead of bringing any good to the British nation, they would probably have brought ruination to the British Empire. So, the avoidance of war was, in my opinion, perfectly justified. At the same time, we find that China was not fully equipped, and a small nation like Japan came to its aggression. Should India, which is the next biggest country in Asia, be left unarmed and unequipped, she too will have to face the fate of China. Therefore, we do not agree that we should be left unarmed or untrained as we have been up till now. The armament policy must be changed, and I think in all sections of the army Indians must be trained properly, so that they may be able to carry on the present policy in the future. I will again advocate, what I have advocated several times before on the floor of the House, that the officers of the Indian army must be such as to satisfy the Indian soldiers. The Indian soldiers are not satisfied with the present policy of the Defence Department. The Defence Department must continue to have those officers who will command the confidence of the Indian soldiers. Without going into the details of what happened yesterday, we will very carefully scrutinise what the Committee does which has been formed by the Government. We will see whether it does justify itself or not as a representative Committee.

In conclusion, I wish to say that we want that His Excellency the Viceroy, after making that brilliant speech in the Chamber of Princes, will see that the British Government in India will follow his lead and see that the same consideration is given to the British Indian subjects as had been advocated by him for the Indian States. With these words, I support the motion.

**Mr. Ram Narayan Singh** (Chota Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I whole-heartedly support the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Satyamurti. The motion aims at censuring the Government for their defence policy. Had it been in my power, I would have said that for this very policy Government deserve destruction and unconditional removal. Of all the Governmental activities of a nation, the question of defence is the most vital one. If there is no national defence, there is no national existence. It is, therefore, that there is a race among the nations of the world for re-armament. Every nation feels that if they are not perfectly equipped and perfectly armed, their very existence is doubtful and precarious. So, the question of defence is very vital. But so far as this question concerns India, I feel that this defence policy is not to defend India but it is to destroy India. I will, therefore, call this defence policy the destruction policy of the British Government in this country. By

following this policy, the British Government is destroying the manhood of the nation. It is a part of this policy that the Arms Act has been passed by which the whole nation has been disarmed. This is the greatest mischief which the British people have done to this country. No nation is satisfied merely by the fact that it is safe from foreign aggression but every nation is very anxious to see that every individual, composing that nation, is fit to defend himself. But we have the misfortune of being disarmed by the British Government. Whenever there is a question of Indianisation, the friends come from the other side and say that suitable candidates are not forthcoming. We know that India had reached the zenith of power and progress at a time when the Britons did not know how to weave their clothes and they did not even put on clothes for their garment. We had Generals and Rulers even at that remote time. But what has become of this military quality now? Is it not this defence policy which has destroyed this? Who is responsible for the fact that we have not got sufficient number of suitable candidates for service in the army of this country? Sir, the army in India is not meant to defend India. The army is meant not to protect India, not to protect anything Indian, it is meant to protect and defend British trade and commerce, it is meant to protect the Englishmen living in this country and it is meant to protect everything British. When my Honourable friends talk of Indianisation, I am glad that my Honourable friend, Mr. Ogilvie, said that he did not conceive of a time when the Indian Army will be completely Indianised. I think he is right. I think the whole country ought to take note of that. I can also foresee and foretell that the Indian Army cannot be completely and wholly Indianised because, so long as the Britishers are here, the British Army will be here. As soon as the Indian Army will be Indianised, they will be no more in this country. It is, therefore, right to say that the Indian Army will never be Indianised.

My Honourable friend, Mr. James, was talking of British prestige. Does he remember the brilliant retreat of the British soldiers from the field of Flanders in the last European war, in 1914? If he remembers that incident, he would not talk of British prestige. I remember to have read big headlines in newspapers about the retreat of British soldiers in the last war. If only the Indian Expeditionary Force had not gone to France, at the proper time, the whole of England would now have been under German rule and my Honourable friends who are now adorning the Treasury Benches would have been something like nominated Members in the German Parliament of England. Even if my Honourable friend, Mr. James, had forgotten the brilliant retreat of the British soldiers in the last war, how could he have forgotten the recent Munich agreement? Was it not an abject surrender to the dictates of German and Italian Dictators? I am surprised that such a reasonable and wise man, like Mr. James, should forget all these things and talk of British prestige. Let the next war come and we will see where the British prestige stands. We generally hear of distinction made in this House between martial and non-martial classes. This is merely divide and rule policy of Government. It is due to the destructive policy of Government that such invidious distinction is maintained. There is a saying of Guru Govind Singh in my part of the country, and I think it is also in this part of the country, which says:

*"Chirion se main paj marawoon,  
Billi se main haqh marawoon,  
Tab Guru Gobind Singh nam kahawoon."*

[Mr. Ram Narayan Singh.]

It means: "If I can get a bird of prey killed by a small bird, and if I can get a tiger killed by a cat, then I shall be called Guru Govind Singh". In the same way, everybody knows that it is only by teaching and by training that a man is made a hero, that a man is made good or bad. If people are trained in a proper way, then I think they will be soldiers. It is the divide and rule policy of the Government that has made this distinction between martial and non-martial classes. A good Government will see that all able-bodied citizens of the country should be trained and should be armed so that at the time of any emergency they will form a second line of defence. My Honourable friend, Mr. James, said that the people of South India did not belong to martial class.

**An Honourable Member:** He did not say so.

**Mr. Ram Narayan Singh:** I am glad he did not say so. I feel that everybody can be made a good soldier by proper training. A soldier can be produced from any part of the country, by good training. This invidious distinction between martial and non-martial classes must go. I say the Government are keeping this distinction with an evil motive. We know where we stand. If the next war comes, the British people will suffer. I remember that when the late German war was going on, one gentleman, an Indian, went to see the then Viceroy, I think it was Lord Hardinge or Lord Chelmsford, when the Viceroy asked: "Hullo! if Germans come what will you do"? The answer was: "we shall present a farewell address to you (the British Viceroy) and an address of welcome to the German people". The Viceroy was amazed at the answer and asked the gentleman as to why he said so. The gentleman replied: "Have you prepared us to fight the Germans? You have disarmed us, you have denationalised us and so how will we be able to fight the Germans?" Looking at the way in which the British administration is going on in the matter of defence of this country, we are greatly perturbed. I will only ask my countrymen, how long are you going to be slaves to the British, how long are you going to be protected by them? I know there are some Rulers in this country who claim sovereign rights. I do not know how many soldiers they have got in their States to defend their rights. Still they talk of sovereign rights. We talk of swaraj and responsible Government when we do not fight to defend ourselves. Under the circumstances no swaraj is possible so long as we are disarmed, so long as we are made slaves, similarly, those people who talk of sovereign rights must know that they are equally helpless with ourselves. They are also slaves of the British, nothing more nothing less. With these words, I support the cut motion and I hope every Member of the House including my Honourable friend, Mr. James, will support the motion.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, year after year and decade after decade Indian statesmen have urged that the army in India should be Indianised. But what have Government done? They have shown lip sympathy with this demand, but on one pretext or another they have done practically very little.

The demand for Indianisation has been based on two principal grounds. In the first place, it has been urged because it is calculated to curtail the military expenditure of India to a substantial extent; and secondly,

it has been urged because it is felt necessary that Indians should learn to defend their own country.

As regards the first point, it has been acknowledged by experts from Britain that India spends much too large a sum every year on the army and that the poor people of India have a burden thrust upon them which is very difficult for them to bear. Sir Walter Layton who came out to India as Financial Advisor to the Simon Commission expressed the view that while India spent as large a proportion of her annual income on the army as other nations, her expenditure on nation-building services was extremely small, compared to the expenditure on nation-building services in other countries. It was pointed out by the Finance Member the other day that at the present moment India was spending a very small amount of her national income whereas countries like Italy, Germany, Japan and Britain, are spending very large sums. I do not accept the figures which he gave, because the view is prevalent in England that statistics are to be very carefully scrutinised before they can be accepted as correct. There is a saying that there are three kinds of falsehood, —lies, damned lies and statistics. Statistics being the worst of the three. However, without going into his figures I will accept the general proposition that India spends less than some of the other countries. But why do these countries spend more on their military services? Japan is an aggressive country which wants more lands and wants to conquer China and perhaps other countries also; Germany wants her colonies back and wants to have a predominant position on the European continent; Italy has her ambitions: she has conquered Abyssinia and she wishes to conquer many other countries in Africa and perhaps also in Europe. Britain has already grasped the greater part of the world and wants to maintain this her war world-wide empire.

But what is the position of India? She does not ask for any territories and does not want to conquer any other people's country; she wants merely to defend her own country. She wants now to end her state of political bondage and to become free.

Britain has followed a very wrong policy in keeping India weak and helpless. This has been due to her extremely selfish attitude and this attitude is now going to recoil on herself. There is a very grave danger of India being invaded at the present moment, if not from the West, certainly from the East; and India is wholly unprepared to defend herself. The time has come when Government should revise its policy and take up a line of action which will prepare India to defend herself.

We have heard a great deal about martial traditions. Now these martial traditions have not dropped from the skies and have not fallen from the heavens. They have been made by human endeavour. When it is said that martial traditions cannot be created in any part of India other than the Punjab, we must say that this is a very incorrect view. I admit that the people of the Punjab are strong and brave. Let them have their proper share in the Indian Army, but what we do object to is for any province to claim a monopoly in military service. Let the inhabitants of the other provinces be trained fully so that they may be able to participate in the defence of the country. It is wrong to deprive the inhabitants of the rest of India from being able to contribute their share to the defence of India.

[Dr. P. N. Banerjee.]

Sir, there was a time when there was a danger of invasion from the North-West; but now there is a danger of invasion from the North-East. And how are you going to meet this invasion? If you keep the people of North-East India weak and helpless you will not be able to defend India. Besides, there is the danger of invasion from the air from all directions. Therefore, you will have to prepare the people of every province for the coming struggle. Sir, as regards traditions, we all know that the Mahrattas were at one time a warlike nation; they destroyed the Moghul Empire. But the Mahrattas are not admitted into the Indian Army nowadays.....

**Several Honourable Members:** They are.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Not to the same extent as others; they do not contribute their proper share. It is also well known that when the British first came to India, they recruited their army in Madras, in Bombay and in Bengal. It was with the help of the Bengali soldiers that they conquered some of the other provinces.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** They were not Bengalis.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** There were Bengalis in the army and, with the help of these Bengalis in the army, they conquered some of the other parts of India.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** The Bengal army consisted of people from the other provinces, mostly from the United Provinces.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** But there was a large number of Bengalis in the army.

Sir, there are certain qualities essential for service in the army, We should lay down those essential qualities; and if those essential qualities are available in any part of the country there should not be any bar to recruitment. There is one arm of the military force which has now become far more important than the other arms,—I mean the Air Force. This arm has been greatly neglected in India. In Europe and in America they are making strenuous efforts to increase the air force. We read the other day that the Air Force in England had now been tremendously strengthened and the Air Force in America had been vastly increased. We also know that in Germany and Italy the Air Force is extraordinarily strong. The time has now come when the Air Force in India should be fully developed; and as there are no traditions in the Air Force as yet, this branch of the Army should be thrown open to the inhabitants of all the parts of India. Certain qualities are essential *e.g.*, intelligence, courage, determination, foresight and so forth. Provided these qualities are available in the people of Bengal, or the people of Madras or the people of Bombay, they should not be debarred from being recruited. It should be laid down definitely that recruitment will be made according to qualifications and not according to provinces. I do not grudge the martial races having their due share in the army. What I object to is the adoption of a policy of monopoly for any particular province.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** I will finish in two minutes. The time has come when the Government should be aware of the grave danger in which their blundering policy has placed the country. The country now has to be fully equipped; and not only has the standing army to be strengthened, but a proper national territorial force should be created. The territorial force which exists at the present moment is a mere sham, and the various University Corps which exist in different parts of the country are also practically useless. These nuclei should be fully developed, so that India may be able to face the coming struggle without any hesitation. India has been kept in a state of bondage and in a weak and helpless condition. This wrong has been done to India by the selfish and narrow policy of Britain. Let her do justice to India now before it is too late.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney** (Nominated: Non-Official): Sir,.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better begin his speech after Lunch.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. S. Satyamurti (one of the Panel of Chairmen) in the Chair.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Sir, before we adjourned for lunch, you, Mr. Chairman, moved a cut motion primarily by way of censure on the Government, I therefore rise now to say a few words to help the House to get down to bedrock facts. The cut motion moved by you, Mr. Chairman, before you occupied the Honourable *Gaddi* in which you now sit, was one of censure. I heartily wish that it was not one of censure, but one to emphasise to the Government what policy India requires to change the defences of her country and may I add I do not think the Government of India would have been averse to receive such advice even in the strongest terms possible. The opposition have never minced words when it has dealt with defence matters, indeed I think that the House has very emphatically stressed the views of India as regards her future defences. And so, Sir, I feel myself at the onset rather disinclined to support the censure motion, but I think I would have supported it had it been a token cut.

Now, Sir, out of this quagmire of opinions the chief question that arises is this—is India adequately defended and her army sufficiently armed to take her place amongst the other parts of this great Commonwealth of Nations—the British Empire? I submit, with all respect to the army authorities, that she is hopelessly unprepared to face any modern war. If we were attacked by a modern army like Japan, we would find ourselves worse than England was when the clouds gathered last autumn. Today we have an army in India which is divided into two classes,—the British army and the Indian army; together they are called “the Army in India”. I believe the British army costs the Indian exchequer roughly between 15 to 18 crores.

**An Honourable Member:** 20 crores.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Not quite. Let it be 20 crores if you wish,—but I say it is between 15 and 18 crores. If that is the cost of the British army, the balance of the defence estimates must go to the cost of the Indian army. This House has very frequently told the Government that India wants to be taught to defend itself, and if there be any honour or truth or genuineness in the promises that England has made ultimately to grant Dominion Status to India, and if there is really any serious desire to hand over the defences of India ultimately to the people of this country, then it is high time Government reviewed its policy and did not practice its superiority complex attitude and not slavishly adhere to those compartments, of white, brown and black, particularly to those pacts or policies which have been entered into between the War Office and the Government of India long years ago. The whole world is changing and with it India is also changing rapidly. We are always told when we ask for a certain thing that it cannot be done and that we are inexperienced. Who dictates that policy? Is it dictated in India or in England? It is the War Office in England which dictates this policy. Some Honourable Members here have demanded that British troops should be sent away; that British Officers should be taken away and that the entire army should be entirely Indianised. Are they really serious when they make that demand and do they realise what they would mean to India if it were done even as an experiment?

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadian): Quite.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Mr. Das, who always answers without due reflection, says "quite", but let me say at once that the moment you took the British Army away from this country, you would be dispossessing yourselves of that neutral force which is so vitally necessary today in India for its internecine internal peace and order, as also for its N. W. Frontier and communal troubles.

**An Honourable Member:** No.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Really, then, you and I must agree to disagree on this point. But, Sir, you cannot get away from this undesirable fact in which I am a believer. But apart from that, I am a believer that the time has come for the Government seriously to review and reconsider the defence policy of this country. I consider, Sir, that the time has come when India must not be made the jumping off ground, the play ground, the training ground for the British Army and the platform from which to be sent to various parts of the British Empire to relieve its national disorders, *i.e.*, wars, etc. If this is the main purpose of the British army in India—apart from the N. W. F. defences which I consider to be an Imperial duty, it is not right to call upon India to pay for the maintenance of that army. Sir, in the sessions of 1925 or 1926 in Simla when I spoke on the general Budget, I made these very statements. The House is, in the main, right when it considers whether India should take the responsibility to pay even in full for the maintenance of the British army in India. If we are relaxed even partly of this responsibility, it would leave us with an amount of money which we could use in expanding the Indian army in India and so satisfy the aspirations so

seriously and so sincerely expressed in this House by all classes. I for one am a believer in the sincerity of the demand of all classes of people to throw open the book, the sealed book, relating to the army in India. The book has of late been opened somewhat, the preface and the index have been shown, but the context still remains a secret. The want of co-operation is seriously defective and so an army career is today unknown for want of knowledge and publicity. I do believe that the time has come when the Government of India must alter its antiquated policy. The question is, how is this to be done? Here is India mulcted as we are with the army expenditure of about 45 crores (and the revenues of the whole of India must be taken when you percentage your total defence expenditure), it is hardly comparable with the defence expenditure of the other nations of the world. The smallest nations are, today, arming to the teeth. India today is quite unprepared to stand any modern warfare, and I ask the Defence Secretary to deny when I say that if India were attacked by a modern force like Japan, she would be absolutely defeated in no time. And I would add further: If the British army were called upon to fight across the seas, it would be found to be properly equipped with modern arms, etc. I see evidence of this enforced economy in the Honourable the Finance Member's speech where he has instanced the chief causes of this defence decrease, i.e., he has abandoned the scheme of mechanising certain British Regiments. In addition, he has slowed down the programme of mechanising the cavalry and has withdrawn four British battalions from India. Why has this been done? As a measure of economy—very dangerous, I think. Today more than ever does India require its military forces up to full strength and armed properly, and its defences strengthened. But what is the position today? When a new arm—a rifle—comes into the possession of the British army, it is also supplied to the British soldiers in India, but the old arm is then given to the Indian army, and when the Indian army is given the new rifle its discarded rifle is given to the States Forces, and this, I understand, is how we have your rifles distributed or handed from the British army down to the States Forces. For any one, as was stated in the House of Commons, to say that an army so equipped is in a fit position to defend itself against a modern equipped force is absolute bunkum. We all know that with our limited resources, our revenues are incapable of standing the strain of equipping modern weapons to our entire army. Government realises this, so do we. The Chatfield Committee came here to try and remedy this difficulty, thus have drawn out battle between efficiency and economy and between economy and national safety and defences. Government, itself, has also done its utmost to reduce military expenditure from something like 75 crores. If I remember aright to 45 crores, but at what risk?—at the risk of endangering the defences of this country. Surely this is not the time to weaken our defences; this is a time to strengthen our defences. But how can you do it? The way you can do it is by satisfying India's aspirations and giving her a larger army, by satisfying the youth of this country and training them, and also by showing them there is dignity and honour in joining the forces of their own army and defending it. To say they know very little about the army, I submit Sir, it is inequitous, it is wrong, to call upon the Indian taxpayer to pay for the entire cost of the British army in this country which is used for the defence of the Empire abroad. It would be a different matter if this army were used exclusively for the defence of India and its frontiers. I



[Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney.]

admit the British Army is necessary in India. It would spell the ruin of India if it were withdrawn or decreased. I am also one of those who believes that India must learn to defend herself. It is the duty of His Majesty's Government in England, and I think the House will join with me unanimously in asking His Majesty's Government that if they wish to retain the British army in India for Imperial or Empire requirements it is their duty to maintain it either wholly or partly and the money so saved can be used for increasing the Indian army and expanding our various utility services which are crying out for help. I quite agree with many of my Honourable friends here who have shouted in despair that the army department has, for its own reasons and on the advice of its Army Council, divided India into enlisted and non-enlisted classes. The past history of India will tell you that low class Indians, pariahs, defended this country. The past history of India will tell you how the Mahrattas defended this country. But today we have recruitment confined to the Punjab and the North-West Frontier and Nepal. It is wrong to discourage the youth of India by putting this ban of inferiority on them and then turning round and saying, "we cannot give you a chance to defend your country because you are incapable of doing it, being a non-martial race". This charge has even been levied against the Anglo-Indian community. The old adage is "never put off till tomorrow what you can do today", and I do beg the Defence Secretary to look upon my suggestion with sympathy, not only with sympathy but that the proceedings of this debate should be sent to the War Office in England for serious and early consideration. I have often said that efficiency and economy are strange bed-fellows. I repeat today that India's ambit of danger of foreign vulnerability is narrowing, especially with Japan so near us, and we should have an army equipped with modern arms that will be able to defend India. We have not got it today. Neither the British army nor the Indian army is today capable of defending India against a modern army.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): The Honourable Member has got two minutes more.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** I have very little more to say, Sir. Various continental armies have been quoted, Hitler's forces have been quoted. Hitler's is still an untried army. The Italian army during the last Great War was tried and it failed. Do not talk of the conquest of Abyssinia, which is a conquest in name only, but remember this. If you have not got a strong army in India and any other foreign country attacks us, you would get what would in common parlance be called a 'hell of a time' compared to what you are having now which in comparison is a heaven. Today you are safe under the Union Jack and the arm of the British soldier. By all means get a larger part in India's defences but be satisfied with this and do not jump from the frying pan into the fire. If we are to defend this country in the future we must be given the chance of preparing for that defence and learning the art of defence. This can only be done by the Government of England relieving India's exchequer of at least part of the expenditure connected with the maintenance of the British army and so helping India to increase her own national forces and so encourage her youth and instil into them the dignity of joining the army for the defence of their own country. I

support the principle underlying this motion, but not as a vote of censure against Government. The British army is a necessity in spite of what you on the Opposition Benches say; it is a dire necessity today.

**An Honourable Member:** No.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** No? By jove, you get rid of the British army and you will have your throats cut tomorrow. I repeat it is a necessity, but I suggest to the Defence Secretary the urgent necessity of placing this matter before the Home Government and the War Office and making it plain that this House is not averse to the British army remaining in India but that it is averse to taxing the exchequer of this country to maintain that army in entirety. As a compromise why not suggest that we are prepared to pay on rates equivalent to the maintenance of the Indian Army, the difference in cost to be borne by the Government of England.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Sardar Mangal Singh** (East Punjab: Sikh): Before lunch my Honourable friend, Mr. James, made an amusing statement that the prestige of the British Government stands very high. I fail to understand how such a responsible parliamentarian can be responsible for such an amazing statement. It reminds of a story of a Bania who was beaten by a Jat but who afterwards got up and said, "*galion se to pipu kardia*,"—meaning that he has floored him by abuses. If the British prestige rises by kicks and slaps I leave my Honourable friend to hug that delusion and he may please himself as he likes.

The Deputy Leader of my Party, while moving this cut, said that the object of this motion is to censure the Government of India. He is an old parliamentarian and uses parliamentary language. But I am a plain ordinary matter of fact man. I feel that the sins of commission of the Government of India have been so numerous, so heinous, so varied that some stronger expression should be used. I feel inclined to say that the Government of India deserve to be hanged by the neck till dead. Whether we examine the policy of Indianisation of the officer ranks, whether we consider the forward policy on the frontier, whether we consider the control of defence expenditure of the Government of India, or whether we take up the constitutional position as laid down in the Government of India Act, the whole policy of the Government is inspired by utter mistrust and suspicion of Indians. The whole structure of the Indian Army is still—I will be glad if the Defence Secretary can contradict me—as it, at present, obtains, is based upon the policy which the Government of India adopted after 1857. At that time different proportions were laid down of British soldiers, Gurkha soldiers and so on, and the Government of India is faithfully keeping to those proportions. In the whole of the Indian Army at present there are 180,000 fighting soldiers. In this we find about 50,000 British, 20,000 Gurkhas and the rest are Indians. This proportion has been kept up upto this time. I feel that one of the difficulties of the Government why they cannot have more Indians in the army is because, if they raise two Indian soldiers they will have to enlist one British soldier in this army. That is why the Government of India cannot increase the Indian Army. At the time of the Round Table Conference, in the Defence Sub-Committee it was

[Sardar Mangal Singh.]

laid down as the cardinal policy of the Government of India about defence that "with the development of the new political structure in India the defence of India must, to an increasing extent, be the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone". That was the policy enunciated by responsible British statesmen at the time of the Round Table Conference. Let us examine how far the British Government has followed that policy. Just after the Round Table Conference, the Government of India Act was enacted, and, in that Act, we find that the defence expenditure has been entirely removed from the vote of this House and we had a taste of it last year and this year also when we saw in the budget that even the small votable items on defence expenditure have been removed by the Finance Member and they are not being submitted to the House as it has been done during the last 15 years and that is the kind of increasing concern of the Indians in defence matters! At present, under the present constitution, the Commander-in-Chief is the Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and, as such, most of the important military matters come before the Viceroy's Executive Council and Indian Members have some right to have their say on matters military. I remember one case when the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were very keen on forfeiting the commission of a King's Commissioned Indian Officer but the Indian Members, somehow, did not sign that requisition. The matter, when it went to the Secretary of State, was turned down by him and refused to forfeit the commission of that Indian officer. My point is that under the present constitution the Indian Members have got some right to express their views to influence the decision of the Government of India, while under the Government of India Act, which was enacted after the British Government laid down this policy, that right has been taken away. In future, the military policy will be discussed between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief and no minister of the Crown, Federal or otherwise, will have any right, nor this House will have any right to discuss the army expenditure and thus influence the decision of the Government of India on army matters. I say, Sir, that instead of increasing the association of Indians in the Army Department they are taking a retrograde step. Then again, in 1936, this House passed a Resolution, practically unanimously, that a standing defence committee should be appointed by the Government of India. The Government of India, at that time, seemed inclined to accept that Resolution but the Council of Imperial Defence turned down that proposal and definitely refused to have any kind of co-operation with the Indian. This has been the policy of the Government after they declared that defence will be the increasing concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone.

Then again, what about the policy of Indianisation? In the same defence committee they definitely laid down that "immediate steps be taken to increase substantially the rate of Indianisation in the Indian Army to make it commensurate with the main object in view", having regard to etc., etc. Now, let us examine this rate of substantial increase. Before this committee laid down this policy about 28 Indians used to be taken in Sandhurst and other colleges in England. After this policy was laid down, the Government of India appointed a committee and they agreed to take 60 cadets annually. It looks as if they have increased the rate but if we examine it and go deeper into it, we see that what has been given with one hand has been taken away with the other. Before this committee reported, Indian Commissioned Officers used to replace only the British officers and

the number of British officers in the Indian units is about 2,500. But, in future, the Indian Commissioned Officer will replace not the British officer but the Viceroy's Commissioned Officer whose number is 5,000. Before this we had to train about 2,500 people but according to this policy we have to train about six or seven thousand people before this section of the army is Indianised. Therefore, I say, that what is given with one hand has been taken away with the other. This remark is quoted by a committee in which our Honourable President was also one of the members and in their minutes of dissent Sir Abdur Rahim, Rai Bahadur Chottu Ram and Mr. Mukherjee say:

"An output of 60 officers a year at the first sight would appear to double the present rate of Indianisation and it might indeed produce that effect if it were not accompanied with the condition that the graduates of the college will displace the present Viceroy's commissioned officers in the Indianised units, a condition which makes the apparent increase in Indianisation by means of this college entirely illusory. It is taking away with one hand what is given by the other."

This is the rate of affairs about Indianisation. What is the policy behind this Indianisation. I say with all the sense of responsibility that I have that in the matter of Indianisation the Government of India as well as the British Government are not proceeding honestly. They are carrying on this affair as if it is their deliberate policy to make this experiment a failure. What are the figures? When they began the college in Dehra Dun, at the second examination 326 candidates came forward. What is the position now? In the last examination only 128 candidates came forward. The former Commander-in-Chief made a statement in England that the experiment is failing. Those men who are not acquainted with army affairs, perhaps, feel that Indians do not wish to join the army but the position is quite different. Ask any commissioned officer who has served four or five years in the army what sort of treatment is being meted out to these young officers. Examine his living conditions, pay and social conditions. Then you will find how they are being made to go out. I am almost inclined to say that they are being kicked out under one pretext or other. Examine how many commissioned officers have left the units and joined the Political and other departments. We have to examine this question from that point of view. The Indian youth should be attracted to this department so that this question of Indianisation may succeed. On account of shortness of time I cannot go into other matters but I wish to say this, that the policy of the Government of India, during the last several years and, particularly, during the last two or three years, has been so irritating and so bad that all sections of the House and all elected Members of the House should vote for this motion of censure on the Government of India, although they deserve a far severer treatment at the hands of this House. Sir, I support the motion.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa:

3 P.M. Muhammadan): Mr. Chairman, my Party is in sympathy with the cut motion as moved by the Congress Party, though our reasons are not identical with their reasons. We have expressed our indignation in season and out of season at the most deplorable policy which is being pursued in the areas on the western frontier and Waziristan, the way in which they have been hunting down the men of the tribal areas, is certainly disgraceful. The slow process of penetration in the tribal areas and the extension of the Indian frontiers is being continued in spite of the fact that those humble people have no designs of any invasion on the British border and are doing no harm whatsoever. Besides, economically, as well,

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those areas are not expected to provide gold mines for the British exchequer. The operations in Waziristan have not been profitable to the Indian Government as yet and is neither expected to be; friendship and co-operation with them was advised by this House and by Members of all communities, but the same has not been heeded to as yet. Sir, it is futile to make that section of the frontier tribes submit to an alien rule, and such an acquisition may be termed as a white elephant which will add no substantial gain either to the Indian Government or to the British Government at large. I have not been able to follow my friend the Mover when he said that the defence expenses are very high, and again he said that the defence arrangements are of a meagre nature and most inadequate to meet the apprehended dangers from Japan and other powers on the eastern and other frontiers of this country, who are enemies of British imperialism, as stated by my friend, Mr. Satyamurti. Personally, my knowledge of these is rather different on the basis of the figures supplied to me a year ago from the Defence Department about the ratio of expenses in the different parts of the world including England; and it will be found that probably the Indian defence expenditure is the lowest, as my Honourable friend, Mr. James, pointed out today, *viz.*, that it works out to be only twenty-three per cent. of the total revenue. We have either to take one view, *viz.*, that either the expenses are too low, or the view that they are too high. Either the army is sufficient to defend India, or the Indian exchequer cannot afford to bear any more burdens for the purpose of defence. Both cannot be true. Of course, defence matters are treated with all secrecy and that may be a matter of complaint from the Indian elected side of this House. I would ask the Congress Group to tell me whether they would be a party to sanctioning bigger amounts for the purpose of defence if it is so required, by taxing the dumb millions of this country where the majority cannot get even one square meal a day. I do not approve of the secrecy that is being maintained in matters of Foreign policy and defence by this Government and I, certainly, feel that our co-operation should have been solicited, we should have been taken into confidence and this House should have been consulted, and all the cards should have been placed on the table to ask us whether we would like to spend more money, or whether we would like to have a bigger army, better and more equipped with all the modern arrangements, or we would like to maintain them as they are being maintained by the paramount power of the day.

Of course, it is quite right that the process of Indianization cannot be speeded up by a magic wand, as Mr. James has just pointed out, but, at least, we should have had the satisfaction that our army is for us and with our consent and that the British soldiers and officers are brought out and maintained in our interest and do receive our sanction. By maintaining a secrecy of the defence policy, this Government has at least created an impression on this side of the House that for reasons better known to them they do not like to disclose the whole situation. Sir, as I have often said, we do not mind importing experts for our own purposes and use, certainly it is our legitimate desire that we should be the real masters to decide how many of them, and by what means, and whom, we are going to bring into India for the purpose of our defence or for any other purpose that we may require them. Sir, Mr. Satyamurti has remarked that we do not require any army for internal peace and tranquillity. I wish I could agree with

him. I may say that however disposed we may be to find fault with the maintenance of foreign element in army, it cannot be said that the army has not got to be strengthened with experienced men and men of calibre. Whether we have to import them from foreign countries or we have to get them from our own areas, that is a matter of administration, a matter of opinion, a matter of the advantages that may be offered and a matter of the circumstances in which we may be placed. Where the army is maintained partially for the purpose of internal peace and tranquillity, their independence in action is necessary, that is also something which is rather important. I wish I could agree with the Honourable the Mover that, it was not so required for internal peace, but, unfortunately, our experience in the provinces, these few years since autonomy has been introduced, has not been very happy. The paramount power has got to be equipped fully with an army to meet all exigencies and circumstances that might compel them to invoke their special powers in the emergencies which may arise some day or other as a result of Communal race in India. Sir, things have not been very happy. It may be unfortunate, it is certainly unfortunate, but all of us are aware of it, and we have got to be alive to the situation and admit the facts as they are. The unfortunate position in this country has been that sectarian feelings are still prevailing and have been exercising a most predominating influence on the minds of the majority of the people and it was with this feeling that Dr. Banerjea made a heated remark just now on the question of the martial and non-martial races.

Sir, some of my friends first complain of the slow process of Indianization, they make a complaint that European soldiers and officers are not desirable in the army of this country. as, they say, defence should be absolutely Indianized. Then again comes the question of martial and non-martial races and, of course, as yet in a little milder tone, but the time may not be very far when the question of provincialism or sectarianism and other things might crop up acutely, and certain sections of the people may begin to make certain demands on certain particular considerations. Now, I want to point out that the question of defence and the foreign policy has got to be looked into from an altogether different angle. And that is, not to consider at all the question of martial or non-martial races from the point of view of sectarianism, religion or any community, but to look into the question of the entire Indian safeguard and Indian defence. Whether that defence can be secured by the martial races or the non-martial races or by such people who have to be imported, that is a matter for us to see and decide in the general interest of the country. I certainly said, only a few minutes before, that I wished we should be the real partners or rather the sovereign power to decide how we would like to be defended and what arrangements we should have for our own defence, but, at the same time, I think under the Constitution as we are, the question of martial and non-martial races or any question of communal or sectarian matters should not be brought in at this stage in a vital matter like that of defence. That is my impression of things. I may be wrong, and my remarks may not be agreeable to the majority party of the House but that is my feeling,—that in the matter of defence, which is a very big question, there should not be involved any question of any section, any community or any particular religion. If a certain part of the Indian frontier is to be attacked, the aggressive party will not make any distinction between any section of the people inhabiting that country, and between any section of the people living

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in that part of India. So far as the army is required for the internal security of the country, the question of communities or of martial and non-martial races and even of religion and sectarianism may arise. For that purpose, the Sovereign power or the Paramount power has got to maintain a certain section of the militia, which is to be considered above those considerations and which may be utilised for purposes of internal security in the event of there being trouble between the different communities and the different provinces of this vast continent—India. I do not agree with the Mover that we do not require any army for the internal security of this country. We do certainly require an army which should be above prejudices. It may be very small as compared to the requirements for the external defence of the country but a certain section of the army has to be maintained for such emergencies which may arise under the prevailing conditions and mentality of the people and as long as we do not become above that mentality in which we are now placed, we cannot claim a pre-rogative of this element. With these few remarks I support the motion.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Sir, the motion which you have moved is a very important one and raises a question of vital importance to the country. The points which are mainly raised by this motion are those which affect the questions of defence as well as of foreign policy. You have rightly remarked that the problem of defence is very much influenced by the foreign policy which a nation may have. So far as India is concerned, it is doubtful whether it can be said to have any foreign policy at all, because I find—and I believe in this even the Treasury Benches will readily agree—that India's enemies or India's friends are not made by India at all. Those who happen to become the enemies of England for some reason or other are to be treated by Indians as their enemies, although it is very doubtful whether the friends of England are really the friends of India, but the enemies of England are bound to be treated as enemies of India. This is the main feature of the political situation in which we find ourselves, and the net result of this is that the foreign policy of India, as a matter of fact, is determined not out of any considerations for India itself but out of considerations of what they call the interests of the British Empire. Therefore, it is determined by those who are responsible for running this big show, this Imperialistic show. As the reins of the foreign policy are being held by persons at a great distance from this place, the defence policy also is naturally dictated by somebody else. So, India is one of those unfortunate countries, probably the only unfortunate important country, in the world where neither the foreign policy nor the defence policy of the country is considered by the people of that country but by somebody else on considerations which have got very little bearing upon the interests of this country as such. That being the important feature of this whole thing, we, naturally, find all the disadvantages of such a policy reflected in the arrangements for the defence made in this country.

What do we find so far as our defence arrangements are concerned? I do not know what is the idea of the Army Department as regards modern wars, but a modern war, in my opinion, does not really mean a battle between two standing armies. If that is the idea of anybody, he is hopelessly mistaken, and, I am sure, that the Indian Defence Department is not really ignorant of this situation. A modern war really, in my opinion,

means a war between two peoples or even many peoples. One nation is at war with the other nation in the true sense of the word. In modern war the civic population also will not be entirely free from the effects of the war when the war is actually going on. The conditions as regards modern warfare have been entirely changed on account of the new machines of human destruction and human annihilation that have been invented of late and in which each nation is trying to outstrip another nation in the race of being properly equipped. The appearance of the aeroplanes and their use for purposes of war have entirely changed the aspect of the war. So, if the Government of India and the British Government really think that the present times are not times of peace at all and something very sinister, very dangerous and very disquieting is likely to happen in the near future and we are to be prepared for that, then I am quite sure that they are making absolutely no preparation whatsoever, so far as India is concerned. They think that if they can mechanise their army and if they can have a few more aeroplanes here and a few more machine guns and a few more tanks there, that is enough. These things might be sufficient for them to protect their frontiers, for some time, but they are not sufficient for the Indian nation to defend itself in a time like that. The question is this. Are they preparing the Indian nation as a whole for an emergency of this kind? Do you know what the other nations are doing in this matter? They are creating a kind of a capacity for defence among the people themselves and not relying simply upon the army for that purpose. The main attempt, therefore, should be not to see what is the exact strength of the standing army and how that standing army can have an up-to-date machinery for a short time, but how the people themselves can stand up and, in times of difficulty, can take up their proper place and defend the nation against an invader. Is there any idea whatsoever in the minds of the Government of India in making any progress in this direction at all? I find, on the other hand, that they want to leave the people in the same helpless condition, in the same abject condition of helplessness, as they are today. People who are so placed certainly cannot defend themselves, and it is no credit to the British people that they have left them in that helpless and pitiful position. I will, certainly, like them to consider the question, therefore, of the development of territorial and auxiliary forces on a much larger scale and the question of the Indian University Training Corps more seriously. They have absolutely neglected that branch so far. They find no money to develop these things.

Take the budget. For a number of years we find that very little advance is made in that direction. Thus, so far as the training of the people in this direction is concerned, I find that the Government of India is particularly negligent in its duty, probably because they still think that India can be defended, if a time comes, by such army as they can raise at the eleventh hour. The idea is not to defend the people of India but to defend their own Empire. They look at the whole question from the point of view of how they will be able to defend their own Empire, not from the point of view of making the people of India fit to defend their own country against foreign aggression and retain the country in their own hands. So, in my opinion, a radical change is necessary in the outlook of the Britishers here. My Honourable friend, Mr. Muhammad Nauman, repeatedly put the question whence to find the money? Probably my Honourable friend does not know that if the people are trained like that, not much money will be required. Much money can be saved and the amount thus saved can



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be spent in other useful directions. If you allow the people to go through military training, they will prove a potential force and this national militia, properly trained, will be a source of great strength to the defence of the country and with the force thus created, you will be able to curtail the regular army that you maintain now and with the money thus saved, you can spread education among the masses. This factor has not been taken into consideration.

I have to make another suggestion also. It is now admitted that the Indian Army is part of the entire British defence force. It is repeatedly asserted, though we never agree to that proposition; still, on the other hand some of my Honourable friends are always anxious to assert the proposition with all the emphasis at their command, namely, that some modicum of British Army should be maintained in India for some time. My Honourable friend, Mr. Nauman, also fell a victim to this hallucination. Anyhow it is there. We have to accept that proposition to which some of my Honourable friends subscribe for the time being. I do strongly contradict that statement that there is any necessity like that. But assuming it is so, if they concede the point that the Indian Army is part of the British Empire Defence, then they certainly will have to admit that the expenditure which we have to make upon that Indian Army ought to be shared proportionately by the British Exchequer. That position will have to be conceded. That is a point which has remained under discussion for a number of years. There is a definite tangible suggestion that I make, namely, that so long as you maintain a British Indian Army here, if you think that the British element is a necessity here, then I suggest we should not be taxed to pay the British soldiers or the British officers a pie more than what we pay for Indian soldiers and Indian officers. Anything paid in excess of that must be shared by the British treasury. If you accept that proposition, I am told we shall save thirteen crores. If you think that an Indian officer cannot be appointed today and that the army cannot be officered by Indians and that the British Army cannot be replaced, very well, keep the British Army here with all its officers, but do not make us pay for that portion of the army any amount more than what we can pay to our own countrymen. If we are asked to pay more, then it is an insult to our self-respect. It is an unjustifiable burden which you ask us to bear. You can satisfy your requirement by keeping the British Army here and, at the same time, satisfy our demand that nothing more should be paid to them than what we would pay to Indians. Why do you want us to pay everything? Therefore, the apprehension of the Britishers that India will go to ruin and chaos if the British Army is withdrawn can be allayed by keeping the British Army here, at the same time we shall be saved unnecessary expenditure which we have to incur. In the meantime, the army expenditure will certainly be economised and something can be done for nation-building purposes. Is the British Government prepared to accept my suggestion and act up to it? Unless some such thing is done, I am sure the real mentality to create an Indian Army for the defence of India will not be generated at all. Unless the British Government's pockets are touched for the sake of maintaining the British Indian Army here, they will not be able to understand the sense of resentment that we feel on this point and the keen necessity for looking at the question purely from the Indian point of view. That can arise only if strong action like that is taken by the Government of India. I very much doubt whether the Government

of India feel like that. The whole trouble is that the Government of India feel very much in the same way as the British Government in England.

Another point which I wish to refer to, particularly with reference to the remarks of my Honourable friend, Mr. Nauman, is this. My Honourable friend suspected that in raising the question of martial and non-martial races, it was a question of communalism. Not at all. I want my Honourable friend to look at the question free from any such suspicion. Look at it purely from an Indian point of view. India, after all, is a nation of 35 crores of inhabitants, the whole entire country, and, therefore, its national army at least should reflect the entire Indian nation and not merely any particular part of that Indian nation. If it is not reflected like that, then it will cease to be a national army. Viewed from that sense the point which my Honourable friend the Mover of this motion made was this. You have got in the Indian Army persons recruited from countries outside India, whether they are from Nepal or from the tribes across the border, it does not matter; they all come from outside the pale of the Indian nation. Will you do a thing like that if you recruit soldiers for a national army for India? Is it possible to conceive of foreigners being enlisted in a national army for India? Therefore, we are at the mercy of foreigners for our defence, whether those foreigners come from the mainland of India or from across the seas,—6,000 miles away. What we want is to be saved from this foreign domination and from this foreign direction. The only remedy is for us to gain our independence, I do not know when, but we shall do it. With these remarks I support the cut motion.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum** (North-West Frontier Province: General): Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting this censure motion. I think that no words can be too strong for condemning the policy of the Government of India, which they have persistently pursued in the matter of defence of this country. The trouble arises from the fact, that those who are responsible for guiding the policy of the Defence Department of this country, do not subscribe to the doctrine of Indianisation or nationalisation of the army. The novel position is that those who are expected to carry out this policy have absolutely no faith in it. What is the policy of the Defence Department? We have been told about the danger from Japan which is threatening India from the East. Japan may be a potential enemy from outside the borders of this country. But I am one of those who believe that the Defence Department of the Government of India is a real and dangerous enemy inside the borders of this country and right in our midst. They have proved, time and again, that the policy which they are pursuing is not at all in the best interest of this country. What is the policy of the Defence Department? Certainly not the defence of this country against foreign aggression. It is more to keep down the people of this country, and to stand between them and their natural birthright *viz.*, the right to live as a free and independent nation. The type of army which we intend to set up in this country would be an army which will not only free this country, but would help her in maintaining her hard-earned freedom, certainly it cannot be said that this particular army can do so. . . .

**An Honourable Member:** You can win freedom by fasting.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Don't worry about fasts? Fasts can do a lot. They have done a lot. Some of those who are now occupying the Treasury Benches will have to fast one day and they will all starve, if one more fast is undertaken.

[Mr. Abdui Qaiyum.]

It is well-known that there can be no freedom for this country without an army which will be under the control of its elected representatives. And therefore, the British Government who profess time and again that they are out to help us to attain self-government and responsible government, are doing their utmost to stop that Indianisation of the army without which there can be no freedom in this country. They know very well that as soon as they part with control of the army their game will be up. Sir James Grigg would not then be sitting there by the side of the Defence Secretary giving him tips as to what he should say. Now things have passed that stage. The last thing that they would now do in this country would be to Indianise and nationalise the army, because if they do that it would be tantamount to committing suicide. Their own self-interests are pitted against our freedom and our movement for freedom. Therefore, I do not blame the Englishman if he professes Indianisation and acts always and consistently and persistently to the contrary.

Sir, yesterday the Defence Secretary got up and stated that the right type of officer is not forthcoming for the army. I have heard this thing before on the floor of this House and I can say without fear of contradiction that this statement of the Defence Secretary and the Government which he represents is a monstrous libel on the people of India. After all you are here drawing your pay from the people of India. You profess that you are carrying out that policy. . . .

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): The Honourable Member should please address the Chair.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** They draw their salaries from the hard-earned incomes of our kisans and our peasants, and yet they have absolutely no faith in the policy which they are pursuing. Now, who is going to be the judge as to the fitness of our people to officer our army? Certainly not the British people. Because they are interested parties, and an interested party cannot arrogate to himself the position of a judge and say that he is the person who should decide whether the Indian is fit to officer the army or not. I think that if in 1939 after a century of British rule a sufficient number of officers cannot be found for our army, it is the worst possible comment that one can make on this unfortunate rule which has oppressed us for so many years in this country. It seems that they are not honest at all about their professions and while they have been professing Indianisation, they have been acting to the contrary. I think it is very unfortunate for this country that defence affairs should be in the hands of people who have absolutely no faith in Indianisation and, I venture to say, who are not honest in what they say, because they do not mean it. They do not want to Indianise or nationalise our army, because that would be the end of British power in India.

Sir, it is an insult to call this army an Indian Army. It is not at all an Indian Army; it is only a label which has been attached to this army. Let us look at the composition of the rank and file. Here you have about fifty thousand people recruited from Great Britain, and each individual costing about four or five times as much as a son of the soil. That is not all. In addition you have about twenty or twenty-five thousand people recruited from outside the borders of India, and they are certainly not

Indian. My Honourable friend, Mr. Nauman, may fondly hug the idea of recruiting people from outside, but I think it is extremely derogatory to our self-respect as a nation, to even think of such a thing as recruiting people from outside the borders of our own country. The country has been divided into martial and non-martial classes. Why do you recruit people from abroad,—Great Britain and from across the borders of India, be it Nepal or the tribal territory? Why do you not throw open this recruitment to the people of this country who are anxious to defend it? So, the assertion of Government that it is an Indian Army is, I think, an insult to the Indian nation.

Now, I want to say something about the Anglo-Indian portion of it too, and I am glad that my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Gidney, has preceded me. I, for one, do not object to the entire Indian Army consisting of Anglo-Indians, if they shed the word "Anglo" before the word "Indian". They should feel that they are Indians because, in the India which we want to bring into existence, in the India in which we believe, there will be no place for extra-territorial loyalties and extra-territorial allegiance. Any loyalty which is not consistent with our loyalty to our own country will have absolutely no place in India and I think Sir Henry Gidney will excuse me if I say that the attitude of a majority of our people is unsympathetic towards his community because Anglo-Indians refuse to believe that they are Indians. They act and behave in a manner as if they are foreigners, who are here by the grace of God to rule us, though not on exactly the same terms as the British but as their camp followers.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Sir, on a point of personal explanation, I think that talk about my community being disloyal to India is false and is unmerited today.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): That is not a point of personal explanation at all. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum will proceed.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** On a point of explanation. . .

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): Order, order. The Chair has ruled that what the Honourable Member said was not a point of personal explanation. If he wants to say anything else, he may submit it to the Chair, and the Chair will give its ruling.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will the Chair please hear what I have to say, first, and then say if it is a point of personal explanation or not. I state that the loyalty of the Anglo-Indian community is not as stated by the Honourable Member. . . .

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): That is not a point of personal explanation. The Chair wants to inform the House and the Honourable Member particularly that a point of personal explanation arises only when another Honourable Member says something which the Honourable Member said on the floor of the House, but which is not what was intended to be conveyed by him. It cannot be used as a cloak for answering an argument.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Sir, after this interruption I hope I will have some extra time for my speech. Now, Sir, I was talking of the Anglo-Indians. The other day when there was a question, and as we were putting supplementaries to the Defence Secretary as to why Government were not encouraging the idea of having university training corps in this country, he

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expressed utter helplessness, and said that there was absolutely no money for such a purpose. But he was not at all hesitant when he spent something like 36 to 40 lakhs on auxiliary forces from which the sons of the soil are utterly excluded, and which are entirely officered and manned by domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians who are utterly unsympathetic towards the aspirations of the people of this country. So the point which I wanted to make out was that the Indian Army is not at all an Indian Army,—that it is an army which consists predominantly of people who are absolutely alien to this country,—alien by race, alien by origin, and alien by sympathies and culture, to the people who inhabit this country. And if Sir Henry Gidney is really aiming at the good of his community he should tell them not to lean any more on Great Britain.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. S. Satyamurti): The Honourable Member may proceed to the next point.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** And they should think and behave as if they were Indians. If they do that I am sure they will find an honoured place in India and I for one would not grudge it if Sir Henry Gidney, instead of being a Lieutenant-Colonel, becomes the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India.

Now, Sir, I want to turn to the Honourable the Foreign Secretary for a minute and say something about the announcement which he made the other day when he solemnly said,—and I want to bring out the implications of it,—that there is no such thing as independent tribes in India and that British India runs absolutely along with the borders of Afghanistan and all this stretch of territory is British. . . .

**Sir Aubrey Metcalfe** (Secretary, External Affairs Department): Sir, on a point of personal explanation, I said nothing of the sort. I have never said that British India is coterminous with Afghanistan.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** That is what I understood him to say, that there is no such thing as independent tribes. Now, what are the implications of it? Sir, when you moved this cut motion you were pleased to refer to a passage from Captain Kennedy who said that the wars on the frontier have lasted for a century but have not succeeded in achieving permanent peace. And I assure the House, that if this dangerous doctrine which has been expounded and laid down by the present Foreign Secretary is adhered to, we will have any number of wars for several centuries to come. After all, it is not the Foreign Secretary's country which pays for these wars; it is Indian blood which is shed in Waziristan and it is Indian money which is poured into it. The British Government in India has been guilty of wasting four hundred crores of rupees during the last 50 years of futile and foolish wars in Waziristan of which no earthly good has come out.

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

Now the fiat has gone forth from Sir Aubrey Metcalfe that it will have to be carried out by the army in India. The House must realise the implications of this pronouncement.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has only two minutes more.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Sir, I was interrupted by points of order.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There cannot be any different rule for the Honourable Member.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Now, what are the implications of this pronouncement? The other day this was laid down by the Honourable the Foreign Secretary. The present position is this: if these people are British subjects I should like to know why Great Britain and the Government of India have been carrying on a policy of bombing these tribesmen. When they shed crocodile tears over bombing in Spain and China, I think the present Government should be ashamed of themselves in persisting in this nefarious and immoral policy of bombing these tribesmen just across their administrative border. Sir, in the end I will say that the principle laid down by Sir Aubrey Metcalfe is fraught with dangerous possibilities for this country, and it will commit us to untold expenditure and a long series of wars in the tribal areas. It is really surprising that in this year, when the British Government, of whom he is an agent, professes democracy and are trying to oppose the totalitarian states, he should come out as the exponent of imperialism and lay claims to a territory to which they have absolutely no moral right. . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** In the end, I will say that their forward policy is immoral, vicious and utterly wrong.

**Sir Aubrey Metcalfe:** Sir, before I proceed to what I had originally intended to say, I will just say a few words on the point which my Honourable friend has just raised, regarding independent territory. He accuses me of having said that British India is coterminous with the frontiers of Afghanistan. As I pointed out, I said nothing of the sort. I said that India was coterminous with the frontiers of Afghanistan and that the people who live inside India were not independent. They are what is known as British protected subjects and it is no new principle of any kind that I have laid down. It is a principle which has been in force ever since the Durand Agreement was completed with the Afghan Government in 1896. I propose to answer a question on the subject before very long, and that will perhaps make the matter even clearer. But as for the suggestion that I have produced or propounded a new theory in the interests of imperialism, I can only say that it is nonsense. As long as we have an international frontier with Afghanistan laid down by treaty agreement, we are bound to have, as I think the House will admit, some responsibility for the behaviour of the people who live within it; and one responsibility which we did undertake and which we are still bound to maintain is that of preventing those people, who live on the Indian side of the Durand Line, from interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan; and that is one of the reasons why we are compelled to maintain a certain measure of control over what my Honourable friend is pleased to term the independent areas. They are not independent, they are inside India and we have a responsibility for what the inhabitants there do. So much for that. . . .

**Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar** (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Is Nepal also in India?

**Sir Aubrey Metcalfe:** Nepal is a foreign country; and if my Honourable friend does not know it, he should know it.

I now proceed to what I had originally intended to say regarding one aspect of our frontier policy. Certain gentlemen opposite have attacked us with extreme bitterness on what they are pleased to describe as the disgusting treatment which we mete out to certain people, whom he describes as extremely unfortunate. He does not say what his attitude is towards the people of the settled districts who have been harried for a great many years by the gentlemen whose cause he champions; but I think that the House must realise that there are two sides to this question. The point that I wish to bring home is that it is a complete mistake to suppose that Government's policy on the North-Western Frontier with regard to the inhabitants of the tribal areas is or ever has been purely aggressive or founded on any kind of imperialism or ill-feeling towards those tribes. As more than one, I think two, gentlemen observed from the opposite Benches the contents of this area, which they seem to think we desire for imperialistic reasons, are of no value. I am prepared to accept that and I am prepared to admit that there is, in present circumstances nothing of value which can be developed, so far as we know, in the tribal areas.

If I may briefly survey the state of the frontier at present, I may say that there are very few areas where we make any attempt to advance or to control or do more than ensure that our own inhabitants in the settled districts receive reasonable treatment. If the history of the northern part of the frontier is looked at, it will be found that there has been, in recent times, no attempt made to move forward or to implement what my friends are so fond of calling the forward policy. There has been also extremely little trouble in or from those areas during recent years. The only two cases I can remember are the trouble with the Afridis in 1980—that was caused entirely by an incursion of Afridi tribesmen into the Peshawar district and a settlement was made, eventually, and no attempt was made then or has been made since to advance by force into the Afridi country or to occupy it with troops. There was also an incident not very long ago in Mohmand country. There again, there was no question of aggression by Government. The aggression came entirely from certain other Mohmand tribes who are not under our influence, and wantonly attacked Mohmands who are entitled by agreement to protection by Government. Government were asked to give them armed assistance, to which they were entitled, and Government gave it. As soon as the situation had been restored Government forces were withdrawn and there is no occupation there and no attempt to increase the political influence which we already have there. I have no doubt my friends will say, "why then do you advance into Waziristan"? The answer is to be found in the history of our relations with the Waziristan tribes. Ever since the time of the Sikh rule, those tribes were troublesome—because they were poorer or may be more warlike, but whatever the reasons may be—there is no doubt that relations with those tribesmen have always been extremely difficult, difficult in this sense: not that Government has been anxious to extend their control or to make things unpleasant for the tribes, but difficult because the tribes in that area insist upon being extremely aggressive and unpleasant, if I may put it very mildly, to the inhabitants of the settled districts: for a great many

years we contented ourselves with attempting a purely defensive policy, varied every now and then by a punitive expedition which was extremely costly in lives and money. It was only in 1919 that the position became completely intolerable. I will not weary the House with figures as they are on record, but the number of raids which were committed and the loss of life to the inhabitants of the settled districts between 1919 and 1922 made it quite impossible for Government to acquiesce any longer in that position. It was, therefore, attempted as an experiment to occupy with troops certain portions of the tribal areas. And as the House well knows, troops were established at two points in the tribal area. It was hoped that from that a situation might arise in which the tribes would be controlled with greater effect and in which there might also eventually be some, shall we say, economic development which would make it possible for the military operations to be abandoned and generally for a decrease in expenditure. Well, from 1923 till 1936, I maintain that that policy was extremely successful. Waziristan,—I travelled there myself in 1934,—was as peaceful as the Peshawar district or any part of the settled area—one did not require to be escorted to go anywhere, roads were built and things were going well, the tribesmen were all happy and satisfied, and there were great efforts made, so far as financial considerations would permit, to develop their economic conditions and to make it less necessary for them to seek a living by raiding into British districts. There came a change in 1936, and that change cannot, in any way, be attributed to any aggression on the part of Government. There was no forward movement then; Government were quite prepared to leave things as they were, but, unfortunately, there was suddenly a movement started by a religious leader who wished to obtain influence, possibly among his tribesmen. He, at any rate, set up the cry that his religion was in danger and that it was necessary for him to interfere in defence of his religion in the settled areas of the North-West Frontier Province. That was a position in which Government could not acquiesce. Every effort was made by peaceful means to persuade this religious leader and his followers to believe that their religion was not in danger, and that they must not interfere in affairs of British India. Those efforts, unfortunately, were not successful and operations began. Government were forced, much against their will, to resort to force because there was no other alternative. Well, those operations, I admit, have continued for a long time, and, so far, have produced no final result. . . .

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Hear, Hear.

**Sir Aubrey Metcalfe:** That I do not deny. Conditions certainly are not as bad as they were by any means, but I believe now that the opposition is confined very largely to a few irreconcilable or hostile leaders who hope and, I believe, succeed in making a fairly good private gain out of their depredations by kidnapping and so on in the settled districts. But I would like to say this that during the course of the operations, Government have not at any time confined themselves entirely to the use of force. They have made many attempts, on several occasions, to get into touch and to open negotiations with the leaders, and on all occasions those overtures have been rejected and, in fact, have never been answered. It has not been possible, so far, to establish peace by negotiations, although Government have been extremely mild in the terms offered, and they are still ready to make terms with these people if they can find any reasonable basis for doing so. There is no intention of being aggressive or having any ill-will



[Sir Aubrey Metcalfe.]

towards the tribesmen who are prepared to live at peace with Government and to refrain from this wanton depredation into British India. I would Sir, admit that the situation is not satisfactory and the problem is one which is very much easier for people to criticise than to find for it a solution. The only solution which in the course of this debate I have heard suggested was the one made by my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, who said that we should either subdue and govern them or make terms with them,—I think those are the words he used. Well, I should explain that there are treaties with a great many of these tribesmen which are faithfully observed on both sides, but with these particular hostiles, I have already explained, we have made great efforts and we have failed, because it requires two parties to make a settlement. As regards governing and subduing them which was suggested, I admit that it would be a logical solution. But it is clear from what we have heard today, that it is not a solution which would commend itself to certain Parties in this House, and it is also a solution which presents very great practical, financial and political difficulties, and one which Government do not wish to contemplate unless it becomes absolutely necessary. I need not enlarge on the difficulties, because they must be apparent to any man who thinks about them.

There is just one further point that I wish to make before I sit down, and that is with regard to our general foreign policy. Mr. James pointed out some of the inconsistencies in Mr. Satyamurti's speech, but there is one, I think, great inconsistency which has not been pointed out, and that is, that Mr. Satyamurti apparently holds that India, when she is completely freed from the clutches of the British Empire, would very easily be able to defend herself. My answer to that is—why should Great Britain still wish to hold something, which is of no value to anybody else and which would have no need to defend itself from other aggression if it could escape from the British Empire? There is a definite logical inconsistency in that which I find it difficult to explain. That, Sir, is all I have to say, and I would only add one last word, and that is, that Honourable Members who vote on this question having in their mind the idea that Government are treating the frontier tribes badly should think again and really make up their mind whether they wish to censure Government for doing all they can to protect the people, their own fellow-countrymen, who are subjected to raids and kidnapping by the tribesmen.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir** (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr.

4 P.M. President, one of my main objects in rising to speak on this Resolution, if I may without being audacious, is to congratulate my friend, Mr. Aney, who has brought this debate down to earth. If there is any department of Government at the present time in which we must face realities it is the Defence Department. Up to now our debates on this department have been more or less academic, but faced with the circumstances in which we are placed today, this debate is anything but academic. We are facing realities. Dangers are very near indeed, and if ever the Defence Department requires the co-operation of the people of India, they require it today. Mr. President, we have heard the same arguments repeated year in and year out, but today may I say that I seem to feel that there is a different tone in all the speeches made. There is more seriousness in the debate today than there ever was before. The last September shock to the world has not been forgotten, and if the

shock becomes a reality, India is going to feel that shock, if not immediately, within a few months after Europe. Therefore, the debate becomes a real reality. As Mr. Aney said, what has the Government done more than it did in the past to face the altered circumstances? I am sure the Defence Department has been working hard during the last six months, if not earlier, and steps must have been taken, or are being contemplated, which we know nothing about. Therefore, is it not essential that the peoples of India should be taken into the confidence of the Defence Department as to what is being done for the defence of this country? We hear alarming rumours. We are told that in the whole of India there are no more than 120 aeroplanes. . . .

**An Honourable Member:** Very old ones. . . .

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** . . . very old ones at that. We understand that Afghanistan, a small country, has got 100 aeroplanes manned by pilots who cannot be considered to be very much inferior to some to be found in Europe. These are alarming facts, if correct, in present conditions. Surely, the time has come when the Defence Department must not wait for a vote of censure to be moved in this House, before taking the country into its confidence and asking for its co-operation and its assistance. Some of the cities we live in,—the ports of India, are very pregnable. It may be that we may get an air attack on Calcutta on Karachi, and on Bombay. We ought to know what is being done over and above the few paragraphs we read in the newspapers. Sir, is it not possible to strengthen our Air Force in India and decrease the Fighting Forces on land? I quite agree that we are a poor country and that the defence budget is the most important of the financial budgets that come before us. Under the present conditions in which warfare is carried on, is it not possible to curtail some of our Land Forces and use that money for the Air Force? Will it not be possible to do without a few more British troops and have a few more British aeroplanes? They may be much more useful than the British troops in India.—both to the Indians and to the Empire. When one begins to reflect on these questions, such queries occur to one. They ought to be answered and satisfaction given to public opinion, without questions being asked. Just compare what is going on in other parts of the world with what is going on in India. Columns upon columns in the newspapers are filled in England, in Germany, in France, in Italy, about the defence forces of those countries. What are we doing?

Sir, there are just two points which I would like to speak about in the short time at my disposal, which have been discussed *ad nauseam* in this House.—one of which is the recruiting of Indian officers to the army. I have always maintained, Mr. President, that it is not fair for Government to say that they have not been able to find proper recruits for the army in the officer ranks. My own opinion has been, and it has been expressed in this House very often, that Government go the wrong way about it. I am against dividing India into martial and non-martial races. Today you do not require the same kind of officer as you required forty years ago. Forty or fifty years ago, you fought with swords and bayonets. Today you do not fight with swords and bayonets, but you have got to fight with your brains. Today you want your officers, thinking, planning. You do not want them to lead charges, cavalry charges into the field. (Interruption.) You do not want muscle as much as you wanted 50 years ago. You want more brains.

**An Honourable Member: Nerves.**

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Nerves too. If you believe that the only man fit to become an officer is the man who can lift so many pounds of weight, you are mistaken. You want a man who can pass a certain standard in education, and then alone will you be able to train him as a good officer. But if you will go and recruit from amongst a class of people who do not believe in education, then you are not going to get the officer you want. We cannot get our officers from the class from whom you got Indian officers in the past. You must go to a different class. Believe me that a change has come over most parts of the world and it has also come over England within the last 1½ years. When more men are required you cannot restrict your choice to a certain class. You must go outside that class, and you must go to the class all over India that will give you the man you want. And if you tell me that you will not get physically fit men with sufficient education to be able to pass your necessary tests all over India—100 or 200 men—it is to tell me something which I will refuse to accept. Throw it open to open competition. See that the man is physically fit before he sits for the examination,—see that he is mentally and physically fit, and then let him sit for the examination, and if he passes, recruit him. But if you go to only certain portions of India, where education is not of the standard to be found in other parts of India, you will not get your men, you will get unsatisfactory people coming in, and then do not come and tell us that you have not got the numbers you want. Now, Sir, I desire for a moment to talk about realities. It is no use closing our eyes, plugging our ears and drugging our conscience. Let us realise that at present for the internal security of this country troops are very often necessary.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** It has been my bitter experience to have been blamed for not being instrumental in calling out troops when there had been trouble. When trouble comes some of our friends, who condemned the use of troops in times of internal danger, are the first to demand that for their own safety troops should be called out. Do not let us close our eyes to the fact that they have been found necessary within the last month or two in more than one part of India and in some of the most important cities in the north of India. Let us hope and pray that that may not be the case within the next few years, but today let us not say publicly that troops are not necessary for the internal security of India. It is not facing realities. I ask you to face realities. In all departments of Government, let your imagination fly if you like, dream if you like, but this is not the time to imagine things about the Defence Department. Today is not the time to make complaints. Today is the time to insist that you shall give the assistance that is necessary and that you shall thrust it upon the Defence Department of your country.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): It was in 1905 that I wanted to enter the army. I applied for a Jemadarship as that was the only commission then open for Indians, and I was reported upon as being physically, mentally and morally fit. The order came from the Adjutant General: You are a Brahmin and so you cannot be taken. So, I have joined the non-violent army of Gandhiji and Bhulabhai Desai.

**Mr. F. E. James:** Much safer.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande:** You will see, Mr. James, that the storm is blowing outside. You people cannot enter into the psychology of Indians. You think you have a vast Empire dotted all over the world and, therefore, you are safe. But look at the realities: You have got only two friends, France and America. I don't know when France will be betrayed. It is surrounded by Fascist states on three sides. The Mediterranean route is not safe. The Atlantic Ocean route is not safe and submarines recently appeared near Singapore and it is not known to which nationality they belonged. Many things are happening and all over the world there is tension. You will not believe us. 13 lakhs of hillmen in my division are ready to march under Gandhi and face your bayonets and machine guns but we will not enter into a mercenary army. A man dropped a bomb on this House—I mean Sardar Bhagat Singh. He would have been a commander-in-chief. Many Bengal detenus became revolutionaries. They would have become Generals and Colonels. They were denied their opportunities. Who was Clive? He was a street boy quarrelling with the merchants. He came out here and became a great Empire-builder. So, there are thousands and thousands of angry and naughty boys who do not get a chance. They are denied their opportunities. The day is coming when two or three crores of young men will march under the banner of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose for the liberty of India. That day is not far. During the great war we sent 15 lakhs of people and tons of money. That sort of help you won't get any more. Even the Rajas and Maharajas are not going to help you after the admonition of Lord Linlithgow. They are angry with you. They are between the devil and the deep sea—between the socialism of Praja Mandals on one side and British Imperialism on the other. From China to Palestine there is a revolt against British Imperialism. You have no friends now left. We know that without an army and treasury no nation can rule. Our hit is, therefore, the hardest on the Treasury and on Defence. We will have an army that will not be a mercenary army, but an army guided by patriotism.

You are sending 15 crores out of 45 or 50 crores on that God-forsaken country—the North-West Frontier Province. Why not hand over that province to Dr. Khan Sahib? Why don't you try the experiment for a year or two and save all that money. Let him make peace with the persons in the tribal areas. You have failed during the last 50 years. You have tried to provoke them by throwing bombs at them. That is your policy. We are peaceful not in spite of your bayonets but because of M. Gandhi's teachings. Mr. James is dreaming that he will hand over a big Empire to posterity. Our dream is that we want to see India an independent country. Both the dreams cannot be true. We think that our dream is going to be realised. There are many impatient young men who are being controlled by the influence of Gandhiji. They are going astray. They say that they are ready to strike at any moment when the order for march comes. Unless you enter into an honourable treaty with India as you did with Ireland, there can be no solution of this impasse. All this talk of British prestige has been exploded in Abyssinia, China, Palestine, Czecho-Slovakia and Spain. Your friends are all leaving you. You are jealous of British prestige, power and personality and political power but the day of reckoning is coming. There is going to be a conflagration in Europe and then you will come down to us with folded hands for help. That day is coming. Sir, I support the motion.

**Several Honourable Members:** I move that the question be now put.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie** (Defence Secretary): Sir, with regard to the cut motion (Laughter)—I cannot see why the Honourable Members opposite appear at this late hour of the day to be amused,—I was not conscious of having said anything particularly funny—I was in fact casting about in my mind as to how to approach the very large mass of material with which I have to deal in half an hour,—nothing less than the whole of defence policy and administration, coupled with foreign policy to some extent as well. My predecessor, two years ago, said very rightly that he was set an impossible task in attempting in half an hour to deal with a very large number of subjects any one of which could properly be the subject of a full-dress debate. If, therefore, I am somewhat sketchy and if I leave out a certain number of things, I crave the forgiveness of the House.

Well, to start with, one of the main contentions brought from various sections of the House was that the country was not in an adequate state of defence. That contention is sub-divided into various parts. The first was, that the regular forces, the army, navy and the air force, were not justly divided—that their total force might be re-distributed with advantage. Well, that is an interesting point of view, and, perhaps, in some ways, a quite natural one. But I must ask the House to listen to me carefully. . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** That we always do.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** . . . when I say that the whole of these matters must be viewed ultimately, in fact all the time, from this viewpoint,—which is, that India is now, not even excepting China, the largest aggregate of human beings in the world. It has probably, by now, well over three hundred and sixty million inhabitants,—and, to provide them with everything, which they must have from Government, including defence, it has the revenue of a Balkan State. Three hundred and sixty million of people.—a fifth of the population of the world,—and the revenues of the Central Government are barely more than those of Belgium!

**An Honourable Member:** Who is responsible for that?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** . . . that, in spite of the fact that the prosperity of India has undoubtedly greatly risen in recent years. . . .

**Some Honourable Members:** Oh, oh.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** . . . the fact remains that the only commodity which she does produce in literally enormous quantities is "people". The population is enormous, but the resources of the country are not commensurate with the population. Now, in some dim way, some people seem to realise that fact and they wish to point to the enormous population of their country as a source of strength. I do not think that is altogether right. I think, in the circumstances, it is probably a weakness. I will touch again on that subject when I have said a little more about the impossibility, in existing circumstances, of India providing, in full, for her own defence. The cost of a modern Navy is literally stupendous. A single battleship costs as much as eight or nine million pounds sterling, a heavy cruiser up to two million, or a million and three quarters at the

very least, a light cruiser a million and a quarter, and a torpedo-bout destroyer—things of which you must have very large numbers—£350,000 or more. In addition, you have to have enormous shore establishments capable of maintaining and keeping in repair these vastly complicated engines. The cost of establishing a modern Navy, if it is to be sufficiently strong to defend yourself against a first-class power from scratch, would be literally unthinkable great. An Air Force, too, is now, in some ways, even more expensive than a navy. This year the United Kingdom is spending two hundred and five million pounds on its Air Force alone,—that is to say, not very far short of three times the total income of the Central Government and of all the provinces combined.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Twenty-five per cent.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** It is true, as the Honourable Member says, that at present the defence estimates do amount to something like twenty-five per cent. of the net income of both the provinces and the Centre combined,—and what are they? Forty-five crores. Surely, that is a sufficient confirmation of what I have been saying. Countries which are engaged in preparations against the evil day are, of course, now spending, proportionately, vastly more. As the Honourable the Finance Member said the other day, India pays about three per cent. of her gross national income—not the revenue of the Centre and provinces but the national income—whereas England spends 12½ per cent. and Germany 25 per cent. Well, Gentlemen. . . .

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** Order, order. The Honourable Member must address the Chair, Sir.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** I am sorry for the mistake. I think that those few simple figures which I have given ought to sufficiently satisfy Honourable Members that, however much they may wish—and I grant they must wish—to be able to defend their own country entirely by their unaided efforts, in present times, such an ambition, I say, is absolutely impossible of fulfilment,—that, unless we are here to defend this country, somebody else would have to be, and that, in the circumstances, this country cannot defend itself.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** We will defend the country.

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Now, up till recently we could, more or less, pay entirely for our own army; in fact, we could pay entirely for it. But, unfortunately, the advance of science has made even the army too expensive for us. Fifty years ago when people fired round bullets out of iron tubes we could have a very large army and paid comparatively little for it. Those days are within the memory of the living men. But the advance in recent years, particularly during the last 20 years, has been enormous and we can no longer hope to pay for a fully modern army but must depend upon help in order to do so. In the circumstances, I do not think it will be worth-while to divert a large portion of our slender resources from the army to either the Navy or the Air Force, certainly, not with the idea of making ourselves independent in regard to either of these arms. That, I submit, is a pure impossibility. We would certainly like to spend more on both but with the income that we have and the calls upon our purse, we have

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

to be very cautious indeed. We can, however, be thankful that in the event of a calamity overtaking this country, enormous reinforcements are available and the British aeroplanes can, of course, come to this country more easily than the British troops can.

Arising out of the same point was a statement which was backed by my Honourable friend, Mr. James, that we had not paid enough attention to the Territorial Forces. Well, that again is largely a question of money. If you have just enough money to keep your first line troops going or not even enough for that, you cannot be accused of being foolish if you do not spend money, which you ought to spend on the first line, on the second line. We should like to be able to spend more on what we may call second line troops both because they are useful and in order to gratify the ambition of the people all over the country to have some form of military service, but the question is how to find the money. As for the practical use of a vast national militia, I think Mr. Satyamurti dwelt upon that and seemed to consider that a vast citizen army would be able to defend this country. Well, I would like, in the first place, to read to him and the House generally the remarks of George Washington who in his day knew a lot about such matters.

**Mr. S. Satyamurti:** A very ancient man!

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** Therefore, what he says must be multiplied by 10,000. This is what he said.

“Regular troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern warfare as well as for defence when it is offered and when a substitute is attempted it must prove illusory and ruinous. No militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service. I have never yet been a witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion and it is most earnestly to be wished that the liberties of America may no longer be entrusted in any material degree to so precarious a dependence.”

**Mr. F. E. James:** May I ask a question of the Honourable Member? Would he be good enough to read the tribute paid by Field-Marshal Lord Haig to the Territorial Forces after the Great War?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** If the Honourable Member had waited a little longer he would not have had any reason to ask that question. What I was referring to was a vast national militia, necessarily very poorly trained, and equipped and without experienced officers suddenly called upon to defend its country from an invader armed with the most modern arms and capable of using them. Our troops who fought so magnificently in the last war did not go immediately into battle. They were very well trained and, after a few months, the best of them were to all intents and purposes regular troops. Most of the armies who won the last war did not go to France until after a year or 18 months of training, when they were comparable, of course, to the finest regular troops, in fact, indistinguishable from them. The national militia of the kind envisaged could not possibly do more than swell the casualties. Something of the kind has recently been seen in China.

Now, one thing which a number of Members from various parts of the House had to say was that the Defence Department was incommunicative and, in fact, did not give them full co-operation. I was surprised to hear the voice of my Honourable friend, Mr. James, in that chorus. I wonder

how we could have been more co-operative than we are. Well, the kind of thing which is said is "we hope your ramshackle Empire is going to pieces: co-operate with us". "The sooner we see the last of you, the better we shall be pleased: co-operate with us." "We think you ought to be hanged: if you fast, we hope you will starve to death: co-operate with us." "We hope that if the next war comes, you will be defeated: co-operate with us." "You have no friends left and the day of reckoning is at hand: co-operate with us." "13 lakhs of people are marching to face your machine-guns: co-operate with us." Well, considering all these things, it is very surprising that the people who make these statements ask for co-operation. But what is still more surprising is that we do co-operate with them in every way we can. I can say quite fairly that we do co-operate. There are certain things about which we cannot talk in public, even to our friends. No Government gives away its defence plans or preparations.

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): Nobody asks you to do that.

**Mr. O. M. G. Ogilvie:** We are daily asked to do that. Even today I have been asked to state our defence plans. I know that everyone is most interested in the results of the negotiations which will arise out of the Chatfield Committee's report. I have not been able to say anything about it because His Majesty's Government are still considering the report. But, again and again, I have been asked questions on the subject and, naturally, I cannot answer them. But there are very few things which I have refused to answer. I do not suppose in all the innumerable questions which I have been asked in this House that I have given the answer that it is not in the public interest to say in more than eight or nine instances if as many. I doubt if there has been as many as eight or nine cases. Now, Sir, the one tyranny which I think the people of this country, and, particularly, of this House suffer under is the tyranny of words. I do not myself believe that the reservation of defence makes any practical difference as regards their obtaining the full knowledge on the subject. The only difference is that they do not actually vote the money. But they are entitled to ask as many questions as they like and when it is possible to give them a reply, they get it in full detail. They are entitled to put forward Resolutions on the subject and unless it is not in the public interest, they are fully debated. If Honourable Members do show an interest in the details of defence administration—not policy on which I cannot expatiate—I am only too thankful to help them. I wish I had more opportunities of doing so. As for publicity, which my Honourable friend, Mr. James, said we were lacking in, well in the present state of flux when we hope for something to turn up every year as we have been for the last year and more there is not very much to write about.

**Mr. F. E. James:** There is much to write about, after four years have passed.

**Mr. O. M. G. Ogilvie:** I hope we shall not have to say nothing for another four years.

Much, of course, was said on the subject of Indianisation. I talked about it at considerable length yesterday afternoon and I do not think anything new has come up. There was, however, one surprising statement which was made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Qayyum. He said



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

'if they nationalise the Indian Army, it will mean that they will commit suicide'. Well, Sir, surely that is an extraordinary thing to say. Really if we thought so, naturally we should not wish to Indianise the army. We do not, however, envisage an army of the type that Mr. Abdul Qaiyum envisages. The one which we envisage will be in all respects as loyal as its predecessor.

Finally, the bogey of martial and non-martial classes reared its head once more. I think my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, also is under some slight misapprehension on the subject. To start with the enlisted classes are not the monopolists of commissions in the army. As I have said on many occasions, 50 per cent. are competed for by open competition and even in the other fifty per cent. we do not, I may say, select people who can lift large weights, as he stated, but people of intelligence and just as I and I am sure everybody else is perfectly willing to admit it too, that no class has a monopoly of courage and military virtues so also no class has a monopoly of intelligence.

Finally, Sir, as I said in the earlier part of my speech, practically the whole of these misunderstandings is due to the fact that Honourable Members do not realise what the implications are when the Honourable the Finance Member rises and says that his budget deals with a sum of 83 crores of rupees.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—56.

Abdul Qaiyum, Mr.  
 Abdullah, Mr. H. M.  
 Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury, Maulvi.  
 Aney, Mr. M. S.  
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. Ananthasayanam.  
 Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
 Banerjee, Dr. P. N.  
 Basu, Mr. R. N.  
 Chaliha, Mr. Kuladhar.  
 Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Amarendra Nath.  
 Chaudhury, Mr. Brojendra Narayan.  
 Chettiar, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam.  
 Chetty, Mr. Sami Vencatachelam.  
 Das, Mr. B.  
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.  
 Desai, Mr. Bhulabhai J.  
 Deshmukh, Mr. Govind V.  
 Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.  
 Fazl-i-Haq Piracha, Khan Bahadur Shaikh.  
 Gadgil, Mr. N. V.  
 Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.  
 Gupta, Mr. K. S.  
 Hans Raj, Raizada.  
 Hegde, Sri K. B. Jinaraja.  
 Hosmani, Mr. S. K.  
 Jedhe, Mr. K. M.  
 Jogendra Singh, Sirdar.

Joshi, Mr. N. M.  
 Kailash Behari Lal, Babu.  
 Lohri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.  
 Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.  
 Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta.  
 Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant.  
 Mangal Singh, Sardar.  
 Mehr Shah, Nawab Sahibzada Sir Sayad Muhammad.  
 Misra, Pandit Shambhu Dayal.  
 Mudaliar, Mr. C. N. Muthuranga.  
 Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi, Qazi.  
 Paliwal, Pandit Sri Krishna Dutta.  
 Pande, Mr. Badri Dutt.  
 Raghunir Narayan Singh, Choudhri.  
 Ramayan Prasad, Mr.  
 Ranga, Prof. N. G.  
 Rao, Mr. M. Thirumala.  
 Saksena, Mr. Mohan Lal.  
 Sant Singh, Sardar.  
 Santhanam, Mr. K.  
 Satyamurti, Mr. S.  
 Sham Lal, Mr.  
 Singh, Mr. Gauri Shankar.  
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.  
 Sinha, Mr. Satya Narayan.  
 Som, Mr. Suryya Kumar.  
 Sri Prakasa, Mr.  
 Subbarayan, Shrimati K Radha Bai.  
 Varma, Mr. B. B.

## NOES—43.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.  
Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.

Ayyar, Mr. N. M.  
Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar.  
Bewoor, Mr. G. V.  
Bhandarkar, Mr. K. Y.  
Boyle, Mr. J. D.  
Buss, Mr. L. C.  
Chanda, Mr. A. K.  
Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.  
Dalal, Dr. R. D.  
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.

Frampton, Mr. H. J.  
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry.  
Gorwala, Mr. A. D.  
Greer, Mr. B. R. T.  
Grigg, The Honourable Sir James.  
Hardman, Mr. J. S.  
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.

Kamaluddin Ahmed, Shams-ul-Ulema.  
Kushalpal Singh, Raja Bahadur.  
Lillie, Mr. C. J. W.

Mackeown, Mr. J. A.  
Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.

Menon, Mr. P. A.  
Menon, Mr. P. M.  
Metcalf, Sir Aubrey.  
Miller, Mr. C. C.  
Mukerji, Mr. Basanta Kumar.  
Nur Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Shaikh

Ogilvie, Mr. C. M. G.  
Rahman, Lieut.-Col. M. A.  
Row, Mr. K. Sanjiva.  
Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.  
Sher Muhammad Khan, Captain Sardar Sir.  
Sircar, The Honourable Sir Nripendra.

Sivaraaj, Rao Sahib N.  
Slade, Mr. M.  
Spence, Mr. G. H.  
Stewart, The Honourable Sir Thomas.  
Sukthankar, Mr. Y. N.  
Sundaram, Mr. V. S.  
Zafrullah Khan, The Honourable Sir Muhammad.

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 17 —DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

**The Honourable Sir James Grigg** (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1940, in respect of the ‘Department of Education, Health and Lands’.”

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1940, in respect of the ‘Department of Education, Health and Lands’.”

*Indians Overseas.*

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar** (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Department of Education, Health and Lands’ be reduced by Rs. 100”—(Indians Overseas.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member had better begin his speech tomorrow.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar**: All right, Sir.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 16th March, 1939.