[23rd January 1925]

Babu NAGESVAR BUX RAY : Sir, on that assurance I beg leave to withdraw the resolution.

The resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

[INTERVAL FOR LUNCH.]

INCREASE IN THE STRENGTH OF THE UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH : Sir, the resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus :

This Council recommends to the local Government that they be pleased to request the Government of India to raise the strength of the University Training Corps to an extent demanded by the authorities of the Patna University so as to enable them to make military training compulsory for all new students of the University.

Sir, I should have very much liked that this resolution should have been moved in the Council by one of the warrior members by which I mean members who know how to draw a sword and fire a gun, and not a member like myself who has only been trained in military duels with Members of the Government and the Ministers. But, Sir, I have got a duty to perform and I must perform it here to-day. The question of military training for our youth has loomed large in the mental horizon of many of the distinguished statesmen all over India. Resolutions have been moved in the various legislatures urging military training for our countrymen. I have to deal only with one aspect of the question, namely, the military training of our boys. The military training of our sepoys is incharge of my friend Mr. Swain who is the Commander-General of the sepoy forces in this province. But, Sir, I have been long connected with the senate and syndicate of the University and it is therefore no wonder if I take the field in the absence of better men than myself.

Sir, the whole crux of the resolution is whether we should have military training of a voluntary or a compulsory character. This Council has resounded times without number with the question of compulsory primary education versus free primary education and voluntary primary education. But I think the time has now come when we should direct our attention to the military training of our boys. Military training of our boys is wanted not only to enable them to defend their hearths and homes and their country against all the enemies of the Empire of which

[R. B. Dwarka Nath]

we are justly proud, but it is also wanted because it is the highest education which can be befittingly given to our young men. Military training has made the Englishmen what they are. You find the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson and other members of the Government here fighting the forces of democracy but you will always find them in the maidan in their camps at regular times of the year with their swords on marching like ordinary soldiers on the parade ground.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: Not compulsorily. (Laughter.)

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: I see the distinguished Leader of the House has been considered unfit for that. (Laughter.)

Now, Sir, I say that it is military training which has made the Englishmen what they are. It is military training which made us what we were in the early 16th and 17th centuries, and it is the absence of military training which has led to our present downfall.

You may be educated at Eton or Harrow, you may be educated in the best of the schools and colleges in this country, but unless you have received military training you will be the laughing stock of all the conquering races of the world. The question is whether it should be optional or whether it should be compulsory. I am a believer in compulsory military training. There is no nation on the face of the earth except the English who have always raised their voice against compulsory military training. But while you will find that they have always raised their voice against it, when the War came the best of the Englishmen thought that compulsory military training was the only safety for the Empire and there is even now a large section of the English people who believe that compulsory military training is absolutely necessary for the safety of the Empire. In continental countries you will find that compulsory military training is always insisted upon. I know of a distinguished professor of mine—a German savant Dr. Thibaut—who used to tell me that in Germany every boy of a certain age has to undergo military training. Military training elevates the character. It is the best education which can be imparted to a young man and therefore I insist that our young men who are being educated in the universities should undergo compulsory military training. If they undergo compulsory

military training they will be able to take a just and proud part in the battles of the Empire. They will be able to defend their country against foreign invaders. They will not have to appeal to the hon'ble Mr. Swain for protection when a dacoit invades their houses. Sir, it is a pitiable sight for a man to run so often to the police in order to give him shelter from an insolent crowd. I say, Sir, it is a most contemptible thing and it is a most pitiable thing. If an Englishman feels insulted he will settle accounts with you then and there and not rush to the courts. I wish every young man to be prepared to settle accounts with any one who has got the audacity and insolence of insulting him then and there, and not rushing to the courts or petitioning the Government like a helpless orphan or like a helpless pardanashin lady. Absence of military training has enervated our countrymen. It has, I should say, completely destroyed the manhood of the nation. You do not find the same manhood, the same bravery, the same courage which you find in the Native States of Rajputana among the young men and the reason is this. Very few of us have ever handled a sword, very few of us have ever handled a gun. You cannot get Swaraj as long as you rely on British soldiers to defend your country against foreign aggression. That is simply unthinkable and if you want that the British people should save your hearths and home against foreign invasion then they will have the bulk of the loaves and fishes of this country An Englishman told me that you cannot honestly believe that " I will hold the horns of the cow and you will milk the cow". That is an impossibility, and he was perfectly right. I cannot conceive of any Swaraj under the circumstances. Perhaps my friend Babu Krishna Ballabh Sahay would be able to tell me as he belongs to the non-violent camp, unlike myself, whether he has discovered any panacea for foreign invasion. What will he do when a foreign invader invades our hearths and homes? Perhaps he will perform Satyagraha there while the foreign invader will ride maching on his breast and take possession of his hearth and home. But I have plainly told you that I am a believer in violence. I am a believer in aeroplanes which I have just seen. I am a believer in machine-guns and I am a believer in revolvers. I believe that you must learn the use of these if you want to take a just and honourable part in the struggles of the Empire. I believe there is not one man who would not desire military training for our young men and boys in our schools and colleges. You have at present got regular military training for our young men at Dehra Dun but that is in the strict military line. What we want is

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that our college boys should receive a military training so that they might join the college at Sandhurst, that they might join the Navy and the Army. I know that I will be told that no careers are open to us at present in the Army or the Navy. But the time will come as democracy advances, as the people of this country have developed national consciousness when the British people will not be able to deny this boon to them. It will not be in their power to say that you form a part of the British Empire and at the same time you will not take a just and honourable part in the battles of the Empire and you would not be allowed to defend the Empire against foreign invasion. Sir, the people of this country have taken a most prominent part in the various battlefields. They have taken a most prominent part in the great struggle which convulsed not only the whole of Europe but I should say the whole of this world, and I believe the time has come when our young men must make up their minds to fight a similar battle if occasion arises. Now Sir, you have the territorial forces. You know of the two Acts which have been passed by the Imperial Legislature. You have got training corps even in our own province. Their number is limited, and although in Bihar we have not been able to supply the full quota of them I think there is a tendency in our young men not only to supply the remaining quota but also to enlist themselves in larger numbers in the corps. I submit that the time has arrived when the Legislative Council should declare in unanimous voice that it desires that our young men should receive compulsory military training and that the number should be raised to the limit demanded by the Patna University. This resolution has been moved in some of the Senates of India, in some of the Legislatures and I am going to give notice to move this in the Senate of the Patna University itself and I feel sure that our University will respond to this call of the nation. It is a call on the manhood of the nation and I feel sure that any University which aspires to be a national University or which aspires to conduct its deliberations in response to the wishes of the people will never say no to it. (Hear, Hear.) Sir, the difficulties in the way of military training are very great. We have used only the pen for the last 150 years. We have distinguished ourselves in the various walks of life. We have got distinguished members and Ministers sitting here in the Council hall. We have adorned the benches of the various High Courts. We have produced distinguished statesmen but it is a pity that we have not produced a brilliant

general or a brilliant field-marshal and the reasons are not far to seek. The English people mistrust us. They have no confidence in us. They do not believe that if we are trained in military discipline we will always use it for the safety of the Empire. They think that we might use it against the Englishmen themselves, but Sir, this is a policy of mistrust and I strongly and emphatically protest against it. We are proud of the Empire in which we live, and if we fight for our rights it is not because we want to get out of this Empire but because we want to be equal partners in the Empire. We want to share the glories of the battlefield, to share the glory of the Army and the Navy with our British comrades and we want to go arm in arm in the battlefield with our British fellow citizens. It is not that we want to separate ourselves from the Empire, I emphatically repudiate that allegation if it is ever made, but what we really want is that we should be equal partners and we should have an honest pride in the Empire. We cannot say that we are proud of the Empire in the same sense in which an Englishman is proud of the British Empire. We are longing for the day when it would not lie in the mouth of an Englishman to say that we are not his equal in any walk of life, that we are not capable of defending our countrymen against foreign aggression. That is my ambition and that of my countrymen and it will be to the glory and to the pride of the British statesmen if the day ever dawns when the British Field-Marshal will walk side by side with an Indian Field-Marshal. With these words Sir, I propose my resolution.

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT: I think it is a matter in which it is desirable to call upon Sir Hugh McPherson to make a speech now.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: I should like to hear first what some other hon'ble members have to say.

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT: Perhaps the members of the Council would like to know what the situation is at present.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: Sir, the hon'ble mover has just been observing the flight of four aeroplanes, and the sight has been exhilarating for him. I have often told him that he is fond of soaring into the heavens .....

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: I soar in heaven because I have to fight the heaven-born services.

[Hon. Sir H. McPherson]

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: Well, he has been encouraged by this morning's experiences to make an even higher flight than usual, and under cover of this modest resolution to discuss the whole future of India and Indian manhood. I must, however, bring him down from the sky and ask him to consider the actual facts that bear on the resolution itself.

The hon'ble mover asks the local Government to request the Government of India to raise the strength of the University Training Corps to the extent demanded by the authorities of the Patna University. It is difficult for Government to comply with the request for the simple reason that up-to-date Government have received no indication whatsoever from the University authorities of the extent to which they are either willing or able to recruit. The reports received from the Adjutant show that at present the Patna University Training Corps is considered by the local military authorities to be limited to two platoons, that is, 78 men. But, as a matter of fact, the Army Department were willing in 1922 to authorize a total strength of 166, including officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, provided always that there appeared to be a local demand up to that number; and the local Government, which have always adopted an encouraging attitude towards the territorial movement in the province, have lately endorsed a recommendation from the Adjutant that the strength should be definitely raised to that of a full company. But on the occasion of the last camp of exercise, there were 89 persons only in the Patna University Training Corps, and the Adjutant's recommendation was merely based on his impression that:

> it would be quite possible to raise a full company, if the Principals of colleges gave their full support, and students who had attended the camp undertook propaganda work and if a certain number of marks were given to members of the colleges who belong to the University Training Corps in their test examination.

I may add that some difficulty was experienced in getting full attendance at the camp, though eventually some 60 students did attend and the camp was a great success. After hearing the eloquent speech of the hon'ble mover, I am seriously thinking of employing him as a recruiting sergeant and placing him in charge of the propaganda work.

Hon'ble members will appreciate two salient facts. The first point is that the composition and strength of the various University Training Corps depends on the orders that may be finally passed by the Army Department. These orders will depend to some extent on the recommendations of the committee

which recently sat in connection with the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. Our Hon'ble President, I am glad to say, was one of the witnesses who were examined by that committee. He himself has always taken a very active interest in this movement being one of the two non-official members of the provincial advisory committee. The orders must also depend, of course, on the budget provision made in the Army estimates. Well, the Council knows that the Government of India is constantly attacked in the Central Legislatures on the ground that the Army estimates already exceed the bounds which appear to certain members of those bodies to be adequate. If there be any very large expansion of the territorial force, money must be found for it and the result, of course, will be to swell the Army budget.

The second point is that, as regards our own University Training Corps, we have not yet been able to recruit to the number suggested as the limit when the University Corps was started, namely, one company, nor have we any very definite assurance that recruits even to this extent will be forthcoming. It is therefore impossible for me to give the Council at present any assurances, except the promise that this movement will always have the keen sympathy of the Local Government. The starting of our Corps was a question in which I took great personal interest. As a result of the efforts made by Government, our company was sanctioned, but it has been going now for the better part of two years and we have not yet got the number of recruits for which provision was made.

The question of expansion, moreover, is not one which concerns the Patna University alone. The extent to which the various training corps may be enlarged rests, as I have already said, with the Government of India, and they must consider the demands that come to them from all parts of the country, before they decide what to do in any particular case.

In so far as the resolution suggests compulsory military training, that is a point as regards which the Local Government have not yet received from the University authorities any suggestion whatsoever. This would be a very novel departure, which would require the most careful examination both by the Local Government and by the Government of India. It would be interesting to the Local Government to know whether the proposal of the hon'ble mover that all new students of the University should be compelled to undergo military training commends

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itself to the Council. I may just mention here that the hon'ble mover has appealed to my own personal experience in the matter. I can only explain to him that whatever soldiering I have done, I have always been a volunteer soldier. I was a member of the auxiliary force—they called it then the volunteer force—for the better part of thirty years. I am no longer a member, as I have unfortunately crossed the rubicon of fifty, but while I was a member there was, never any question of compulsion, nor was compulsion ever the principle on which was based the military organization of Britain, until the great war came and it became a question of life and death to the Empire to adopt for a time the law of compulsion.

I would like again to remind hon'ble members of the statement which was made in the first communiqué published by Government regarding the territorial forces. The communiqué runs thus :

> It is necessary to emphasize at the start that the Territorial Force is not, as has been sometimes thought, merely a volunteer force to be used on ceremonial occasions, but a real military unit destined for serious use, should occasion arise, as part and parcel of the regular army. It is not a case of playing at being soldiers but of real preparation for the stern business of war.

In the case of the University Training Corps, recruits during the first six months of training have to undergo 90 drills of one hour each, and those who have completed a recruit's course are required to do two years' drill weekly throughout the period of their college terms. It has been represented, not unnaturally, that attendance in the parade ground may handicap a student who is preparing for his examination. Personally I do not think that it is a handicap. I think that what the student loses in time for preparation, he gains from the physical exercise of the parade ground which helps to clear his brain and quicken its working. But the fact remains that the objection is raised. Apparently the hon'ble Rai Bahadur regards this protest as one which can be disregarded, or, in his anxiety to increase the personnel of the University Training Corps, he would pay no attention to it, and would make attendance at drill compulsory on all students. Now, obviously, this is a proposition to which Government cannot possibly give their full assent in the absence of any evidence whatsoever beyond the hon'ble mover's personal assurance that compulsion would be accepted by the University authorities and would not be resented by the students themselves.

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Speaking generally, it may be said that to introduce the element of compulsion into the recruitment of what was intended to be a volunteer force is likely to alter the whole complexion of the corps and may indeed in the absence, at any rate, of elaborate safeguards, endanger its whole existence. I need not assure hon'ble members that Government are as anxious as they are for the welfare both of the University Training Corps and of the Territorial Force. In both cases a good start has been made and Government have had occasion to acknowledge the good work done by Captain Caldwell, who has taken a very special interest in the University Training Corps, and by the two Adjutants, Majors Mangin and Ransford, who have trained the Corps during the first two years of its existence. As I have already stated, Government would like to see the force raised to that of a full company, but they would prefer that the increase should be obtained by voluntary response on the part of the students, and not by the application of the principle of compulsion. They cannot, therefore, accept the resolution as it stands, but they will be very glad to hear what views are held by the other members of the Council on the whole subject of the University Corps, whether it be considered as a voluntary movement, a voluntary force, or whether the suggestion be added that the principle of compulsion should be applied.

Mr. SRI NARAYAN SAHAY: It is only with the object of impressing on the Hon'ble Member and on the non-official members of the Council the fact that the demand for such a Corps is more or less general, that I crave this opportunity of expressing my views on this resolution. It was my lot, Sir, to move on the Senate a resolution not on the lines of compulsion but on the lines of option, and to ask the Government, through the Senate, to provide for the formation of a University Corps for this province, and the Government were pleased to accept our request and to place a very competent and a very efficient officer at our disposal. I have taken some little interest in the formation of the University Corps, but what I find is this that through decades of lack of interest in military forces, there is a certain amount of shyness and reluctance on the part of our students which I, Sir, feel, in common with a number of other gentlemen of the same kind of opinion as myself, cannot be overcome without some sort of compulsion. I do not say that compulsion should be applied very rigorously. Exemption may be granted on a rather liberal scale for any really valid and reasonable excuse at the beginning, but without some sort of compulsion I feel that it is not possible to inculcate in any

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large measure a sense of military responsibility amongst our young men in the colleges. It is therefore that, after very careful and due consideration, I have come to the view that the only possible course for us is to have recourse to some sort of compulsion and I can assure you, Sir, that the feeling on this point is general amongst such non-official members as have given some little time and attention to the subject.

Chaudhuri BHAGABAT PRASHAD SAMANTARAI MAHAPATRA: Sir, I think about two years ago at Ranchi there was an informal conference presided over by the Hon'ble the Leader of the House and there was a long discussion on this subject and I learnt at that time that Government was willing to allow persons to be taken in a territorial force and something more, at that time I was told that even university college students and officers, I mean, Government servants, might be taken in the force. When I communicated this fact to our young men I found that hundreds of our young men of Orissa came to me and inquired when that would be taken up or when they will be allowed to be taken in the force for training. At that time I communicated with Major Mangin as advised by the hon'ble the Chief Secretary and I got some of the rules at that time framed for the purpose and afterwards I was told that that would be done only at Dinapore, because it was not possible to open training classes at all the colleges. But, as you know, Sir, it is not possible for our young men, especially the students of the Ravenshaw College, to come to Dinapore for training. The young men there did not find it very convenient for them to come so far. I wish therefore to ask our Hon'ble the Leader of the House whether what he says now will be extended to the principal centres of the province, especially so far as I am concerned, whether it will be convenient for the Government to train our students at Cuttack.

Babu GODAVARIS MISRA: Sir, being connected with the educational line for a part of my life, I feel it my duty to associate myself with this resolution. The mover of this resolution has made a very eloquent speech and probably he has been able to convince the Council of the necessity of soundly starting the Patna University corps and making the training compulsory. It seems to me that in the resolution, worded as it has been, there is one word to which objection is taken and that word is 'compulsory'. Obviously to make military training compulsory for all students seems objectionable. But it seems to me

at the same time that our students have been for a very long time unaccustomed and consequently averse to military training of all kinds, and before they acquire a taste for it, if it is not made compulsory at the beginning, it will not be accepted by all. I know as a student from my experience that boys are very fond of fighting and that fighting tendency, if properly disciplined, will be rendered very useful for self defence, as well as, occasionally for the purpose of offence. It may be that at present when there is no system of compulsory military training for young men, there may be young men who are training themselves in this way as best as appears to them. I know when I was a student of the college, I and some of my friends organized an amateur training club. There were about a dozen students attending that club and the training was received in the afternoon hours. Some time after unknown people began to frequent the place and the natural suspicion was that they were men of Criminal Investigation Department. So students felt shy of those unknown people and began to give up attending the club. But still a small residue continued and as the afternoon hours were thought unsuitable for the purpose of training, they had to choose the evening hours after nightfall when it was dark.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: Is the hon'ble member speaking of a volunteer association?

Babu GODAVARIS MISRA: From the nature of the description I am giving it is very natural for the Leader of the House to suppose that it was a volunteer association.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: But the hon'ble member has not mentioned the name of the place.

Babu GODAVARIS MISRA: I do not think it would be of any use to the Council to have the name of the place. Sir, it seems to me very necessary that for a time in the beginning military training should be made compulsory, so that our students might acquire a taste in it, and after that taste has been acquired, it might be made optional, as it is proposed to be made from official quarters. I should like to observe that the hon'ble mover of this resolution has misstated a fact or rather has misstated an apprehension and in this connection I am reminded of an epical story. As every Hindu member of this Council knows Bhashmasur came to Shiva and asked for a boon. Shiva was unwilling but Bhashmasur prayed and prayed so hard and so long that at last Shiva said he would give him a boon and the boon

[B. Godavaris Misra]

was that whomsoever Bhashmasur met and if he put his hand on his head, that man would be reduced to ashes at once (laughter). Now Bhashmasur tried to experiment the effect of the boon on Shiva himself to test its truth. Away in fear and embarrassment fled Shiva and away behind him ran Bhashmasur to try the experiment on his head.

Now when our students have received military training very likely the first experiment that they might try will be upon the givers of the boon which the hon'ble the mover of the resolution has tried to conceal if he has really concealed it (laughter). You know, Sir, that in this country there has been for these many past years a desire among the Indians to have equal treatment with the rulers of the land; yet inspite of their insistent demand in press and on pulpit, this right has been denied to them. The distinction is maintained almost everywhere and I am afraid if it is not maintained even in this Council.

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT: May I know to what distinction the hon'ble member is referring?

Babu GODAVARIS MISRA: I mean the distinction made between an official and a non-official, the children of the soil and the children of the bureaucracy.

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT: Made by whom?

Babu GODAVARIS MISRA: Made by the interpretation of the British constitution. (Laughter.)

Now when that distinction is there before our young men who will have been trained in military manners and will have acquired strength, their first effort may be to try it on the givers of that strength; and I am sure the Britisher who is equal to it will take it in his usual sporting spirit and will not fear or apprehend the misuse of that strength. It is also my purpose in this Council to express my sentiments and desires that it is not the intention of Indians far less of the youngmen of India who will come afterwards to sever their connection with Britain; but as they want equal treatment, the first thing that they should need now is physical strength. I know that Satyagraha to which the hon'ble mover of the resolution has referred was considered to be an effective means to do away with this distinction. I am afraid the swarajist members of this Council to my right will excuse me if I say that that means has now probably mostly failed and since that has failed for the time being, as the hon'ble

mover of the resolution has said he has taken to violence. I think most of the members of this Council have faith in violence and it is violence which will be based in future not upon brute force but upon satyagraha that will be its guiding principle. So it will be necessary now to give military training to our young men and to make them fit citizens. We know that our men have shone in every field they have been good lawyers, they have been good citizens, they have been good doctors, and they have been good administrators also, for our people have been at the heads of provincial Governments. But one thing that they are lacking in is physical strength and it cannot be possible to acquire physical strength without military training and it will not be possible also to acquire courage, in which I think our people are wanting, without military training. I am quite sure that Government will have no objection to make it a compulsory measure for the time being.

Babu JALESHVAR PRASHAD : Sir, the constant reference to the party to which I have the honour to belong has compelled me to speak on this resolution which, although it concerns itself with a very weighty and important subject with which any patriot in the country has to deal with, is but as vauge and indefinite as any proposition laid down by the Rai Bahadur opposite to me. Sir, I do not mean to oppose this resolution for the simple reason that the idea and the spirit that underlies this resolution is also the idea and the spirit which governs me. But certainly I take exception to the way in which this resolution has been put and in the manner in which the Council has been asked to give its verdict upon this weighty and important question; I quite agree Sir, with the Hon'ble the Leader of the House that the proper method for the Hon'ble the Rai Bahadur would have been first to move in the Senate as Sir, the authorities of the Allahabad University have done and then to come to the Council for any sanction of this kind. I may mention here, Sir, that in a neighbouring province—in the university of Allahabad, the court of that university has passed a resolution to this effect that compulsory military training be given to all the students who are in that university. The only difference between this resolution and the resolution that has been passed by that court is that whereas the Rai Bahadur wants compulsory military training to be given to those only who will now join the university, the Allahabad University wants military training to be given to all the students that are there in the university. I think there can be no two opinions on the

[B. Jaleshvar Prashad]

point that there can be no *swaraj* unless we have got the powe to defend ourselves. Do we not remember Sir, that the othe day, last year, in the Legislative Assembly when the resolutio for self-government was before the Assembly the Leader o the House Sir Malcolm Hailey said that the power that was given to the swarajist members by the ballot box would soon be gra- vitating in the hands of others if the British people were to leav the country. What did it mean? It meant simply this tha unless we have the power to defend ourselves no swaraj woul be worth having and no swaraj will come. But Sir, that is no the only point which any political party or any political organi zation has to take into consideration. Well Sir, I say that th power to defend ourselves by means of military force and by means of brute force is the one requisite of self-government But I also do not lose sight of the fact that politics or political administration, or the State, if it means anything, means an organization for a particular purpose. If we have not got that power of organization and unless we have that power, only brute force and only military force will be of no avail. May I remind the Rai Bahadur that just before the British came to India there was no dearth of military power. So recently as sixty or seventy years back, the military power of the Sikhs, who were the last great Indian ruling power in this country then, was no less than the power of the British Government as it then existed, but what was the reason of the defeat of the Sikhs? It is quite patent, it is quite evident to any student of Indian history that after the death of Ranjit Singh they lost their power of organi- zation and administration and their army could not be kept in control and it was then Sir, that they were routed and defeated and the Punjab was subjugated.

The first thing that I have to learn from the British is not the use of arms; it is their tact, their power of co-operation and discipline that we have to learn. That is, Sir, what we aim to learn and that is Sir what my party Mahatma Gandhi's non- violent party stands for. I think I heard the Rai Bahadur telling this Council that he was prepared (I could not quite follow what he said in his own humourous way) to take the sword against the British and that he believes in violence while my friend Babu Krishna Ballabh Sahay believes in non-violence, but may I know from the hon'ble the Rai Bahadur whether he is prepared to draw the sword not only against the British but against any army which comes to invade our country? I think

that on account of the actual physical constitution that he possesses he will be the most unfit person for this purpose. (Laughter).

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: I am better than a skeleton of a member (Laughter).

Babu JALESHVAR PRASHAD: I want Sir, to make my position clear to you—about one thing to which the hon'ble mover of the resolution had referred and that is what I think about our connection with the Empire. Well Sir, I want to say here frankly that so long as the Empire continues to be a commonwealth of free nations and is not forced upon anybody, I am quite content and willing to remain a partner of that Empire but if it is forced upon us by however mighty a power I think, Sir, that so long as I am there it is a disgrace for me to be there. It is only Sir, on account of want of power that I cannot get rid of that Empire. I do not want to make a secret of it that if that sort of thing is forced upon me I will sever my connection with it. If to-day the British have not realised this they will do so when the time comes. Sir, military training is absolutely necessary for our country at this stage and if the Rai Bahadur wants compulsion I think he is right there. At present we have lost so much of our manhood and especially those of us Sir, who have received English education—I do not know what the reason is but the fact is there,—that those who have received English education consider themselves so much helpless, while a villager does not. So if military training is given, something of that will be supplied. At present we have lost so much of our manhood that something heroic is certainly required to be done, and I am quite at one with the mover of the resolution on that point—not only that but I want to go further and I will say that compulsory military training should be given not only to those students who will join now but to all those able-bodied students who are now in the university whether at Patna or at Cuttack.

Mr. SAIYID MUHAMMAD ATHAR HUSAIN: Sir, it gives me great pleasure to associate myself with this resolution and it does my heart good to see that there is a general desire among my Hindu brothers to get military training: and when the resolution comes from a respected member of this House, a gentleman who commands the respect of a very considerable section, I consider it to be a demand from the Hindu community and I wish to associate myself with that desire.

[S. Md. Athar Husain]

Sir, there is one aspect of the question which appeals to me very strongly and it is this. I have a suspicion that the breaking of the Hindu-Moslem unity is due perhaps to the feeling of helplessness which has been referred to by my friend who sits on the Swarajist bench. I remember a time when the whole fabric of Hindu-Moslem unity fell down as soon as some body took the name of the Afgan bogey, and I think that as long as that feeling of cowardice is rampant in the country, as long as there is a feeling of helplessness, as long as there is a feeling that we cannot defend ourselves from aggressors from outside India, we shall always be living in a state of nervousness and we would not be willing to give and take that which perhaps people conscious of their strength would be willing to concede to one another. From this broad point of view I certainly welcome the idea of compulsory military training and I think if this idea were given effect to, perhaps at some future date, long after we are dead and gone, a spirit will be engendered when Indians as a whole would be considered fit and able to take care of themselves and would not be driven to take unwholesome courses simply because somebody suggested that the moment the British were to leave India and the moment Swaraj is established in India, the Muhammadans would gain supremacy with the aid of their brothers in other countries.

There was one matter coming from the Leader of the House to which I think I ought to refer. He referred to the attitude taken by the non-official members of the Assembly with respect to the military budget. As a matter of fact, I have always lamented the amount of money that is spent on the military side. Opinions will always differ and I think this is one of the matters in which I think there is absolutely no ground of compromise as far as the official and the non-official views are concerned. But to keep India on a military basis when we are living in peace is surely a matter which.....

The Hon'ble the PERSIDENT: I do not think we are considering the military budget for the whole of India. The Hon'ble Leader of the House never discussed the question whether we are justified or not with regard to the military budget. He only mentioned that incidentally as showing the difficulties of the Government of India.

Mr. SAIYID MUHAMMAD ATHAR HUSAIN: What he said was that it would mean an addition to the military budge and that might be objected to in the Assembly. Sir, we do not

know the views of the non-official members of the Assembly, but let me assure him that if our opinion were to be sought we would not grudge any expenses on that score, even if it means a slight increase in the military budget.

With these words, I beg to support the resolution.

Khan Bahadur ASHFAQ HUSAIN: Sir, I rise only to speak because my hon'ble friend from Shahabad has said that this is a demand coming from the Hindu community. In this I differ. The Hindus have the fullest support of the Muhammadans in this demand. The Hon'ble the Leader of the House has been good enough to enlighten us on the constitution of the corps as it stands at present. He says that the full complement of recruits required by the University regulations have not yet been completed. That is a regrettable fact and that is all the more reason why we move that it should be made compulsory for the boys to take up military training. It has been said that the university itself has not come up with any definite proposal on the subject. My own idea is that in this respect we need not wait for any proposal to emanate from the university. This Council represents the parenthood of the province and a demand that comes from the parents and guardians of the boys should have greater force in influencing the decision of the Government in this matter.

Sir, you know that the subjects in the university courses have been divided into optional and compulsory. Some of these subjects were made compulsory because it was considered that they cannot be left to the discretion of the boys, and the boys must receive training in them. Therefore I think that if the people of the province demand that their boys must undergo a course of military training the fact whether the boys are willing or unwilling does not alter the situation. My request therefore is that if the House by a vote, which I believe will presently be taken, testifies that the people of this province want their boys to receive military training, I think there would be no justification on the part of Government to refuse this demand.

Reference has been made to the fact that this is a matter that would largely depend on the passage of the military budget. We know that when the military budget is presented before the Assembly, details are not given. If the details are not furnished the members of the Assembly.....

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT: I think the hon'ble member should not criticise the procedure of the Assembly.

[K. B. Ashfaq Husain]

Khan Bahadur ASHFAQ HUSAIN : I understand that the consideration which deters this Council and which may, to some extent hamper the acceptance of this proposal is the passage of the military budget. I say that if the members of the Assembly know that a portion of the money is to be devoted to a purpose which reflects a demand of the parenthood of the province, I think they would be the last body to grudge it.

Mr. G. E. FAWCUS : Sir, I wish I could give this proposal my whole-hearted support. I am a keen volunteer myself and only at the beginning of this week I had to forego the pleasure of attending the Council for two days in order that I might attend the camp of the Chota Nagpur Regiment at Purulia. I think myself that it would be a very good thing if every student in the colleges had to undergo military training and I should very much like to see contingents of the University Corp opened not only at Patna but also at the outlying stations, such as Cuttack and Muzaffarpore. But, Sir, at the same time, I do think that before the Council passes any resolution on the subject, it should know what are the views of the teachers and the students. There is no doubt that the considerable amount of time which has to be given to volunteer training may interfere with the work of students for their examinations. With all respect to the Rai Bahadur, I think that he would have done better to bring this matter before the University in the first place, so that the University might have taken steps to obtain opinion from all the colleges, and then he might have raised the matter in the Senate when the question could have been fully discussed there. I suggest, Sir, that it would be better for the Rai Bahadur to withdraw his resolution at this stage and bring it before the Senate in March, after which we shall be able to know whether it has the support not only of some of us, but also of the teachers and students who are perhaps more intimately concerned.

Babu RAM NARAYAN MISRA : Sir, the question we are discussing is whether we should have compulsory military training or optional military training. To my mind, Sir, it appears that the want of this very training has emasculated the whole Indian people and has left them where they are. We are lifeless, we are limbless, and we are not able to defend ourselves. It is a pitiable sight when a small animal like a dog comes to bite a body of Indians, they instead of facing him and kicking him thereby forcing him to retrace, run away pell-mell, just to find

a shelter and save their lives. That is the plight to which we Indians have fallen now. If this training had been given, I am sure our Rai Bahadur, the mover of this resolution would have been a stalwart man, six feet high, and not with a bloated abdomen as he is now. Sir, I am reminded of an incident in which a certain teacher with two students was strolling in the evening when they were accosted by a certain military officer. The officer would have these people show respect to him by saluting him and he asked them to salute him. They did not care and the military officer insisted on his rights and asked them again to salute him. The teacher was perhaps a non-violent teacher. He was satisfied and merely asked the officer what right or what authority he had to insist upon their saluting him. The officer said, 'No, it is not a question of right or anything of that kind : you must salute me" and then he began to show his whip as a last resort. Being thus forced by the fear of the whip the teacher and the students gently saluted him and retired. That is not what we should be. India is a vast country consisting of a varied people. If the Government is trustee for the people, it should work in the interest of the people. We are men and manhood is the first thing which should be acquired by us. I therefore whole-heartedly support this resolution urging that compulsory military training should be given to the people.

Babu RAJANDHARI SINHA: Sir, I rise to extend my wholehearted support to the resolution which has been moved by the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition. In moving this resolution he has ably dealt with the subject and there is hardly anything left to be added by any of us. The main object in moving this resolution is the revival of martial spirit in the Indians. The question before the House is whether it is desirable or not and if it is so how it can be done. I quite agree with the Rai Bahadur that it is only possible if you increase the University corps. It will have an immense advantage. The students who will be trained here will be able to create this spirit in the people when they have occasion to move amongst them. Sir, I know the difficulties which the recruiting officers during the Great War had to face when they were engaged in recruiting combatants. It was very difficult for them to obtain recruits. The people were so much afraid to go to the field that it was a tremendous task for the recruiting officers to be successful in their attempts

[B. Rajandhari Sinha]

and, Sir, I would like to submit before you that many temptations were placed before them to accept military service. Therefore the best course for us is to accept the resolution, to train the students and through their help to create this spirit among the masses. The question before the House is not whether violence or non-violence is to lead to Swaraj. The question is, is it possible for us to defend ourselves without military training? It has been often said to me that it is an absurd hope for Indians to attain Swaraj because they cannot defend their own country and it is foolish to expect that the British would hand over the administration of India to the Indians and at the same time protect them from foreign attacks. I quite agree with this proposition. I am convinced that unless and until we are able to defend our country we cannot attain the goal which is dear to the heart of everybody here. With these words, Sir, I support the resolution.

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: Sir, I am deeply obliged to the members of this House for the cordial support which they have extended to this resolution. The only difference which exists between myself and the respected Leader of this House is with regard to compulsion. He thinks that we should have it on a voluntary basis while I regard compulsion as absolutely necessary for the success of this corps. I have said enough on the necessity for introducing compulsion and I believe, Sir, I would be wasting the valuable time of this Council if I were to reiterate the arguments which I have set forth. I feel sure that even the members of the Legislative Assembly will gladly accede to any increase in the military budget for a laudable purpose like this. They would give their ungrudging support if the British military authorities at Delhi would approve of this suggestion and include it in the Army estimates. There will be no difficulty so far as that aspect of the question is concerned. The third point which I wish to submit is with regard to the observations of Mr. Fawcus and Babu Jaleshvar Prashad that it would have been much better to have brought this resolution in the Senate of the Patna University because there, they say, it would have been possible to find out the views of the teachers and the boys. I say, Sir, this Council represents the guardians, the trustees of the nation, and in that capacity this Council is more representative in character than the Senate of the Patna University. It can better represent the wishes of the people than the Senate or the Syndicate of the Patna University can do,

and I say, Sir, if this Council passes a resolution, a unanimous resolution, coming as it will do from the elected representatives of the people, it will carry its own weight, a weight which cannot be attached to any resolution passed by the Senate of the Patna University, a body for which I have great respect, but great as is the respect which I have for that body, I have still greater respect for the Legislative Council because it is the guardian of the interests of the nation.

Then, Sir, about the observations of Babu Jaleshvar Prashad that a Sikh empire was lost for want of organization and that it is organization and discipline which must precede military training. I say, Sir.....

Babu JALESHVAR PRASHAD: Sir, I did not say 'must precede'.

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: But the hon'ble member laid emphasis on organization. I say that it is only military discipline which will teach you better organization than anything else. If you want organization it is not politics which will teach you that. If there had been military discipline there would have been no split in your party as occurred the other day. It is military discipline which is wanted in this Council. If the Council has failed to create an impression, it is simply for want of discipline. Look to the iron discipline of the British House of Commons and study how they have learnt it. It is not all the members of the British House of Commons who speak but only the leaders on the front benches and the others vote silently and why,—because there is discipline. Unless we are trained in that discipline, unless the word of the leader is regarded as law by the other members, unless that army discipline is introduced in the deliberations of this Council, the Council will never succeed. So what we have to learn is discipline and that can only come to us by military traiinng. Therefore it is all the more necessary that we should insist on military training for our boys.

Now, Sir, with regard to the remarks of my friend Mr. Athar Husain about Hindu-Moslem unity, I am quite sure that there will be better Hindu-Moslem unity if we have got this military training for the simple reason that we will know how to strike at each other and then shake hands just like military people. It is the spirit of the sportsman which is wanted in the Council. That is the spirit which we want to

[R. B. Dwarka Nath]

cultivate and if in that spirit we strike hard in this Council we will be better able to shake hands. I therefore welcome the speech of my friend, Mr. Athar Husain. My friend, Babu Jaleshvar Prashad, said that we only wanted to remain in the Empire as long as.....

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT : We are not concerned with the question as to who will remain in the Empire and who will not. The Rai Bahadur may omit that portion.

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH : I submit if we receive military training I think the time will come when the British people will no longer feel any hesitation in treating us as their equals. I have always said that when I talk of the Empire I mean that our absolute loyalty to the Empire rests on the hopes and aspirations which have been created in our hearts by the education that we have received. We believe that although at times our position in the Empire is very humiliating indeed, a time will come sooner than other people imagine when we will take an equal part in the deliberations and exploits and the adventures of the Empire. That is the hope on which I live and work and if that hope is shattered I can only say that the fate of Indian nationality would be sealed for ever. I live on that hope and work because I believe that a time will come when the national consciousness will assert itself.

When the people of India will rise from their slumber, when they will realize that, if they want to be the equals of Englishmen, they must exert themselves, they must rise to a man to protest against all that is enervating the nation. Sir, the question of military training is one which cannot be lightly ignored; it is one which cannot be trifled with. We already provide for the physical training of our boys. I know that the Englishman is a keen sportsman but, keen sportsman as he is, he has always felt the necessity of military discipline; because you are a sportsman, because you are a cricket player, because you are a tennis or a football player, you would be able to rub shoulders with the soldiers in the battle-field, is a foolish idea. If you want to be treated as the equals of the British people, you must train yourself in military camps and battle-fields. Sir, with these words I beg to commend this resolution to the acceptance of the House.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON : Sir, I do not propose to make another lengthy speech on the subject of this resolution.

I have already explained the attitude of Government towards the University Training Corps and I have tried to show what has been done by Government to foster the territorial movement not only amongst the students, but also amongst the people of the province at large. At this very moment the main body of the territorial force is now in camp at Dinapore. The two platoons of the University Training Corps have already had their training. We are doing our best in every way to foster the development of the territorial force in both directions, and therefore the resolution has the natural sympathy of Government. The suggestion of compulsion, however, raises a new principle which the Government are not ready to accept without very full and careful consideration. We have heard what the members of the Council, who call themselves the representatives of public opinion, want; we have been told what the parenthood of the province wants; we know what the representative of the University in the Council wants; but, I submit, we have not heard yet what the students themselves want.

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: The parents and guardians of the students are here.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: The students, who will be members of the University Training Corps, are not immature boys. They are young men of an age, I believe, ranging from about 18 to 25 years. I think they are old enough to think for themselves and to have an opinion of their own in this matter. I would also remind the Council that these students of the University are not devoid of the spirit of patriotism. I would therefore advise the Council and the hon'ble mover to take the advice of the Head of the Department, the Director of Public Instruction, and withdraw his resolution, and to wait until the University and the college authorities have had an opportunity of formulating their views after consulting the students themselves. Perhaps the students will make it plain that they do not require compulsion to do their duty.

Rai Bahadur DWARKA NATH: We have ascertained the wishes of the students' community and we can safely state here that it is in accordance with their wishes that we have brought this resolution.

The Hon'ble Sir HUGH McPHERSON: The hon'ble mover is not fair. He has introduced this tit-bit of information at the very close of the debate. If he was in possession of

[Hon. Sir H. McPherson]

this information he should have placed it at the disposal of the Council at an earlier stage of the debate, when it would have been greatly to his and our advantage. My own feeling, if I were a student, would be that I should prefer to join the Training Corps of my own free-will rather than be driven into it. If there is any military spirit in Great Britain, I again assert that it is not the result of compulsion, but a manifestation of the free-will of the people. (Hear, hear.) Compulsion may be very well for Germany, but it has never been the principle that has been the basis of the military organization of Britain; and the Great War proved that in the final test it was the voluntary spirit and not the spirit of compulsion that triumphed. With these words I am content to leave the resolution to the Council. Government welcome the discussion as showing what the general feeling of the Council is towards the territorial force movement. We shall note what has been said by the Council, and I trust that the hon'ble members, who have spoken so strongly from these benches regarding the value of military training will do their best to encourage students to join the existing organization of the University Training Corps. If they do that, they will help us in that way much better than by passing any number of resolutions.

I forgot, Sir, in the course of my remarks to make a reference to the desire that has been expressed on the part of some of the Oriya members that a branch of the Training Corps should be started at Cuttack. That also is an aspiration with which the local Government have every sympathy and as soon as the strength of the Corps has been raised and the necessary funds are placed at our disposal by the Government of India, the question of starting a branch of the Training Corps in Orissa will be seriously considered.

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT: The question is:

That this Council recommends to the local Government that they be pleased to request the Government of India to raise the strength of the University Training Corps to an extent demanded by the authorities of the Patna University so as to enable them to make military training compulsory for all new students of the University.

The motion was adopted.