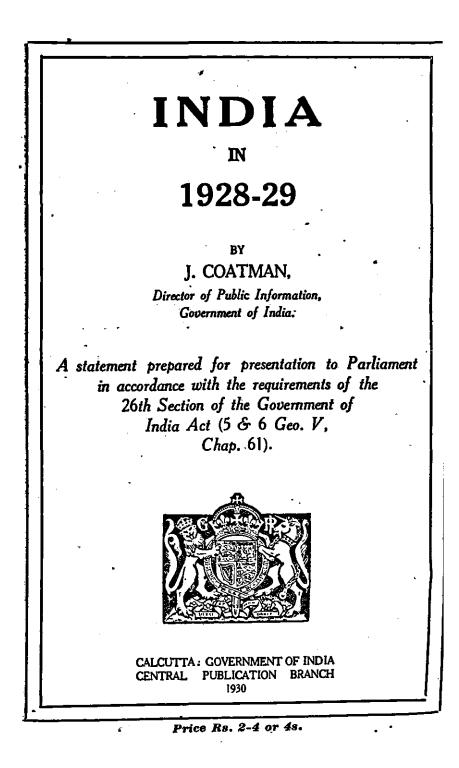




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The task of preparing this report for presentation to Parliament has been entrusted by the Government of India to Mr. J. Coatman, and it is now presented under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India; but it must not be understood that the approval either of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India extends to every particular expression of opinion.

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#### SOURCES.

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#### General.

Statistical Abstract relating to British India (Parliamentary Paper). Statistics of British India:----

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Vol. III.-Public Health.

Vol. IV .- Administrative and Judicial.

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Census Reports (Decennial), India, Provincial, and Native States.

Administration Reports: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Island, Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan Agency.

#### Legislation.

Acts of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

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Loans raised in England (Half-yearly Parliamentary Paper).

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Mint Reports for Calcutta and Bombay.

Paper Currency Department Reports, India and Bombay.

Statistics compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts.

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#### Land Revenue, etc.

Land Revenue Administration: Provincial Reports for Lower Provinces (Bengal), Bihar and Orissa, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency (including Sind), Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, and Madras.

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#### Public Works.

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Report on Irrigation Revenue for each Province (except Madras). Administrative Reports on Irrigation, Madras and Bombay, Report on Architectural Work in India.

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#### Local Self-Government.

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Reports on District and Local Boards or Local Funds for each Province.

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#### Medical, Sanitary, and Vital Statistics.

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

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Report on Lunatic Asylums for each Province.

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Report of the Chemical Examiner and Bacteriologist for each Province. Scientific Memoirs by Officers of the Medical and Sanitary Departments. Reports of the All-India Sanitary Conferences. Reports of the Imperial Malaria Conferences. Indian Journal of Medical Research (Quarterly).

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#### APPENDIX II.

#### EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VIOEROY ON THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.

When the Commission has reported and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them.

And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals for consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses, and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the view of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government the procedure contemplated fulfils to a very great extent the requisites outlined above.

Such a Commission, drawn from men of every British political party and presided over by one whose public position is due to outstanding ability and character, will evidently bring fresh, trained, and unaffected judgment to bear upon an immensely complex constitutional issue.

Moreover, the findings of some of its own members can count in advance upon a favourable reception at the hands of Parliament, which will recognise them to speak from a common platform of thought, and to be applying standards of judgment which Parliament will feel instinctively to be its own. For myself I cannot doubt that the quickest and surest path of those who desire Indian progress is by the persuasion of Parliament, and that they can do this more certainly through members of both Houses of Parliament than in any other way. The Indian nationalist has gained much if he can convince Members of Parliament on the spot, and I would therefore go further and say that if those who speak for India have confidence in the case which they advance on her behalf, they ought to welcome such an opportunity being afforded to as many members of the British Legislature as may be thus to come into contact with the realities of Indian life and politics.

Furthermore, while it is for these reasons of undoubted advantage to all who desire an extension of the Reforms that their case should be heard in the first instance by those who can command the unquestioned confidence of Parliament, I am sanguine enough to suppose that the method chosen by His Majesty's Government will also assure to Indians a better opportunity than they could have enjoyed in any other way of influencing the passage of these great events. For not only will they, through representatives of the Indian Legislatures, be enabled to express themselves freely to the Commission itself, but it will also be within their power to challenge in detail or principle any of the proposals made by His Majesty's Government beforethe Joint Select Committee of Parliament, and to advocate their own solu-

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tions. It should be observed moreover that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals and therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open. IRWIN.

IRWIN,

The 8th November, 1927. 

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Viceroy and Governor General.

#### APPENDIX III.

#### SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

MAIN REPORT.

Report of the Commission on closer union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa.

### Part I.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.

A .-- PRELIMINARY STEP (to be taken immediately).

A High Commissioner should be appointed for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika with executive powers, his special functions being :---

- (a) To inaugurate enquiries and joint discussions on questions of native policy as indicated in the annexure to Chapter VI, Part I.
- (b) To promote unified control of certain services of common interest, and to settle on a fair basis any immediate causes of dispute or difference.
- (c) To discuss locally and work out the arrangements for introducing the modifications proposed in the constitution of Kenya.

#### B .- FIRST STAGE OF DEFINITE PLAN.

The results of the preliminary enquiries carried out by the High Commissioner should be reviewed by His Majesty's Government, and if then thought fit the post of Governor General of Eastern Africa should be created in place of the appointment of High Commissioner. The Governor General is to be a link between the Secretary of State and the local Governments, and for this purpose the plan includes changes of organization both in Africa and in London.

#### Organization in Africa.

1. The Governor General should exercise so far as these can be delegated to him the functions of supervision and control now exercised through the Secretary of State, and should be endowed for this purpose with executive powers and with control over legislation, but these powers and control should be exercised only for certain purposes which would be conveyed to him in his instructions.

- 2. The principal duties of the Governor General will be :---
  - (a) To secure Imperial interests and the proper discharge of the responsibilities of His Majesty's Government.
  - (b) To hold the scales of justice even between the various racial communities.
  - (c) To co-ordinate services of common interest.

(The most important duty of the Governor General under heads (a) and (b) above will be to "direct the course of native policy and to supervise its working.")

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- 8. The Governor General should work with the following bodies :---
  - (a) For general purposes.
    - A small Advisory Council comprising officials and non-officials of all three Dependencies.
  - (b) For services of common interest.
    - (i) Transport.—An inter-Colonial Advisory Railway Council for the three Dependencies organised on the same lines as the existing Railway Council of Kenya and Uganda.
    - (ii) Customs.—An inter-Colonial Customs Council organized on the same lines as the Railway Council.

4. During the preliminary period and the first stage the status of the three Governors is to be affected as little as possible. They should retain the title of Governor and their present rates of pay, and should continue to be for all practical purposes the King's representatives in their own territories.

#### Organization in London.

- 5. The Secretary of State should have available:-
  - (a) For consultation on matters of policy in Eastern Africa (including Zanzibar) and Central Africa—a small Advisory Council. The membership of this Council should be from five to eight and the members should be paid.
  - (b) A Finance Committee and a Transport Committee, or possibly a joint Finance and Transport Committee, of which the Financial Adviser to the Secretary of State and the Transport Adviser (if any) would be members. The Chairman (or Chairmen) of these Committees should sit on the General Advisory Council.

6. To assist in the further consideration of policy periodical Conferences for the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa should be held in London and should be attended by official and unofficial delegates.

7. For the information of Parliament on the course of affairs in Eastern and Central Africa Annual Reports should be prepared by the Governor General, and by the Governors of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and published as a Parliamentary Paper with the comments of the East African Council.

C .- THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS OF KENYA, UGANDA, AND TANGANYIKA.

1. No changes are needed at present in the Legislative Councils of Ugands and Tanganyika.

2. Simultaneously with, or subsequent to, the creation of the post of Governor General, the following change should be introduced in the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya (see Chapter VIII):---

Four of the official members of the Legislative Council should be replaced by four unofficial members nominated to represent native interests (in addition to the missionary already appointed for this purpose).

3. No further change is recommended at present in the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya, but it is contemplated that at later stages there will be a progressive increase in the representation of native interests, and a progressive diminution in the proportion of official members. 4. Consideration should be given to the replacement of adult franchise in Kenya by a franchise depending on a civilization qualification. The nature of the tests to be imposed should be a matter for enquiry by the High Commissioner in discussion with the Government of Kenya and representatives of the unofficial communities.

5. The changes which the new franchise qualifications would effect in the respective members of European and Indian voters should be made clear to the leaders of both communities, and the High Commissioner should endeavour to induce them to come to an agreement on the question of election on a -common roll.

6. Concurrently with the changes proposed in the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya the Governor General should be given special power to enact legislation and to secure supplies which he regards as essential for the discharge of his responsibilities, contrary to the vote of the majority of that Council.

#### D.-LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Institutions of local and municipal government should be vigorously developed both in settled and native areas.

#### E.-FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.

The working of the whole of the arrangements set out above should be reviewed after a period to be fixed in due course by the Secretary of State.

It is contemplated that the exercise of central direction by a Governor General will lead to the establishment of a Central Council with power to legislate in respect of services of common interest, and with a central revenue (see Chapter XI).

#### Part II.

#### POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION.

#### A.-NATIVE POLICY.

1. The field of native interests in Eastern and Central Africa should be clearly defined not only in the interests of the natives but also with a view to making clear the scope for the development of the immigrant communities. In Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika a programme of native policy for all three Dependencies should be worked out and co-ordinated after full local discussion.

2. Essential native interests under the following headings must be defined and protected :---

Land.

Economic development, Government services and taxation.

Labour.

Education.

Administrative and Political Institutions.

3. The Governments of the Eastern and Central African Dependencies should endeavour to secure such a measure of segregation as will facilitate the creation of homogeneous native and non-native areas of sufficient size to become units of local self-government. 4. Native tribal institutions should be fostered and native administrations should have their own courts.

5. Native opinon should be consulted regarding legislation affecting their interests through native administrations or District Councils.

6. With a view to forming as close an estimate as possible of the production of native areas, typical areas should from time to time be selected for a test census of production.

7. In the annual report of each of the Eastern and Central African territories, a section should be included on native interests giving data similar to those required by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in the annual reports of mandated territories.

8. For the purpose of studying all factors affecting the moral and material progress of the natives, a Central Bureau of Statistics should be attached to the Governor General, and administrative officers should be instructed in methods of observation and record.

#### B .- SPECIAL ARBANGEMENTS IN KENYA.

1. Representation of native interests in Kenya should be supplemented by the following measures :---

- (i) Consultation of native opinion in regard to legislation through District Councils and periodical durbars.
- (ii) Supply of full information on native affairs to the representatives of native interests in the Legislative Council.
- (iii) Appointment of an Advisory Committee on Native Affairs to assist the Chief Native Commissioner.
- (iv) Appointment of representatives of native interests on all official bodies which can influence policy.

2. Advisory Committees should be attached to some of the departments of administration.

#### C.-TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

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1. Subject to full local discussion and inquiry the management of the Tanga-Moshi-Arusha Railway system and possibly that of the Port of Tanga should be transferred to the Kenya-Uganda Railways Department.

2. The Central Authority should settle outstanding railway rates questions, in particular the question arising out of the extension of the Tanganyika railway to Mwansa.

8. Standardization of equipment on the Kenya-Uganda and Tanganyika Railway systems should be introduced as soon as possible.

4. The financial position and prospects of the Kenya-Uganda and Tanganyika Railway systems should be examined with a view to making arrangements for joint working.

5. Machinery should be provided for continuous preparatory study of railway projects.

6. Special surveys should be organized in Tanganyika in order to provide information for framing land settlement and railway policy.

The cost of the surveys should be regarded as a proper subject for loan expenditure.

7. On the completion of these surveys the following main trunk connections should be considered :---

Northern connection.-Either Dodoma-Arusha or Kilosa-Mombo.

Southern connection .- Either Dodoma-Fife or Kilosa-Ifakara-Manda.

8. In considering new railway construction the Government of Tanganyika should give preference to branch lines which could later become part of one or other of the main trunk connections referred to under recommendation 7 above.

9. Pending consideration of the possibility of constructing railways, the following trunk roads are recommended:---

- (a) A road from Dodoma through Iringa to the Tukuyu Highlands of Tanganyika.
- (b) A road through the coastal areas of Kenya and Tanganyika uniting. Mombasa, Tanga, and Dar-es-Salaam.

#### D.-RESEARCH.

1. The High Commissioner should appoint a special technical Commission on Research to survey the existing organizations and to report on the main objectives to be pursued.

2. The Eastern and Central African Dependencies should be treated as a unit in any Imperial organization of scientific research.

3. Each territory must retain adequate research institutions of its own to undertake the scientific work required for the local purposes of its Medical, Veterinary, Agricultural, and other Departments.

#### E.-DEFENCE.

The High Commissioner should consider the question of a more efficient and economic organization and distribution of the King's African Rifles, and similar questions, in consultation with the Governors of the three territories and the Inspector-General of the King's African Rifles.

#### F.-ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES AND SECRETARIAT.

1. Trial should be made in the Eastern and Central African Dependencies of the system of limiting the tenure of appointments in the Secretariat to a comparatively short term of years, and there should be more frequent interchange between officers serving in the Secretariat and in the Administrative Service.

2. As far as possible the highest posts in Eastern and Central Africa, that is to say, the posts of Colonial Secretary, etc., should be filled from the ranks of officials in these territories.

#### G.-LOCATION AND STAFF OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY.

1. Government House at Mombasa should be put at the disposal of the High Commissioner, and the location of permanent head-quarters for the Governor General should be a matter for enquiry and discussion by the High Commissioner.

2. The Secretariat of the East African Governors' Conference should be attached to the High Commissioner, and later to the Governor General. Apart from this their staff should be confined to Secretaries. 3. The salaries of the High Commissioner and Governor General and their personal staffs (but not their local travelling expenses) should be met by His Majesty's Government. The cost of the Socretariat of the Governors' Conference and any other expenditure involved in our recommendations should be borne by the Governments concerned.

4. The High Commissioner should pay frequent visits, and the Governor General regular annual visits, to England, and when they leave Eastern Africa they should retain their official positions and no substitutes should be appointed.

#### H.-THE EAST APRICAN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE.

The East African Governors' Conference should be continued for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, but the High Commissioner (and later the Governor General) should preside over it, and should be endowed with full powers to take decisions and to issue orders for their execution.

(See also later recommendations regarding the representation of Zanzibar and the Central African territories.)

#### Part III.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING ZANZIBAR.

1. The existing co-operation of Zanzibar with the mainland territories to advance common interests should be maintained and extended particularly in such matters as scientific research, administration, harbours and docks, migration of labour, quarantine regulations, and assimilation of the forms of legislation.

2. Zanzibar should continue to be represented on the East African Governors' Conference.

#### SUMMARY OF THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDA-TIONS.

#### The Legislative Council of Kenya.

1. As an alternative to the proposal contained in Recommendation C. 2 on page 290, the following proposal is recommended and should be discussed by the High Commissioner with the local communities in Kenya:---

- (a) The number of the Official Members of the Legislative Council should be reduced from nineteen to nine, and the number of additional Nominated Unofficial Members recommended in Chapter VIII, page 187, should be increased from four to seven.
- (b) Of the eight Nominated Unofficial Members three should be nominated to represent the interests of the whole community and one of these three should be a member of the Indian community. The remaining five should represent the interests of the natives.

2. Should it be found necessary to increase the number of European constituencies, that number should in the first place be increased from eleven to thirteen, the number of Official Members being increased from nine to ten and the number of Elected Indians from five to six.

8. The appointment of one of the Unofficial Members as an executive Minister should be contemplated forthwith by way of an experiment.

#### SUMMARY OF CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

A. The Governor of Southern Rhodesia should be appointed High Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with powers similar to those proposed for the Governor General of the North-Eastern territories, in order to supervise and co-ordinate-

- (a) Imperial outlook;
- (b) Native policy;
- (c) Services of common interest.

He should have authority to arrange for joint conferences of the several legislatures.

B. Such union, through an executive Central Authority, should be encouraged to develop into a closer union with a central revenue and a joint legislative council to deal with services of common interest such as defence, research, customs and communications.

O. Ultimate redistribution of boundaries is desirable as follows :-----

- 1. The settled Central or "railway." area of Northern Rhodesia to be united with Southern Rhodesia.
- 2. North-Eastern Rhodesia to be united with Nyasaland (without prejudice to the question of transferring later the area south of Lake Tanganyika to Tanganyika).
- 3. The maintenance of Barotseland as an inalienable native reserve under the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

The above redistribution should be considered at a representative conference with the Governor of Southern Rhodesia (as High Commissioner of the Central Territories) as Chairman.

D. The co-ordination of services and interests with the North-Eastern Territories should be maintained by local conference between the heads of the two administrations as well as through the Colonial Office.

#### SUMMARY OF THE MAJORITY REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

1. The independent status of the Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia abould be maintained pending further development of communications and of mineral exploitation in Northern Rhodesia, both of which may have an important bearing on the settlement of administrative boundaries.

2. In the meanwhile the following measures are recommended :---

- (a) The High Commissioner or Governor General of Eastern Africa should be the Secretary of State's chief adviser on important matters of policy affecting Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.
- (b) The Governor General should pay occasional visits to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in an advisory capacity. He should not have any executive authority over the Governors.
- (c) The Governors of these two Protectorates should continue to attend the Governors' Conference. The Government of Southern Rhodesia should be invited to send a representative to the Conference.

- (d) Enquiries into matters of native policy and white settlement on the lines indicated in the annexure to Chapter VI, Part I, should be carried out in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in consultation with the Governor General of Eastern Africa.
- (c) Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia should be included in the same ... group as the Eastern African Dependencies for purposes of
- (f) An official majority should be maintained in the Legislative Councils of both Protectorates, but there is no objection to a moderate increase in the unofficial representation by nomination, in the case of Nyasaland, and by raising the number of Elected Members in the case of Northern Rhodesia.
- (g) Institutions for local government both in the settled areas and among the natives in Nysaland and Northern Rhodesis should be developed as vigorously as possible.
- (h) An attempt should be made in Nyasaland to build up responsible native administrations and native authorities, and it might be advantageous that an experienced officer should be lent to Nyasaland by the Government of Tanganyika to assist in the necessary enquiries.

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#### APPENDIX IV.

#### SKEEN MEMORANDUM ON THE MILITARY SITUATION IN INDIA.

120. \*Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to statements in a section of the Press to the "Skeen Memorandum". on the military situation in India, and the Indian army's military preparedness or unpreparedness for war on modern lines?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to publish the "Skeen Memorandum" on modernizing the Indian Army?

Mr. G. M. Young: With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer questions Nos. 120, 121, 122 and 176, also Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question No. 158, and Colonel Crawford's question No. 178 together, and to take this opportunity of making a statement on the matters raised in these questions. I am afraid the statement will be rather a long one; but I hope that the House will allow me to trespass a little on its patience, as it would be difficult to return a complete answer to these questions in a few words.

The document referred to in the questions was a lecture given by a General Staff Officer, at the four Command Headquarters, on army financeand economy within the army. The main object of the lecture, and of its subsequent circulation, was to stimulate a special campaign of economy which has been initiated throughout the various formations of the army. In order to assist in this object, mention was made of existing deficienciesin equipment, and of the estimated sums required to overtake those deficiencies during the next few years. The essence of this economy campaign within the army is to encourage the military authorities all through the army to look for and suggest methods of economizing on their own initiative, and so to assist the Government in providing the funds required to meet the army's growing needs, without increasing military expenditure beyond itspresent limits. The agreement referred to in Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question is an informal arrangement, under which savings effected by the military authorities as a result of this special economy campaign, may be appropriated towards the equipment programme.

The lecture is a confidential document designed for official use only, and Government are not prepared to publish the whole document in extensomerely because a copy has been purloined by somebody, and parts have already appeared in the Press. I will, however, endeavour to give Honourable Members full information on the various points.

The programme or scheme of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, mentioned in the questions, is merely a part of the continuous policy of Government, during the incumbency of the present and the late Commandersin-Chief, in regard to modernizing the equipment of the army in India and making good certain shortages which resulted from acceptance of the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee. There is no separatescheme for modernization in the army. Modernization is proceeding continuously from day to day. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief made this clear in his budget speech last March when he was informing the House about the progress of mechanization—a word which is practically synonymouswith modernization in this context. The army of the United Kingdom hasfor the last few years been making continuous experiments with different

patterns of mechanical transport machines. The army in India carefully follows the experiments made in England, testing the results, and modifying them, where modification is necessary, to suit Indian requirements. The task of keeping pace in the modernization of equipment with the progress made at home has been made more difficult in the past few years owing to the acceptance by Government of the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee. When Government accepted those recommendations, it was recognized, and stated, by Lord Rawlinson that the economies then made in equipment would have to be counterbalanced sooner or later by further expenditure in order to keep pace with the requirements of defence. In fact, in giving their support to the proposals of the Inchcape Committee, the Government of India took a definite risk, in recognition of the then paramount need for retrenchment, by decelerating to some extent, the rates of provision and renewal of part of the army's equipment. It was realized from the beginning, however, that this state of affairs could not continue beyond a certain point. The matter was kept under constant observation, and by 1926 we had reached the point when we could no longer go slow, but, on the contrary, had to begin catching up again. By the end of 1927, we could see our way clear. Much progress had been made in redeeming what I may call the Inchcape shortages, and we could predict with some confidence that those shortages would be soon obliterated altogether without our having to add appreciably to our military estimates. But meanwhile we were confronted with new problems arising out of the rapid developments in modernization, and, in particular, the mechanization of foreign armies and of the army of Great Britain. It was to keep pace with these further developments also, if possible, without increasing our present scale of military expenditure, that the economy campaign to which I have referred was devised in the cold weather of 1927-28. At the same time there was no hope of reducing that expenditure below its present level. That is why His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the late Finance Member have informed Honourable Members on more than one occasion, that they saw no prospect in the immediate future of a further reduction in the army estimates, but that, on the other hand, there was a possibility that those estimates might be increased. This was the position, Sir, when my Honourable friend, Colonel Crawford, asked me last March, whether the equipment of the army was in a satisfactory position, particularly in respect of mobility and defence against an attack from the air accompanied by the use of gas. These questions were put towards the close of the debate on the Army Department grant, when there was, of course, no opportunity for preparing a detailed statement. In replying, while I informed the House that Government were doing all they could towards ensuring that, when the time came, our army would go into the field fully equipped, I declined to make any admission of insufficiency in particular items of equipment. To that reply I adhere, and if a similar question were again put to me in the course of a debate. I should give a similar answer. But in the meanwhile there has been the public controversy on the subject, to which Honourable Members have drawn attention, and many incorrect statements about the condition of army equipment have appeared in the Press. In view of this circumstance, and as our equipment programme is now still further advanced than it was in March. I have had prepared a memorandum which explains

as fully as possible, from the technical point of view, what we have been doing in the last few years, where we stand now, and what we propose to do in the near future. I lay this memorandum on the table of the House. It goes considerably into details, and I think it will supply Honourable Members with all the information that they require. But if, after reading it, they find that there are other technical points on which they would like to be informed, I shall be very glad to give them what information I can.

#### MEMORANDUM.

The policy followed by the Army in matters of organization and equipment is concisely stated in a resolution of the Legislative Assembly in 1921 in connection with the Esher Committee's recommendations, which runs as follows:---

"That the purpose of the army in India must be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent that it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up to date and, with due regard to Indian conditions in accordance with the present day standards of efficiency in the British army, so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organization which would render such co-operation difficult."

This policy means the replacement of the older classes of artillery equipment, aircraft, transport, etc., by more modern types. The main feature of it is the substitution of mechanical for animal transport wherever possible.

ARMY TRANSPORT in war consists of:

- (a) FIRST LINE TRANSPORT, which carries with the troops what they require in actual battle. Animal transport is used for this because the fighting line cannot have any transport which is unable to cross any country where men and horses can go; but, where M. T. can be used (as in the case of certain technical units) there M. T. will be substituted for animal transport.
- (b) Next, THE TRAINS which carry daily replenishment. These are at present mainly A. T. carts, but there are some horsed wagons. Both can only move a short distance at a comparatively slow rate. The results are that the length of columns in the line of march is inordinately long whilst the ability to operate away from the Line of Communication road or rail transport behind is restricted to a small distance. The sole advantage provided by A. T. over M. T. has been a superior power of operating off a good road. Fortunately we have now in sight mechanical transport on the 6-wheeler principle, which in most cases has been proved to be as good across-country as the A. T. cart. As this M. T. is more powerful, economical and speedy (all combining to improve mobility) the A. T. cart is now to be displaced from the role which it has so honourably filled for years and will to a considerable extent disappear-except in cases where the use of an M. T. vehicle would be uneconomical. The gradual replace-

ment of these carts is high in the Army programme, but pack transport has still to be retained for use in country where neither M. T. nor A. T. carts can be employed. Thus the amount of animal transport retained will be cut down to a minimum, the principle followed being rather to organise for a more serious campaign and to improvise for a minor one, than vice versa.

(c) Lastly, Army Transport includes transport required for MAINTE-NANCE, *i.e.*, to connect railhead with the trains which have been mentioned previously, and here in all large operations the employment of M. T. beyond railhead is obligatory.

A few remarks on the general policy of replacing animals by M. T. may be of interest.

It is financially impossible to maintain in peace all the M. T. required inwar. Vehicles which cannot be used economically in peace tend to get out of date, with consequent complications in the supply of spare parts, and eventually have to be scrapped long before their useful mileage has been completed. The principle therefore adopted in all armies is to utilise the form of transport obtainable from civilian sources on some form of subsidy basis, the advantages of which system need no explanation. It is the displacement of the horse by M. T. in civil life which, quite as much as the advantages to be gained in war, has been the driving force behind the increasing mechanization of the Army at Home.

In India repeated efforts have in the past been made to obtain M. T. by this means, but have proved abortive because the development of M. T. in India for civil needs was not sufficiently advanced. The last few years has, however, seen a remarkable expansion in M. T. of all descriptions all over the country, which encourages us to hope that the time is now ripe for a renewed effort to obtain a part of our requirements on a subsidy basis.

In particular we hope to get the country to use 6-wheelers and are offering. encouragement by a system of subsidy which has recently been published throughout India. The more this subsidy scheme takes on and the larger the reserve in useful civil life, the more can we depend on this reserve for war and therefore the less the number of vehicles we have to hold uneconomically in Army reserve. A large number of enquiries in connection with such subsidies has already been received.

The replacement of animal transport by M. T. will cause the former to diminish. There is little prospect of this change causing any large immediate saving in peace. In war, however, the resultant economy and efficiency are beyond computation. The three results are, therefore, (1) greatly increased mobility in war, (2) slight economy in peace, (3) great economy in war. The pace at which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief introduces these measures will only be conditioned by the funds available and the success of the subsidy scheme. So far it is merely a matter of simple substitution (as funds permit) of M. T. for the animal transport on which we have relied in the past.

4. Before proceeding to describe the other directions in which mechanization is proceeding, it is desirable to make a disgression. Frequent criticism may be read of India's failure to follow Home models in these matters. Great as are the disadvantages of not doing so, yet, in this matter for the present and until experiments at Home crystalize, we have to keep the following factors in front of us always :---

Firstly, India is not a highly industrialized country. She has not the power of producing war machines nor the reserves of men required both to man and keep them in the field. For the present, therefore, a commercial vehicle (if such will meet the needs we foresee) must be used.

Next, India's war problem by reason of geographical and climatic conditions has special aspects and requires special treatment. So far these factors do not necessarily favour the employment of the special machines which are being evolved to meet the problems facing the Home authorities. Eventually as communications improve and develop our own needs will tend more and more to call for the same equipment as the other Imperial Armies find essential, but for the moment mobility is our main requirement, and mobility in semi-developed country. Mobility is the main principle underlying all our projected reforms and we have to keep it in view always.

Now, if funds were unlimited, there would be less need for care. They are, however, rigidly restricted and therefore caution in any steps we take is obligatory. And this applies more particularly to the introduction of new equipment, until we are quite certain that it can be usefully employed in our particular conditions.

To illustrate this—Tanks have been tried. Two tanks now lie at Ahmednagar, requiring such heavy repair to put them on the road and promising such little result when repaired that their re-conditioning is indefinitely postponed. We believe, however, that a type will eventually be developed which will suit us, and when that day comes it would be folly not to take advantage of it.

5. Mechanization of Artillery. This principle has always been accepted as regards medium artillery. Tractors were hauling guns at the manœuvres and review at Delhi as far back as 1925. Before and since then we have been searching for an efficient gun-haulage vehicle. The "Dragon", a track vehicle, in fact the chassis of a Tank, is employed at Home; but these very powerful tractors are for our purposes unnecessarily powerful (and thus expensive) and the tank trials referred to have not been successful enough to warrant large expenditure on this type.

The Kegresse, a machine on the half-track principle, has been given full trial from 1924, but under our conditions definite draw-backs have appeared. In 1926 the six-wheeler came on the market and specimens were at once ordered and tried out; as a result, in 1927, exhaustive trials in carrying loads and gun haulage showed we had reached a stage when a start with "mechanization" could be safely made.

As regards Field Artillery, the fact that a start has been made in mechanization has appeared in most newspapers.

The Army see definite and material savings in upkeep and in the Remount Services; also, in war, the advantages, in cases where guns thus drawn can be used, more than justify the innovation, even were it to cost money.

6. The advantages of partial mechanization as applied to Transport and Artillery have been dealt with, but this by no means exhausts the subject.

Members will have read of the doings of the mechanized or "Armoured Force" at Home, as representing the last word in the conception of what is required in a war of the future. Remarkable as these doings were, it must be remembered that the force is still in an experimental stage, and that finality has not yet been reached either in regard to types of machines or in regard to their tactical employment. While we in India agree with the general idea underlying this force, the differing conditions here may demand developments along somewhat different lines.

7. There are other matters which are engaging the attention of H. E. the Commander-in-Chief; experiments in the use and reliability of smoke for screening purposes under our conditions are proceeding; anti-aircraft defence and anti-gas measures are matters requiring careful thought, and both are receiving it whilst we are carefully watching experiments at Home in the provisions of means of defence against armoured fighting vehicles. Obviously, however, it is not in the public interest to be as precise in these as in the other matters. The situation as regards rifles and other small arms may now be considered satisfactory. Steps are being taken to keep the R. A. F. in India up to date for which sums provision is being made from Army savings with no net addition to the Budget.

8. It has been suggested by ill-informed persons that the Army in India is conservative, if not reactionary, and that it fails to keep pace with or to profit by developments at Home. The fact is that the conditions are entirely different. The Army at Home, with unlimited technical, scientific and industrial resources behind it is in the best possible position to carry out experiments of all kinds, the results of which are freely placed at our disposal. We are not similarly placed and consequently, whilst we watch the results of experiments at Home, and ourselves try out any new equipment resulting therefrom which may appear suitable to our needs, we have to be quite sure of our ground before we apply on a large scale the results of experiments which at Home have only been tried out or adopted on a comparatively small one.

Those who criticise any apparent slowness to move on our part, would be the first to condemn, and rightly condemn, the waste of money which would result from any change of policy, hastily thought out and put into effect, which might prove unsuitable to our particular conditions. As to its suitability or otherwise H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, who is in possession of all the factors in the problem, must be the arbiter. The existing arrangement by which the Army in India secures most valuable information from Home, without being forced to lower its own standard of preparedness to obtain it, is financially the most economical, and the most suitable to conditions at present existing. It is carried out in the closest consultation and in complete agreement between the responsible authorities here and at Home.

#### APPENDIX V.

#### STATEMENT FOR THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPLYING MEDICAL AID BY WOMEN TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA (THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND, INCLUDING THE WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICE).

In presenting this Memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission the Council of the National Association for Supplying Medical Aid by Women to the Women of India endeavours to explain to the Commission how the Association's constitutional position, and in consequence its activities, have been affected by the Reforms introduced by the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, and by the statutory rules made thereunder.

History and Objects of the Association.—The Association may be said to owe its existence to the direct initiative of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, who personally commended to the Countess of Dufferin on the eve of the latter's departure for India the consideration of the necessity for providing the women of India with medical treatment from doctors of their own sex. In 1885 Lady Dufferin issued an appeal throughout British India and the Indian States, with the result that by 1888 the Association was formed and registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. It had at that time an invested capital of a little over five and a half lakhs of rupees, bringing in an annual income of something over Rs. 30,000. This constituted "The -Countess of Dufferin's Fund ". At the same time branches were established in all the important provinces, each branch having complete control of the \_ funds at its disposal. The method adopted in 1888 of distributing the funds raised was to vest in the Central Committee all monies contributed in England, by the Indian States and from the areas in British India under the direct control of the Government of India. Contributions from areas included in what are the present Governors' provinces were returned to them to form the corpus of the funds of the branches. For many years now no further addition to the central fund has been received by public subscription. The policy of the central organisation has been to leave a free field in this matter to the provinces, and all contributions have been credited to the funds of the branches in the provinces in which they were received. These of late years have not amounted to a very large sum. The corpus of the central fund has now, mainly through savings, grown to about seven lakhs of rupees, and the income available for distribution amounts to about Rs. 41,500. The wife of the Viceroy of India for the time being has always been the President of the fund.

The objects for which the National Association was established are :---

- (1) Medical tuition, including the teaching and training in India of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives.
- (2) Medical relief, including:-
  - (a) the establishment under female superintendence of dispensaries and cottage hospitals for the treatment of women and children;
  - (b) the opening of female wards under female superintendence in existing hospitals and dispensaries;

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- (c) the provision of female medical officers and attendants for existing female wards; and
- (d) the founding of hospitals for women where special funds or endowments are forthcoming.
- (3) The supply of trained female nurses and midwives for women and children in hospitals and private houses.
- (4) The management of the Fund raised for the above objects, and which is known as "the Countess of Dufferin's Fund ".
- (5) The purchase or acquisition on lease, or in exchange, or on hire or otherwise, of any real or personal property, and any rights or privileges necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Association.
- (6) The erection, construction, alteration and maintenance of any buildings necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Association.
- (7) The sale, improvement, management and development of all or any part of the property of the Association.
- (8) The promotion and establishment of Branches and of other Societies or Associations with similar objects, and the affiliation or amalgamation of such Societies or Associations with this Association.
- (9) The doing of all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any of them.

In its early days the Association acted as an agency for bringing medical women out from England and finding them appointments in India. It also helped in the building of hospitals. After 1900 the Central Committee gave up the recruitment of medical women from England and left the Provincial Committees to make their own arrangements. For a time thereafter its activities consisted in the giving of grants-in-aid to Zenana hospitals and training schools for women, or scholarships and prizes to women medical students and of post-graduate scholarships to Indian and Anglo-Indian women doctors for courses of study in the United Kingdom. In the year 1914 the scope of its activities was altered by the formation of the Women's Medical Service for India.

Creation of the Women's Medical Service .-- It is not necessary for the purposes of this Memorandum to trace in detail the various activities of the Association. During the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Minto, which began in 1905, the operations of the Dufferin Fund came in for much criticism from various quarters. It was alleged with some justice that there were too few qualified medical women, that their remuneration was inadequate and that they were not accorded a proper status in the districts where they were employed. These were matters for which the whole blame could not justly be ascribed to the Association. The Central Committee realising that, if it was to attract medical women of a sufficiently high standard, it must improve the conditions of their service in India, applied in 1908 to the Government of India for an annual grant of Rs. 50,000. Early in 1909 the Association was informed that the Secretary of State was unable to agree to the annual grant but had sanctioned, as a special case, for a period of five years, an annual grant to the Fund equal in amount to the income received in the preceding year by the Central Committee from subscriptions and donations, subject to INDIA P

a maximum of Rs. 20,000. It was pointed out that the Central Committee's income in 1907 was only Rs. 2,500 from these sources, but nevertheless for the purpose of calculating the grant the Secretary of State decided that the subscriptions and donations received by the provincial committees and branches should not be taken into account. The result therefore was that the financial position of the Association remained very much where it was. From 1910 attempts were made to induce the Government of India to sanction the formation of a Women's Medical Service under the Government on the lines of the Indian Medical Service. In 1913 the Government of India finally rejected this proposal but sanctioned an annual subsidy of Rs. 1,50,000 to enable the Women's Medical Service to be carried on by the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. The service was inaugurated from the 1st January, 1914. The amount of the subsidy was eventually increased in 1919 to Rs. 3,70,000. In December, 1921, the Government of India informed the Association that this must be regarded as a final figure, and that it would of course be subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, and they added "the Government of India do not intend to concern themselves further with the question of pay or strength of the Women's Medical Service, and the Association will have to make their own arrangements for meeting increased pay within that sum, by reducing numbers, securing money from other sources, or otherwise ". This was the first indication of the effect that the Reforms of 1919 would have upon the Women's Medical Service. It was pointed out to the Association that although it received a large subsidy from central funds, it was supplying women doctors to Local Fund hospitals, hospitals in Indian States and even purely provincial hospitals which, under the Reforms, should not be subsidised from central revenues. In 1924 the Auditor General raised the question of the constitutional propriety of the Government of India making its grant without conditions, and after the Association had been called upon to justify its demand for the grant from central revenues, the Association was informed early in 1925 that the Secretary of State had sanctioned the continuance of the grant of Rs. 3,70,000 subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, and subject also to the condition that in future no officers of the Women's Medical Service should be lent to local Governments except in return for full payment of salary, including contributions to provident fund. From that time the Association took steps to ensure that the conditions then imposed should be strictly enforced in all future cases.

Present financial position of the Women's Medical Service.—Though the Government of India subsidy has remained fixed since 1919 the financial position of the Association in regard to the Women's Medical Service has deteriorated. In the interval, as a result of the recommendations made by the Commission known as the Lee Commission, various concessions have been made to most, if not all, of the Government services, and the Association felt that there was an obligation on them to treat its own officers in the Women's Medical Service with something like the same generosity. In consequence salaries have been increased, passage concessions have been granted and more liberal provident fund has been inaugurated. It is to be remembered that officers of the Women's Medical Service earn no pension. The result has been that the average cost of maintaining a single officer in the Women's Medical Service is now considerably greater than it was when the Government of India fixed its subsidy of Rs. 3,70,000. The cost may now roughly be taken at Rs. 10,000 per annum. Early in 1926 the Association was advised by Sir Frederic Gauntlett, its Honorary Treasurer, that the cadre of the Women's Medical Service should not exceed 42 members, allowing for the filling of 36 posts, with a leave reserve of 14 per cent. as against 20 per cent. in some of the Government services. The accuracy of this forecast was substantiated in 1927 when the employment of a cadre of 44 resulted in a deficit in the year's working. The Association cannot now maintain more than 42 members of the Women's Medical Service though it feels very strongly that a much larger number could be utilised.

It may be mentioned that of the present service 50 per cent. are of Indian domicile recruited in India.

The Central Committee in 1927 found themselves in the position of having to report to the Council of the Association that a reduction in the cadre of the Service was inevitable unless the income of the Association could be increased. The implications of this decision were that not only would officers of the Service have to be withdrawn from hospitals which had been under their charge for some time, but also requests from provincial committees for officers to take charge of new women's hospitals which had been inaugurated by them in full confidence that the Association would be able to lend the services of a fully qualified lady doctor, would have to be refused. When these implications were explained to the meeting of the Council which took place under the presidency of Her Excellency the Lady Irwin on March 19th, 1927, it was unanimously resolved that the financial position of the Association in regard to the Women's Medical Service should be laid before the Government of India, and that the Government should be asked to increase its annual subsidy to Rs. 5,00,000. The reply of the Government of India to the appeal addressed to it in consequence of this resolution was received in October, 1927. In rejecting the Association's request the Government of India reminded the Association that the grant of Rs. 3,70,000 was sanctioned in 1921 subject to the clear understanding that the Government of India did not intend to concern themselves further with the question of the pay or the strength of the Women's Medical Service. They added that they were of opinion "that while the present constitution lasts it would not be proper for them to throw any further burden on central revenues for an extension of activities which would primarily benefit the provinces, and should therefore be paid for by the provinces", and they suggested that if the Association wished to proceed with the proposals outlined in the letter under reply they should make an appeal to local Governments or to the general public.

The National Association is not in a position to question the Government of India's interpretation of the constitutional position. Their object in addressing the Indian Statutory Commission is to emphasise that the matter is one in which the Government of India has great responsibilities, and that a constitution which prevents them from assuming those responsibilities should be amended. It is not possible for the Association by adopting the Government of India's suggestion to raise any useful amount by an appeal to the generosity of the general public. Nor indeed does the Association feel that it is dealing with a matter which should be the subject of private generosity. An appeal has, however, been directed to local Governments, some of whom have promised to lay a demand for a grant before their local Legislative Councils in the next financial year. In the meantime, the Association applied to the Government of India for a non-recurring grant of Rs. 20,000 to enable it to tide over the period until the local Governments' grants were received and the Service to be carried on without a reduction of cadre in the current year. This appeal again met with no success. The Association was again reminded that the Government of India would not concern itself with the Women's Medical Service. On this occasion, however, they added "the whole question of the propriety or otherwise of central revenues being expended on subjects such as the maintenance of the Women's Medical Service, which primarily benefits the provinces, will come within the purview of the Indian Statutory Commission". This statement affords the Association's justification for laying its case before the Commission.

Need for a properly organised service of female doctors.—The female population of British India may be estimated to be about 120 million. As far as can be ascertained there are about 400 women doctors working in India with registerable qualifications. Of these, 42 are in the Women's Medical Service under the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, and 15 in the junior branch of that service and in the training reserve. About 90 are working under provincial Governments in Local Fund hospitals. Possibly 150 are working under Missionary Societies and something over 100 are in private practice. There is therefore roughly one qualified female doctor for every 300,000 of the female population in British India.

The existence of the purdah system makes the need for women doctors in India far greater than in other countries. It is a matter of common knowledge that the proportion of deaths at child-birth is notoriously high, and the ratio of infant mortality is deplorable. No large improvement in this matter can be expected until there is a far greater supply of medical practitioners whom the Indian will consent to call in to treat his women folk. Apart from maternity, gynæcological and ordinary medical cases there is a pressing need for qualified doctors to specialise in the vast field of research in female complaints and to fill the professorial appointments in medical colleges, and schools for women. One of the chief sources of supply at present in India of qualified women doctors is the Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital at Delhi. Eight of the most important teaching posts of this College are filled by women doctors recruited for the Women's Medical Service by the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. It cannot be questioned that these professors, together with other members of the Women's Medical Service who are teaching in medical schools, are doing work of an all-India nature for which no individual province can be expected to take the responsibility.

The National Association feels, and feels very strongly, that this is a matter with which the Government of India should concern itself very seriously.

Apart from its subsidy of Rs. 3,70,000 for the Women's Medical Service the Government of India does nothing to supply women doctors for the people. This is left to the local bodies and charitable institutions who are able to touch merely the fringe of the problem. The matter is one that cannot be left entirely to local Governments. Not only is a province in India too small a unit in which to organise a self-contained service, but provincial resources are limited, and it is impossible to expect the provinces to inaugurate their own services of medical women; if they did they could not afford to pay the members of the service adequately, and the standard of efficiency would be dangerously low.

The first attempt to induce the Government of India to create an Indian Medical Service of women was made nearly 20 years ago. The necessity for such a step is far more obvious now than it was then. From the result of the various appeals made to the Government of India for financial assistance in recent years it appears to the Council of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund that so long as the present constitution lasts and the subject of "Medical" remains a provincial transferred subject, the Government of India will not concern itself with the matter, and will be content to leave the Fund to face the problem with its wholly inadequate resources. On the other hand, the Council feels that little can be expected towards the solution of the problem from the provincial Ministers. For obvious reasons they have to pursue a policy of economy. The standard of women doctors in the provinces is not what it should be. Money is spent on the promotion of the indigenous systems of medicine, and hospitals are built without fully qualified women to take charge of them.

It is also necessary to point out that there are large and important areas in British India, such as the North-West Frontier Province and the provinces of Delhi and Coorg, which are under the direct administration of the Government of India. The policy of the National Association is to make these areas its special care, but it can do very little when it is at the same time faced with the problem of supplying women for professorial appointments and for the charge of female hospitals in Governors' provinces.

The claim of the Council is that the Women's Medical Service for India should be put on a proper basis and that if, as the Government of India claim, they are precluded from doing this by the Devolution Rules under the Government of India Act, then the Council would strongly urge the amendment of those Rules so as to bring the subject of medical relief by women for the women of India within the category of central subjects so that the Government of India may no longer be precluded, as it claims to be at present, from increasing the subsidy which it gives to the Women's Medical Service.

> (8d.) H. MONCRIEFF SMITH, Kr., O.I.E., Chairman, The National Association for Supplying Medical Aid by Women to the Women in India.

## APPENDIX VL

#### INDIA'S PARLIAMENT.

' ELECTION OF NOVEMBER, 1926.

Upper Chamber.	•	Lower Chamber.
(Council of State.)		(Legislative Assembly.)
Five-year term.		Three-year term.

(Nominated by Viceroy).

President: Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith President: V. J. Patel (Swarajist). (Elected by the Assembly.)

Representation.						Parties.			Represent- ation.		
Elected	•	•		•	•	84	Swarajist	•	•		38 18
Nominated (Officia	• .la1	19. at	.+ hare_	<u> </u>	<b>,•</b> -	26	Nationalist Central Muslim	par	tv a		10
Ощета	.13,	.0, 00	цот 8-	-0.7			non-party	. <b>x</b>	•		22
Total	•	•	•	•	-	60.	-	•	•	٠	13 12
Date of the next elections is uncertain,					Europeans Nominated		4	•	41		
as the statutory commission, headed by Sir John Simon, is reconsidering						othe	rs—1	-			
Indian Co						-	Total -	٠	٠	,	144

#### Party Programmes and Leaders.

The parties of India fall naturally into two main classes, those which support the Government and those which do not. Their important differences lie in the methods which they advocate in obstructing or in sustaining the constituted authorities.

Swarajist: The Swarajists are opposed to the present constitution. They question the right of Parliament to determine further stages of advance, and desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule by obstructing to such an extent as to make the working of the present constitution impossible.

Leaders: Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar.

NATIONALIST PARTY: The Nationalists regard Dyarchy as unworkable, but their policy is not total support of the Government. They desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule as early as possible but only by constitutional means.

Leaders: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

NON-PARTY: As the name signifies these members have not formed any particular party and vote on each matter as they like-sometimes with and sometimes against the Government.

INDEPENDENTS: The Independents desire progress, but they do not believe in consistent obstruction. Sometimes they support the Government, sometimes they oppose it.

Leaders: M. A. Jinnah, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.

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( 894 )

EUROPEANS: The Europeans believe in steady orderly progress and generally support the Government.

Leader: Sir D'Arcy Lindsay.

NOMINATED: The nominated members have no definite programme. They are nominated to secure the representation of particular interests. The officials naturally support the Government. Though the majority of the others support the Government, on certain questions some of them take up an independent line of their own and vote with one of the popular parties.

Leader: Sir James Crerar (Leader of the House, Home Member of Council).

MUSLIM PARTY: The Central Muslim Party is conservative in outlook and is pledged to national progress to Home Rule which shall include full safeguards for the existing rights and privileges of the Muslim community and reasonable opportunity for their continued development in the future.

Leaders: Sir Zulfigar Ali Khan, Sir Abdul Qaiyum.

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