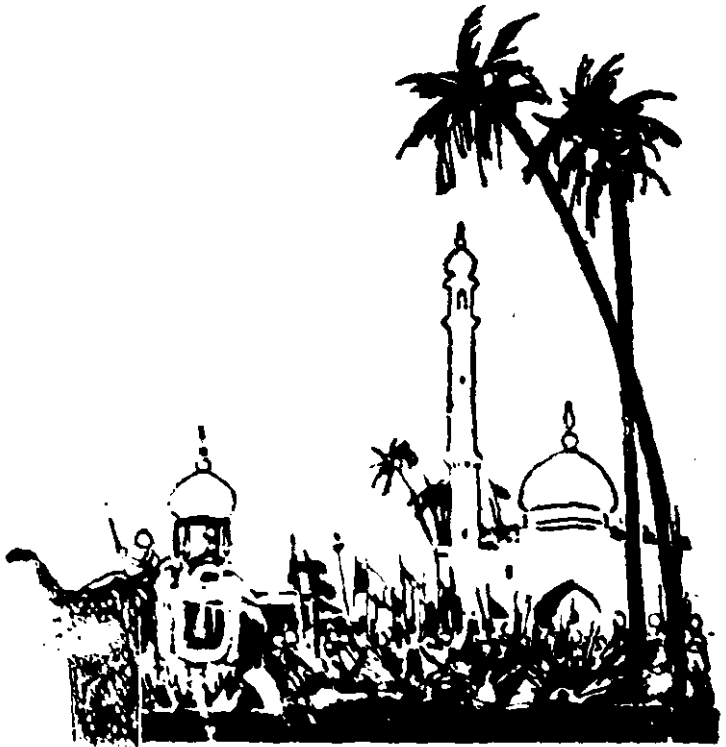


# India

In

1924—25



Or 3 shillings.



# India in 1924-25



A Statement prepared for presentation to Parliament  
in accordance with the requirements of the 26th  
Section of the Government of India Act  
(5 & 6 Geo. V, Chap. 61)

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## **PREFATORY NOTE.**

The task of preparing this report for presentation to Parliament has been entrusted by Government of India to Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., and it is now presented under authority and with general approval of 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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## **EXPLANATION.**

Except where otherwise mentioned a pound sterling is equivalent to fifteen rupees. To minimise confusion the rupee figures are also given in important statistics. Three crores (30 million) rupees may thus be taken as equivalent of £2 million sterling; and three lakhs (3,00,000) rupees are equal to £20,000.

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## APPENDIX II.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY LORD READING ON THE OCCASION OF THE INAUGURATION OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, it is my privilege again to extend a welcome to you who are about to enter upon the labours of the Delhi Session. Many questions of importance will come before you, and it is my earnest prayer that the results of your deliberations may prosper the best interests of India and the Empire.

I am glad to note that conditions in India and on her frontiers are at the moment favourable; our relations with our neighbours in foreign countries on our borders are most friendly; and I take this opportunity of welcoming the distinguished officers from the Kingdom of Afghanistan who are present here to witness the military manoeuvres now being held in the vicinity of Delhi. Their visit is greatly appreciated in India and is a token of the friendly and neighbourly relations which exist between His Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Amir.

Happily I am able to say that our Waziristan policy appears to be justified by the greater security of our districts and the gradual pacification of the country, though not without the regrettable loss of some valuable lives. Although in South Waziristan various difficult questions still remain unsolved, yet progress is evident. In North Waziristan we have reached pre-war stability. And with this improvement in the general situation it is well to observe that there has been a progressive reduction up-to-date in the cost of our forces employed in Waziristan.

It is a satisfaction also to record a marked improvement in India in economic conditions and trade prospects. In the first six months of the present financial year Indian imports and exports in sea-borne trade reached a total of 292 crores, an advance of 18 crores on the corresponding period of last year and of 39 crores on the figures for the same period in 1922. There are likewise clear signs of returning prosperity in internal trade; and the marked increase in gross railway receipts places beyond doubt the general revival and growth of internal trade activity. Despite damage in some localities owing to floods in the last monsoon agricultural prospects are generally good. The cotton crop is above average and the outlook of wheat and other spring crops is at present eminently satisfactory.

You have already been made aware of important changes in my Government. I shall in future have the assistance of Sir Bhupendranath Mitra and Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah as Members of my Executive Council, and I am confident that I shall derive the advantage I anticipate from their advice and co-operation. But changes are not confined to my Government; they

have occurred also in the Legislature, and especially in the Council of State, for Sir Montagu Butler who was the President of that honourable Chamber has left it to assume the post of Governor of the Central Provinces. Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, whom I have appointed to succeed him, is well known to the Members of both Chambers. He has had long connection with the Indian Legislature and has won their esteem and respect, and I am sure that he will continue to enjoy the confidence of the Members of the Council of State in the higher place among them to which he has now been translated. There have also been a few changes among the Members of the Legislature to which I need not refer in detail; but I am convinced that the Members of both Houses will join me in deploring that ill-health has necessitated the resignation of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri who has been a Member of the Council of State since its inception. I trust his absence from the Legislature will only be temporary and brief, and that he will soon be restored to health and enabled once more to add the distinction of his intellectual gifts to the Legislature and to devote his great capacities to public affairs.

I desire to embrace this opportunity of expressing my high appreciation of the labours of Lord Hardinge, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Muhammad Rafique who represented India as delegates at the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September and October last. The meetings were of unusual importance and interest and from them have emerged the proposals for the Protocol which are now under the consideration of His Majesty's Government and the Governments of other nations concerned.

When considering affairs outside India, attention naturally and inevitably turns to Indians overseas. When I addressed the Legislature in January last the position of Indians in Kenya was critical; and I foreshadowed the appointment of a Committee to make representations on behalf of the Government of India regarding the Immigration Ordinance in Kenya in particular and other questions relating to Indians in the Colonies. The *personnel* of the Committee was announced in March last and the Committee began their labours in London in April. They had a number of interviews with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the officials of the Colonial Office and made representations regarding many important matters affecting Indians in Kenya, Fiji and the mandated territories of Tanganyika.

I cannot too highly praise the thoroughness and ability with which they performed their delicate task, and I am grateful for the very patient hearing which the representatives of His Majesty's Government, Mr. Thomas and the officers of his department accorded to them.

As regards Kenya, the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Thomas were announced in the House of Commons, on August, the 7th last. On the question of Franchise and the Highlands there was no change in the position; but as regards immigration, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies after hearing our representatives was not satisfied with the data submitted from Kenya and was unable to agree with the Kenya authorities that a case had been made out to justify the Ordinance. He therefore gave an assurance that

the Immigration Legislation would not be placed on the Statute-book. The further restrictions then on the point of being imposed upon the immigration of Indians were accordingly removed. As regards Indian Colonisation, Mr. Thomas announced that it was proposed to reserve an area in the lowlands for agricultural emigrants from India; but that before the scheme took final shape an officer with experience of the needs of Indian settlers and agricultural knowledge would be sent to report on the areas to be offered for colonisation. Reports in regard to the areas have now been received by my Government; and we are considering the question of deputing an officer to examine these areas from the aspect of their suitability for Indian settlement. These are substantial gains and our gratitude is due to the Committee for the clarity and earnestness of their representation of the Indian point of view to His Majesty's Government. Moreover these gains are not the only advantages which accrued from their visit. A better atmosphere has been created and that wider understanding of different points of view has grown up which is the outcome of personal discussion and free and frank interchange of views.

In June last His Majesty's Government announced the appointment of an East African Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Southborough to consider and report on certain questions regarding the administration and economic development of the British East African Dependencies. Having regard to the importance of this inquiry to Indian interests my Government made representations to secure a hearing of the Indian point of view before the Committee came to conclusions. I am glad to inform the Legislature that our representations have been accepted and the Southborough Committee will hear the opinions of Indian representatives nominated by my Government upon all matters coming within their purview.

If the pendulum has swung in the direction desired by India on these questions, the position in South Africa, on the other hand, has been less favourable. Towards the end of December news was received that the Governor General of the Union of South Africa had given his assent to the Natal Borough Ordinance. This measure, while safeguarding the rights of Indians upon the electoral roll of boroughs, will prevent further enrolment of Indians as burgesses. The serious implications of the measure on the future of Indians, who have special vocational and trading connections with the towns in South Africa, will readily be realised. From the outset the Government of India had recognised the effect this measure might have upon the position of resident Indians in Natal both as regards their civic and economic status; and my Government made strong representations to the Union Government as soon as a copy of the Ordinance was received in August last. At that time there was reason to hope that since a similar but more drastic measure had been disallowed previously by the Governor General, this Ordinance would also share the same fate; to our regret however the Government of the Union advised the Governor General to give assent to the Bill; and accordingly the measure has now become law. The situation created is engaging the most earnest attention of myself and my Government; we have lost no time in making representations to His Majesty's Government and in placing before them in

an emphatic manner the difficulties in which resident Indians are likely to be placed by the operation of this law. Every endeavour will be made to discover a remedy; but, in view of the powers of Dominion Governments in internal and domestic affairs, the position is one of delicacy and a solution will not be easy to find. Patience will again be necessary. I may remind you that when the position in Kenya seemed most unfavourable, temperate arguments and full and frank discussion resulted in a better understanding of the Indian point of view and in a measure of relief to the disabilities felt by Indians. I hope that as in the case of Kenya, so also in this case some remedy may be devised. I have promised to receive a deputation on this question and will discuss with them at a later date, in the light of further information which I hope to receive, the prospects of finding a solution to the present difficulties. For the present I say nothing more on the subject.

Of measures which will engage the attention of the Legislature an important section concerns Commerce, Industry and Finance. I will not dwell at length upon the Trades Union and Trades dispute legislation because I have recently explained the genesis and scope of these measures to the Associated Chambers in Calcutta. Both these measures mark a new step in the progress of labour legislation in India. I believe opinion has been expressed in some quarters that we are moving too fast along the line of labour legislation; but both these Bills only deal with essentials and are of a simple nature; and great weight must be given to the view that at a moment when labour has commenced organisation and is assuming prominence, recognition should be given by Statute to the fact and development on the right lines should be secured. I attach importance to the right preliminaries, though the future of Trades Unions in India will, I realise, largely depend not on enactments, but on the spirit shown by the employers and workers and on the attitude of the public. Let me also remind you that the views expressed by my Government in those Bills are tentative only; and when comments have been received they will be carefully considered and changes made as may appear desirable in the light of the criticisms expressed.

It is gratifying to observe the very keen interest taken by the Legislature in the working of the Tariff Board. During the past year, my Government have placed before you proposals based on two of the reports of the Board. The most important of these resulted in the passing of the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, which imposed heavy protective duties on a wide range of steel products covering most of those in ordinary consumption. The rates embodied in that Act were the result of careful investigation by the Tariff Board, but since they were brought into force, the Steel Industry has represented that further protection is required largely owing to a rapid and marked fall in the prices of Continental steel. This question was referred to the Tariff Board for inquiry, and during this Session a Resolution based on their report will be brought forward for consideration by the Legislature. The fall in prices of Continental steel had been so heavy that an attempt to deal with the position by means of increased import duties would have resulted in practically doubling the existing duties, with the consequence that from 50 to



70 per cent. of the landed cost of imported steel would have been represented by the duties charged. Obviously my Government could not agree to duties on such a high scale on articles which are largely used in agriculture and many other important industries. They have, however, accepted the general conclusions of the Tariff Board, and the Legislature will be asked in this Session to agree to the grant of bounty on steel produced in India between October 1st, 1924, and September 30th, 1925. The total amount of bounty proposed is fifty lakhs, which is the sum that it is calculated the industry would receive under the Tariff Board's proposals, were the rates recommended by the Board to become fully effective. This is a very favourable interpretation of the recommendations of the Board, especially as it allows the industry to obtain the advantage of the protection accorded without waiting for sales. If the grant of this bounty is made, it should prove of material assistance to the steel industry of India in its difficulties.

You will have noticed that the policy advocated by the Fiscal Commission has been steadily pursued. The Tariff Board is now engaged in investigating the applications for protection from certain other industries, notably cement and paper. The principle has been maintained that it is right and proper that any industry which appeals to the State for assistance must prove its case in public before an impartial Board. It is only by this means that an opinion can be reached on the merits of the case and the implications and effects of a demand for protection envisaged.

It is evident from private Bills, Resolutions and questions that Members are taking a lively interest in the difficult questions of currency and exchange; and it may be of interest to the Legislature to hear from me an indication of the policy of my Government upon these problems. While internal prices in India have on the whole remained steady, there has been a considerable rise in the sterling value of the rupee during the past year, and an even more marked rise in its gold value owing to the simultaneous improvement in the gold value of sterling. Thus far during the present busy season there has not been a repetition of the exceptional stringency in the money-market which characterised this period a year ago, and I am hopeful that the assistance which my Government have been able and will be able to give in the matter of providing additional currency, combined with the improved conditions on which emergency currency can now be issued to the Imperial Bank, will enable all legitimate demands to be met without undue strain during the remainder of the season.

My Government proposes in the first place to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act so as to increase the permissible investment of securities in the Paper Currency Reserve from the present limit of 85 crores of rupees to 100 crores.

The object of this proposal is to give the Government of India increased powers to ensure the supply of currency upon an adequate scale to meet the requirements of trade and in particular to prevent undue monetary stringency in the busy season.

We have made announcements from time to time to Chambers of Commerce and in the Assembly that, if my Government found existing powers were likely to prove insufficient, it would not hesitate to ask for increased discretion.

We began the present busy season with a margin of 13½ crores of permissible investment; and we have up to date increased currency by six crores, British Securities to the amount of six million pounds having been placed in the reserve in England. There is still therefore a margin of 7½ crores; but it is considered desirable to ask the Legislature for increased powers to meet possible contingencies.

The Members of the Legislature may rest assured that these provisions for increased discretion to meet demands for currency are a healthy development and offer no indications of a morbid tendency. The need is an outcome of the improvement of trade which is now definitely recovering from post-war depressions, and it is natural that increased trade should require increased currency facilities.

It should also be noted that this increase of currency represents an addition made by Government quite independent of the amount which the Imperial Bank is entitled to ask as a loan from the Paper Currency Reserve against the security of Internal Trade Bills. The Imperial Bank is entitled to ask for sums up to 12 crores. The conditions upon which the Bank can ask for this emergency currency have recently been modified by requiring that the first four crores may be taken when the bank rate is at six per cent., and any part of the remainder may be taken when the bank rate reaches seven per cent.

There has been a considerable feeling in some quarters that the time has come for the appointment of a Currency Committee to investigate the difficult question of exchange and to make recommendations. The suggestion has been carefully examined by me in consultation with my Finance Member, and has been for some time past the subject of discussion between my Government and the Secretary of State. The chief difficulty to be considered is the fluidity of economic and exchange factors in the world. The question is not affected only by features in India and England or even in the Empire; world conditions have also to be considered and powerfully affect the issues; and there is the danger that if a Committee sits at a time when factors are still unstable, its recommendations will be based on shifting data, and whatever may be the capacity and skill of the Committee, its conclusion will inevitably be of the nature of guess work rather than of expert findings based upon the examination of stable conditions and well-established tendencies. The result of discussion with the Secretary of State is that I am now authorised to make the following announcement which explains the conclusions of His Majesty's Government and my Government upon the proposal.

The Government of India have been in communication with the Secretary of State on the subject of the rupee exchange, and the intention of Government is to appoint an authoritative Committee to consider the question as soon as world economic factors appear sufficiently stable to justify formulation.

of a new policy. In their judgment there is much to be gained by postponing an inquiry till those factors on which any decision must rest are less fluid and obscure. But they anticipate that if the movement towards more stable conditions, which has lately manifested itself, continues the appointment of such a Committee should be possible not later than 12 months hence.

In view of the opinion expressed in the Assembly regarding the need of an economic inquiry, my Government has decided in consultation with the Secretary of State to appoint a small Committee to report on the material which exists for holding an inquiry into the economic conditions of the people of India, the feasibility of instituting an inquiry of this character and the manner in which it could be carried out. Meanwhile the Taxation Committee have begun their labours.

It may also become necessary for my Government to introduce to the Legislature a measure to define the powers of the High Court in relation to tribunals and proceedings under the special Bengal Criminal Legislation. You are aware that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has exercised the powers conferred upon him under the Government of India Act and has certified and signed the Bill. I take this opportunity of stating that His Excellency's action in this respect has my full approval, and that I shall support both him and his Government to the extent of my powers in meeting what I regard as a serious emergency. Inasmuch as I have decided to reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, I do not now propose to discuss its detailed provisions or the Bill which my Government may eventually seek to introduce should His Majesty in Council signify assent to the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. Nevertheless, as this legislation had its origin in the Ordinance, which I as Governor General in the exercise of the special responsibilities laid upon me promulgated, let me refer to certain aspects affecting the issue of the Ordinance.

Very full explanations have already been given to the public.

In spite however of the full ventilation which the question has received, some important aspects of it appear to be still clouded by the mists of misapprehension in the minds of some sections of the public; and the necessity both of my action and of the course adopted by the Government of Bengal has repeatedly been challenged.

I shall not travel again over the ground covered in my Calcutta speech. As the result of the public discussions it is now admitted on all sides, even by the most convinced opponents of special measures and special legislation, that a terrorist movement exists in Bengal, and that widespread conspiracies for violent crimes have been established. The objects which these conspiracies have in view as a result of their crimes are also not disputed. It has been proved by sad experience that the ordinary law, even when reinforced by the use of Regulation III in cases to which it can be applied, is ineffective to stop the movement or even to check its growth; and that the progress of the movement involves loss of life not only among officials, but among innocent citizens unconnected with Government or with the activities of any political party.

Yet in spite of this knowledge of these facts, there has been bitter criticism of the measures adopted to check and cure the evil. I find it hard to believe that those who indulge so freely in criticism have ever seriously attempted to think out the eventual implications of the movement or earnestly endeavoured to consider the responsibilities of Government or of the Governor General in the case.

It is hardly conceivable that any thinking man can approve of the spread of activities which seek to terrorise the population by breaking down established authority through a campaign of murder of officials and do not hesitate to destroy innocent victims who cross their path or to exact reprisals in form of the lives of those who give evidence or information of contemplated outrages. It is obvious that these activities can only end, if unchecked, in the paralysis of Government and of law and order and may place the lives and properties of helpless citizens at the mercy of a pitiless criminal organisation.

I cannot believe that any member of any political party in India, even if he is opposed, and vehemently opposed, to the Government as now constituted in India, would deny that it was the duty of Government to prevent the coming to pass of such a condition of affairs.

But it is urged that the Ordinance was not necessary. It is argued that these criminal activities could be adequately checked by the efforts of the police and the prosecution of the malefactors before Courts of justice. I whole-heartedly wish that I could subscribe to this argument, but I cannot accept it, because it is in complete disregard of the true facts. It is essential to remember that we were not dealing with criminals who could be arrested and tried for crimes on evidence freely given by persons with nothing to fear from their action in giving testimony. We were not dealing with the violent and open insurrection of a mob which could be fought with its own weapons. We were on the contrary dealing with widespread secret societies with many ramifications, which had taken the greatest care to conceal their insidious organisations and nefarious plans and were prepared to exact swiftly and secretly terrible reprisals upon members of their own society or members of the public giving information as to their actions.

You will doubtless remember that I addressed you on this subject at the opening of the proceedings of the Legislature in January of last year. Thereafter the Government of Bengal and my Government were for a long time in anxious consultation in regard to measures, and every effort was made to cope with the danger by the ordinary law, reinforced by such special action as lay within our power. Regulation III was used for reasons and in a manner I have previously explained to this Legislature. These measures however proved ineffective; and finally after exhausting all the weapons in their armoury, the Government of Bengal made a request to my Government. The members of that Government, Europeans and Indians, after careful consideration of the evidence and with full knowledge of the history and character of the local situation, were unanimous in applying to me to issue an Ordinance giving special powers to deal with this dangerous emergency. The investigation of the situation did not rest there; notwithstanding that it was for me to

determine whether the Ordinance should issue, it is for the Executive to assist in administering its powers. Moreover, I have during my term of office learnt to value the advice of the Members of my Council, and I have always derived the greatest help from their considered opinions. I therefore consulted them: I am well aware that I am taking a wholly exceptional course in giving you this information, but I do it advisedly after careful thought. The whole question was then studied in all aspects by the members of my Government, both Europeans and Indians, who arrived at a unanimous conclusion that the Ordinance was the only remedy available. The situation was then laid before the Secretary of State including the proposals for the promulgation of the Ordinance. The whole matter was submitted to careful examination by Lord Olivier and His Majesty's Government as then constituted. They agreed with the course suggested as the only possible method of dealing with the dangers facing the peace of Bengal. You will thus observe that my action was not only due to my personal conviction of the necessity for it, but that the view taken by me, and also by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, has the support and approval of high and experienced authorities, both European and Indian, and was approved by the then Secretary of State.

I have already explained elsewhere why the Members of the Legislature were not consulted in September last. It has since been urged that the Legislature should have been summoned again before I took the step of promulgation. In my judgment this course was neither in the circumstances, desirable, nor indeed was it possible, if the means devised were to prove effective. The responsibility was of a nature which could not be shared, and it would not be right or proper for me to try to share it with you or to place it on your shoulders. Consultation with the Legislature would have meant publicity. The aim was to prevent crime and to paralyse the activities of the conspiracies. Past experience in the Government of India and the conclusions of the Rowlatt Committee point to the fact that to check conspiracies of this nature with success two features are essential. In the first place, the organisations must not know that general action of a special nature is under contemplation against them; and, in the second place, the method of working and the sources of information must not be endangered directly or indirectly. Any rashness or carelessness on these points may make future action entirely fruitless and completely nullify the object to be secured. If discussions in this Legislature had taken place, these conditions could not have been fulfilled, and the Ordinance would have proved futile as a remedy for the disease.

There is, I regret to say, a tendency among some sections of public opinion in India to confuse all administrative acts with influences having reactions on desires for political progress. The repression of violent crime has, however, no affinity with the treatment of aspirations for advance. They have no resemblance in kind or degree and they are phenomena existing on entirely different planes.

Terrorism no doubt may sometimes batten on a section of political thought. It may expand like some foul parasite-growth deriving strength from living sources outside its own entity. It may flourish for a time in this conjunction

if it can cajole or frighten a political party into acquiescence or into encouragement of its activities; but no political party can continue to live with terror for a friend. The parasite will kill the host. True political progress can have no lot or part with terrorism. Whatever differences of opinion may exist between me and my Government and sections of public opinion regarding the Ordinance, I trust that the Members of the Indian Legislature will realise that my action was taken only after the most careful examination of the whole situation and with the sole object of preventing violent crime.

You will not be surprised that I refrain to-day from discussing the important constitutional questions referred to the Reforms Inquiry Committee which have formed the subject of important public discussion. You are aware that the Report of the Committee is now under the consideration of myself and the members of my Government. The weighty nature of the problems and of the investigation by the Committee demands our most careful attention and study, and I think it right to avoid observations upon any of the various questions involved until there has been adequate opportunity for thorough examination and deliberation by me and my Government. I desire however to take advantage of this opportunity to express to Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Chairman, and all the members of the Committee, my deep gratitude for the valuable services they have rendered. They have had a difficult task; they have not spared themselves either in time or labour, and I cannot too highly commend the care and expedition with which they have completed their task. They have devoted themselves whole-heartedly and to the best of their well known capacities to the duties entrusted to them. Whatever opinions may be expressed hereafter upon the results of their efforts, I feel sure that you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian public generally, will agree with me in this tribute of appreciation of their services.

I have been deeply gratified to learn that the leaders of the two communities in Kohat have reached agreement, and that there are now good prospects of the return of the Hindus and of the resumption of past friendly and neighbourly relations. I was grievously distressed by the wound which communal tension had inflicted upon Kohat. I shall not refer to the painful events at the riots or their causes, as these have already been dealt with in the Resolution of my Government, and I shall serve no useful purpose by re-discussing them; but leaving these aside, the question which caused me the most acute anxiety and thought was the problem of reconciliation and of the future relations of the two communities. From the outset I have done all in my power to try to heal the wound and to bring the parties together. At one moment reconciliation seemed imminent, but the negotiations proved abortive; nevertheless, I and those associated with me were unwilling to regard the collapse as final. I have always been ready to take any official measures which may assist to restore the harmony and unity formerly traditional between the communities in this Frontier town; but I have recognised that these efforts were of the nature of an auxiliary to settlement and not the actual foundation of settlement. Any system of peace imposed from above or from outside would have neither been real nor lasting. The peace must be the

peace of Kohat; and until each party could itself testify that the heart had been cleansed from rancour, there could be no basis for permanent good-will in the future. I understand that the settlement has been well received by the two communities at large, and I trust that I may now hear that active steps are being taken towards the end which I and my Government have so much at heart—a restoration of that harmony and neighbourly relations between Hindu and Moslem which had long been in existence at Kohat. I know that I shall carry the Members of the Indian Legislature with me when I express the most earnest hope that this settlement may prove an enduring restoration of peace and good-will between the two communities at Kohat; I trust I may not be taking too optimistic a view when I express the further hope that the present high state of tension in the relations between the Hindu and Moslem communities in different parts of India may be relieved, and that more friendly relations between them may ensue. I need not assure you that I and my Government have observed with the deepest concern the lamentable series of riots and disturbances which have resulted in so much loss of life and property and, what is perhaps even more deplorable, so much exacerbation of old animosities. We are profoundly impressed by the necessity of taking all possible action to relieve this atmosphere of tension and to avert or mitigate the disorders which it unfortunately generates. I know that these views are shared to the full by all Local Governments. Nevertheless, I deemed it proper some time ago to invite their close and earnest attention to these matters, and I have every assurance that no effort will be spared by them or by their officers not only to avert temporary or local causes of trouble or to minimise its results, but steadfastly to promote permanent mutual relations of harmony and good-will. I am equally confident that all unlightened members of the communities affected equally deplore and are equally concerned in reconciling these unhappy communal dissensions. They will recognise with me that on a solution of these difficulties depend not only the present peace and prosperity of India, but also her future progress. I readily acknowledge that strenuous efforts have already been made, and are still being made, by leaders of Indian public opinion to establish more harmonious relations between these communities. I cannot too strongly affirm that this object is constantly and sincerely sought after by all responsible public authorities in India; but no measures, legislative or executive, however ingeniously devised, can be expected to produce immediate effect on the ancient and deep-rooted cause of these troubles. They can only be removed by the growth of a spirit of toleration and enlightenment. It cannot be denied that these animosities are a serious hindrance to the promotion of unity of aim in India, and that these quarrels and disturbances must inevitably retard political progress. Whatever differences may divide us in India, we must all agree that every effort should be made to prevent the recurrence of these communal troubles. In this field we can, and should, co-operate, and I trust that all members of these two communities and others, who are moved by humanity, public spirit and patriotism, will join with me and the responsible authorities in India in earnest efforts to promote this spirit of larger tolerance and conciliation. If this object could be attained, the distance along the road to political unity

in India will be considerably shortened. Moreover, I venture to cherish the hope that the diffusion of this spirit of harmony and good-will may communicate itself to other regions of acute controversy, and that in due course of time, and aided by this brighter and purer light, the road may be more quickly found to peace and prosperity in India.



## APPENDIX III.

### SUMMARY OF OPINIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS RECORDED BY THE MAJORITY SECTION OF THE REFORMS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

The Madras Government report that the transitional constitution has worked with a considerable measure of success in Madras. Some progress has been made towards the understanding of the system of parliamentary government both by the representatives returned to the council and by those who exercised the vote; political education has begun, and the population, both urban and rural, has become more articulate and to some extent more conscious of the meaning and value of the vote. It cannot be said that there are yet apparent signs of the division of parties according to political principles apart from the communal question and perhaps the theory of indiscriminate opposition to all proposals of the government. Even among the politician class the formation of independent groups is not so much due to differences of political principle as to communal considerations or the personal influence of individuals. Among the general body of the electorate personalities count more than principles. There is no lack of general political 'planks' in election manifestoes, but it is difficult to discern differences such as indicate in more politically advanced countries the real existence of political parties. The Ministers at a time of grave unrest have been able to steady public opinion and feeling, and their moderation has enabled them to refrain from rash and doctrinaire experiments. It is probably too soon to speak of the result of the changes as affecting the various branches of the administration, though probably the standard of efficiency in some departments has been lowered. The Governor in Council concludes that, if an earnest endeavour to work on constitutional lines is a qualification for political advance, the Madras Presidency has shown itself fitter for an advance than any other province. The Madras Ministers, however, attach no importance to minor alterations of the Act and Rules, and they insist that there should now be a complete transfer of all provincial subjects. The Governor in Council is inclined to doubt whether opinion in favour of complete transfer is as unanimous as the Ministers have been led to believe, and he is not prepared to agree that the time for it has yet come.

The Bombay Government say that there were no organized parties in the first council, and that therefore there could be no organized support of the Ministers. In the present council the Swarajist party is the only non-official party united by bonds other than communal. It is the strongest in numbers but does not command a majority, and it is pledged to a policy of refusal of political responsibility. The Ministers were therefore necessarily selected from the smaller groups, and this is the first and most im-

portant cause of the weakness of their present position. Having no adequate support from their followers they are obliged to rely largely for support upon the official vote, and accordingly the distinction between the two halves of the government is obscured. Further, a large section of the House is parochial in its outlook, and, as decisions depend upon the votes of this section, they are apt to be fortuitous in matters which are beyond the parochial outlook. Progress in parliamentary government has thus been retarded, but some progress has been made. The first stage in the path to responsible government should have been the development of self-governing institutions in the departments already transferred to the Ministry, and this stage has not yet been fully reached. The electorate has yet to learn the importance of returning representatives with a real sense of political responsibility for the welfare of the various peoples of the Presidency. It will be practically impossible to proceed to further stages until this lesson has been learnt. The Bombay Government are of opinion that the main object at present should be to strengthen the position of the Ministers and to encourage the organisation of parties. There is no other road to genuine parliamentary government. The Government do not therefore consider, though in this matter the Indian members of the Council dissent, that the stage which would justify any fundamental change in the body of the Act has been reached. The Indian Members consider that full autonomy should be immediately granted to the provincial governments, but the majority of the Government holds that effective safeguards would be required in certain essential matters, and there are many other matters which would need the strictest examination before such a drastic measure could be introduced for any provincial government. A satisfactory settlement would require repeated meetings of representatives of the central and provincial governments and an eventual reference to a Royal Commission, and the majority is of opinion that the time for such a reference has not yet arrived. The Government express their decided view that some definite declaration of policy which is to endure for some years is required. With such a declaration provincial governments will be able to go forward secure in the knowledge that their efforts to improve the welfare of the people on clearly defined lines will have that success which a continuity of sound policy ensures.

The Bengal Government say that the obstacle which is the root of all the difficulty in working the transitional constitution is the Indian conception of the government as something in which the people have no share or responsibility, and which it is therefore the duty of every progressive politician to criticise and oppose. It is of the first necessity that the elected members should realise their powers and use them. As matters stand, there is no party with a real constructive programme. The Ministers are left to evolve a policy in the time at their disposal and this the members proceed to criticise. These members have, however, no policy to put in its place, and, if the Ministers were replaced by others, the position would be just the same. The Council has thus failed to grasp its power to make the government and by supporting it to carry through the schemes which it considers would be beneficial to the

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Bengal

country. In the first council progress was made and some solid achievements were recorded. The Ministers also were able to influence a sufficient number of the members to make it possible, with the aid of officials, to carry through a considerable amount of useful legislation. The second council contains a large and influential body belonging to the non-co-operation party which is pledged to prove that the present constitution is unworkable. This body was joined by the independents, and the combined party commands more than 60 votes in a House of a total strength of 140. The majority of the educated classes in Bengal desire provincial autonomy as early as possible, and the difference between the two sections is merely one of method. The Swarajists, as a branch of the non-co-operation party, are fully prepared to use such weapons as social boycott and are not above resorting to methods of terrorism, while the more cautious section of the educated classes stand to incur unpopularity if they even appear to support government. It is therefore not unlikely that at the next general election there will be a return of an absolute Swarajist majority which may take office with the avowed intention of wrecking the government from within. The constitution therefore requires to be specially considered from the point of view of giving the executive power to deal with obstruction. Apart from certain alterations to meet difficulties in the working of the Act and rules the Governor in Council would strongly oppose any attempt to modify the constitution or to alter the existing arrangements as regards reserved and transferred subjects.

The Government of the United Provinces say that it is constantly alleged by their enemies and critics that the reforms have failed. They say that, if this means that the constitution has definitely broken down, the statement must be emphatically denied. Since the collapse in its original form of the non-co-operation movement the internal conditions of the province have steadily improved, and, except for the tension between Muslims and Hindus, there is now nothing to cause its government serious anxiety. Forty-seven millions of people are living peaceably under an ordered and progressive administration and are probably more prosperous than their predecessors have ever been. The reformed constitution has failed to satisfy both the Swarajists and the Liberals, and this constitutes the principal cause for anxiety. The Governor in Council cannot, however, admit that the attitude of the educated classes is the sole test by which the reforms must be judged. He is fully alive to the difficulties and defects inherent in or arising out of the present constitution; but he believes that they lie in directions, and that they point to conclusions, very different from those which its critics have in view when they ingeminate its failure.

The division of subjects into reserved and transferred was in practice far from complete. On the reserved side the Governor has in the last resort power to enforce his views, but the constant exercise of the power would force a deadlock, and the Governor in Council has often therefore to defer to the wishes of a legislature which is inexperienced and liable to be influenced by

Views of the United Provinces Government.  
Continuation of views of the United Provinces Government.

sentiment or prejudice. A policy of rigid economy has been pursued during the last two years, mainly at the expense of the reserved side of the administration, and it is impossible to ignore the fact that the financial control exercised by the council has seriously constricted the administration of reserved subjects which are those on which the conditions of any civilised government depend. Turning to the transferred side the policy of extending the principles of self-government in regard to local bodies has been adopted, and the result has been to deprive government of effective control. The Ministers have adhered to the accepted policy of letting the self-governing bodies learn by their own mistakes. Within these limits the Ministers have sought to guide local bodies in the right direction, but of the actual fact of deterioration the Governor in Council entertains no doubt. The change is not confined to local bodies. The universities impelled by financial pressure have begun to compete for students, and the easier they make their courses and examinations the more likely are they to be successful. This reacts on secondary education, and in primary education there has been little progress despite a great increase in expenditure. In the medical sphere there is a disposition on the part of the council to look askance at the Indian Medical Service, and the dislike of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department is unconcealed. There is also a tendency in the council to foster the practice of what western opinion can only regard as unscientific systems of medicine. In many respects these changes doubtless have the support of Indian opinion; but the Governor in Council cannot regard them as really making for the health or happiness of the people. The Ministers themselves have been working loyally and energetically, and they cannot be held responsible for these results which depend mainly upon the general conditions in which their work has been done.

Though he fears that this may expose him to misrepresentation and misunderstanding, the Governor in Council of the United Provinces considers it is essential to get down to root conditions. Ministers and legislators have acquired some acquaintance with the practical difficulties of administration, but political development is still in the most elementary stage. The electors do not recognise that the legislature is their representative, and practically no attempt has been made by any party to educate them in their duties and responsibilities. The electors are mainly members of an illiterate peasantry with many virtues but not many of the qualities out of which the controlling power of parliamentary governments is made. From force of circumstances they are pre-occupied with the difficulties of physical existence, responsive to the claims of their caste or community, passionately attached to their holdings, resentful of interference and oppression, but indifferent to any larger issue save religion, and religion in India is a disruptive force. The relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities are, it is to be feared, decidedly worse than they were 25 or even 5 years ago. As self-government has drawn nearer, the Hindu has become filled with alarm by the more rapid increase of Muhammadans, their greater virility and the tendency of some of them to look for support to powers outside India. The Muhammadans know they are

outdistanced both in wealth and education and fear Swaraj will mean a Hindu rule. The more farseeing politicians see that without a genuine union Swaraj is impossible, but there are few signs of a common patriotism capable of dominating sectarian animosities. In the legislature well-organised parties (except for the Swarajist) are non-existent; the interplay of personal factors is incessant; and the formation of stable combinations is impeded by the cross divisions of race, religion and interest. There is no large body of impartial opinion upon which the Minister can rely, and he can rarely take a strong line in opposition to any substantial or clamant section. In short, though this is certainly not surprising, neither the principle of responsibility to the electorate nor the principle of party cohesion has been established in any strength. These are the real obstacles to any rapid political advance, such as the Indian Nationalist desires, and they cannot be removed by any alterations in the details of the Act or rules. The Governor in Council says that dyarchy is obviously a cumbrous, complex, confused system, having no logical basis, rooted in compromise and defensible only as a transitional expedient. It is, however, not an accidental feature but the very essence of the policy deliberately embodied in the Act and the rules framed thereunder. The difficulties and defects inherent in it are quite incurable by any mere alteration of the Act or rules. The utmost such changes could do, if the structure of the constitution is to be maintained, would be to oil the wheels of the constitutional machinery.

The Governor in Council concludes that the answer to the whole enquiry may be summed up in the statement that there is no halfway house between the present and the new constitution. He expresses no opinion on the demand for the latter, but he is clear that concessions which fall short of complete provincial autonomy will placate no section of the opponents of the existing system; that they will secure neither stability nor contentment; and that they will lower the efficiency, already impaired, of the administration.

The Punjab Government point to the difficulties which faced the authors of the reforms scheme owing to the division of India into areas widely differing not only in social and temperamental characteristics, but at markedly different stages of political development. At the inception of the reforms the Punjab was an area in which administrative considerations must have appeared to the great mass of the inhabitants to outweigh those connected with political developments.

The executive government was absorbed by pressing administrative problems arising from the rapid material advance of the province. These changes in the conditions of life reacted politically in two directions:—

- (i) in the sentiments of apprehension and even hostility entertained by the agriculturists against the monied and urban interests which tended towards the organisation of prejudices and interests and therefore to form a basis of political parties; and
- (ii) in the intensification of thought on religious or communal lines.

A portion of the Hindu political element clearly welcomed the reforms as likely to afford them an opportunity of confirming a position gained by superior education and capacity in the use of political methods. It is doubtful whether the Muhammadans at large or the agricultural community were at that time entirely aware of the opportunities which the reforms would give them for developing their own interests. The authors of the scheme certainly could not have foreseen the speed with which its working would drive the two main communities into open dissension and would develop antagonism between the urban and rural interests. The agitation of the extreme section of the Sikhs may also be referred to in this connection, though the local government consider this cannot correctly be attributed directly to the reforms. The movement for the reform of the Sikh shrines was only one element in a larger agitation. It secured the unquestioning allegiance of the Sikh peasantry, and this success placed the extreme section of the Sikhs in funds for their campaign. This section recognised the political and numerical inferiority of the Sikhs and hoped to secure by direct pressure what they could not obtain by the ballot; possibly they looked further ahead and hoped to consolidate their position in time to be able to take full advantage of the breakdown of authority which they thought might follow the reduction of British influence in the administration.

The immediate aim of the reforms was to arouse political consciousness by constituting and training an electorate and its representatives. There is not as yet evidence of the existence of a thinking and selective electorate in the Punjab, capable of exercising its vote on considerations of policy. The figures do not argue any undue apathy on the part of the electors: in the election of 1920 the percentage of electors voting was low owing to the prevalence of non-co-operation doctrines, but in the second general election 49 per cent. of the electors recorded their votes. There is, however, little evidence of that close touch between representatives and electors which constitutes the vitality of a representative system. The election address is practically unknown; the constituency judges of the personality rather than the programme of the candidate. The representative seldom, if ever, addresses his electors or canvasses their view on any project of legislation before the council. In regard to the evidence as to the development of responsibility in the council whilst certain charges mentioned in their report can be levelled against the first council the balance of the whole of its account is not to its discredit.

In regard to administration the grave increase in crime should be attributed to economic and other causes and not to the reforms. The failure in many districts to maintain previous administrative standards is only indirectly due to the reforms. It is due to—

- (i) the loss of a large number of efficient officers by retirement on proportionate pensions whose place will not be effectively filled by junior officers for some years: and

- (ii) the loss of efficiency due to the increasing financial difficulties of officers and to the decline of enthusiasm owing to the removal of much interesting and constructive work from the hands of the District Officers to, for example, local bodies.

In both these causes the reforms must take their share.

On the transferred side the experience gained has not been sufficient to afford confirmation of any feeling that deterioration has taken place. The executive remains the same as before the reforms. The main criticism which is made against the departments administering the transferred subjects is that the Ministry of Education has subordinated the interests of its departments to the support of the communal interests of Muhammadans. It was not unreasonable that the Minister should attempt to secure definite opportunities to the community which constitutes his chief support in the council. The further progress of the tendency must, however, be watched with some care in the interests of the reforms. All communities feel that it is incumbent on them to strengthen and consolidate their own position in anticipation of the possible withdrawal of British authority. In the long run, however, nothing is so likely to produce failure in the working of representative institutions as the inopportune and inconsiderate use by one community of its voting power over others. For the moment, there is every justification for the attempt of a majority community, backward in education and political status, to raise itself to the level of its rivals. Real harm will only be done if that community passes from the constructive task of securing its position to the destructive process of denying equal opportunities to other communities:

Turning to other points the local government say that whatever feelings may be entertained in political circles in favour of the development of "provincial autonomy"—the implications of which have been so little explored or understood—few acquainted with the administrative needs of the country will contest the need for central control in all essential matters. The difficulties in this respect have been due rather to the application of the control than to the principle. So far as internal affairs are concerned it has been impossible in practice to treat the formal division of subjects between reserved and transferred as constituting clear-cut spheres of work. In the Punjab, for example, the transferred subjects of "Religious and Charitable Endowments" and "Excise" have been found to be intimately connected with the reserved subjects which are usually referred to under the comprehensive title of "Law and Order." The dyarchical scheme necessarily contains anomalies, and it cannot be contended that the Punjab offered a really suitable field for the introduction of a divided responsibility. So far Ministers willing to co-operate with the executive have been found who have been supported by a party which has not attempted to force them into an extreme position. In other circumstances the complications arising from the reaction of transferred on reserved subjects might constitute a serious danger to the administration. The main object of the present discussion is not the establishment of provincial autonomy. An impartial observer might reasonably object to the transfer of any

further subject until the limitations which must be set on the absolute autonomy of the provinces have been adequately explored. In fact the advocates of complete independence of parliamentary control have not foreseen the inevitable results in the creation in India of virtually independent and antagonistic units controlled neither by a central executive nor by a central legislature which must be shorn of its powers by the natural process under which legislative follows administrative independence. In the Punjab, indeed, judging by the attitude of the press, which is subject to Hindu control, there is so little effective demand for further transfers as to create a suspicion that there would be some gratification if the transfer of certain subjects were revoked. At least constant efforts are made to persuade the Governor to control the Ministry in order to safeguard the communal interests of the minority in the council.

The reforms were introduced in Burma two years later than in the other provinces in India. The Government of Burma have therefore reported with much less experience of the working of the constitution even than that of the Governments of the remaining provinces. They say that less than seven per cent. of the electorate voted at the only general election held, which was boycotted by the extremists. So far as the Governor in Council is aware, no member of the legislature has addressed his electors on the problems of the day, and but few have attempted to establish between themselves and their constituents that relation which exists in countries where parliamentary institutions flourish. There has been valuable training of the members of the legislature, but the electorate as a whole stands much where it did before the introduction of the reforms. The Governor in Council concludes that during the 18 months in which the reforms have been in operation hardly any difficulties have been experienced and hardly any defects discovered in the working of the constitution.

The Government of Bihar and Orissa have forwarded a summary of certain general aspects of the second general election made by the officer who supervised the arrangements for it.

He says that public meetings were almost unknown; political canvass was almost entirely the canvass of leading residents, zemindars and lawyers; election addresses were issued in some places but not broadcast; and handbills containing no argument and no explanation of the political position were the commonest form of appeal. He says one may search in vain for signs that three years of the reforms has educated the electorate to the meaning of an election and the business of a legislature. From every district the reports of the presiding officers declare that a large proportion of the voters did not know the name of the candidate for whom they voted, but had only been told the colour of his box. In the standing of the Swarajist candidates for election we have the first signs of the formation of a party system. The candidates were personally of little standing, but they had some notion of organising an ignorant electorate on party lines to vote against the government. They have, however, revealed the amazing credulity and ignorance in



the electorate which has to be overcome. The candidates have attributed to their opponents responsibility for raising the price of post-cards, salt, oil, cloth and all the other necessaries of life; they have promised to effect a millennium of no rent and no taxes; and they have exploited the superstition of the masses in regard to the colour of the voting boxes.

Turning to more general questions, the Bihar and Orissa Government include amongst the causes which have contributed to the non-success of the reforms the failure to create a Ministerial party prepared to support the Ministers in carrying out a definite programme. The constitutional structure has been borrowed from England, but the foundation essential to carry it is lacking in India. This has made the position of the reserved side particularly difficult. The council still remains divided into two parties, officials and non-officials. Where the issue is not an anti-government one, Ministers have their following in council, but they cannot bring this to bear on political issues and cannot therefore assist government in times of difficulty. Another cause is the general political inexperience of the country and the reluctance of the average Indian members to face personal opposition or unpopularity.

In conclusion the local government say there is very little that can be done to smooth the working of dyarchy or to eliminate the different administrative imperfections. If a further step is contemplated, on what grounds is it to be taken? If the object is to pacify at all costs our clamant critics the few minor remedies suggested will not influence them one jot or tittle; they will be satisfied with nothing less than the disappearance of dyarchy and the substitution thereof of provincial autonomy.

The Central Provinces Government say that the value of the experiment in responsible government during the first council was weakened, firstly, by the lack of connection between the members and their constituents; secondly, by the absence of any party organization which would have made the responsibility of Ministers to the council effective; and, thirdly, by lack of funds. The fair measure of success in the working of dyarchy which was achieved was due partly to the moderation of the council and partly to the efforts made to work the scheme by the Members of Government and the permanent services.

The basis of the reforms was the gradual training of the electorate by the exercise of responsibilities proportionate to their capacity for the time being. The political education of the electorate must be a slow and difficult process, and in the Central Provinces the education given to it during the first council was very small indeed. At the second general election Swaraj was put before the electorate as a vague millennium. The Swarajists made no attempt to explain their policy of obstruction to the bulk of the voters; and in very few of their speeches or broadsheets was the pledge to abolish dyarchy made. The local government refer to the immensity of the problem in the Central Provinces. Even in local affairs the voters with every advantage of local knowledge have not yet learnt the value of their vote and make no effort to control their representatives in matters vitally affecting their interests. For the local legislature the franchise covers about 1.1 per cent. of the total population; most

of them illiterate. A period of four years is far too short a time in which to expect the growth of political ideas in an electorate so handicapped by illiteracy and general lack of the political sense as that of the Central Provinces. The Governor in Council therefore considers it would be premature, until the electorate gives evidence of an active and intelligent use of the franchise, to make any further advance in the direction of responsible government.

8. Finally, the Assam Government say the new council contains an organized Nationalist party comprising approximately one half the elected members with a Swarajist nucleus and leader. Outside this party there was neither at the elections nor is there in the council any party organization. Many of these other members, however, are in many respects more inclined to oppose government than to support it. It is regrettable that the acceptance of office by the Ministers and the indication of a genuine attempt on their part to work the existing constitution are sufficient to alienate from them the goodwill of the council as a whole and to deprive them of the influence which they exercised as private members. The difficulty of the position is aggravated by the fact that the Swarajist party in Assam draws its inspiration from the all-India leaders who have made it clear that their object is the early establishment of Dominion Home Rule, and in face of this larger issue provincial autonomy is a minor and subsidiary proposition. One of the main causes of the present trouble is the failure to realise the anticipation of the authors of the reforms that reasonable men would conduct themselves in a reasonable manner in a spirit of compromise and co-operation. A considerable section of the council is openly hostile to the present constitution and is indisposed to consider the proposals of government on their merits. No regard is paid to the dictum of the Joint Committee that the Governor's power of restoring demands on the reserved side was intended to be real, and that its exercise should not be regarded as unusual or arbitrary. On the contrary the use of the power leads to declarations that the reforms are a sham and the powers of the council illusory. The dangers of such an agitation among an un-instructed electorate and an ignorant population are obvious.

The Governor in Council sums up the difficulty of working the constitution as due, firstly, to the existence of a section of public men, considerable enough in numbers and ability to influence the council, which is actively hostile to the present constitution and declines to work it; and, secondly, to the financial difficulties which have precluded the local government from undertaking any activities other than carrying on the essential administrative functions on pre-existing lines. The Ministers have thus no convincing answer to the cry of their opponents that the reforms have bestowed no benefits on the electors. With such an improvement in the financial position as would place the Ministers in a position to carry out schemes of public utility and thus enable them to consolidate their position with the electorate, there is a reasonable prospect, at least in Assam, that reasonable men prepared to work the constitution in a reasonable spirit would command a majority in the council and would in due course be able to justify a further substantial advance towards responsible

government. Without this, palliatives like the transfer of further subjects will have little effect in improving the situation.

In the foregoing summary of their reports we have referred to the views of the Governors in Council. In some cases these views were not shared by all the Members of Council, and the Ministers frequently did not support the views accepted by the Governors in Council. We proceed, therefore, to summarise briefly the views urged in the enclosures to the reports of the local governments by the dissenting Members of Council and Ministers who were in office at the time when the reports were made.

(a) No Member of Council in the Madras Presidency dissented from the views of that Government. Two Ministers, Sir A. P. Patro and Mr. Ramarayaningar, however, annexed memoranda to the local government's report, and the latter Minister also on a later date, forwarded a criticism of the picture given by the local government of the working of the constitution. Sir A. P. Patro states that the opposition in the council must subject all governmental measures to effective criticism. On the reserved side, however, criticism may only consist in giving advice and making recommendations, and the sense of powerlessness over the reserved subjects leads to a sense of irritation and despair. It is a tribute to the commonsense of the members that they did not make extreme or illegitimate demands on the Reserved Departments. There is now a strong determination of all parties to obtain an effective voice in the administration of the reserved subjects. The position of the Ministers has, therefore, become very serious. Are they to vote with the reserved half or are they to carry out the will of the majority of the council? On the other hand if the Ministers vote against the reserved subjects the administration of those subjects becomes very difficult. The test of political responsibility lies in the amount of assistance which the council will accord to the administration of law and order. In Madras the council fully realized its responsibility in this respect during the most critical times. So long, however, as it is a reserved subject the council will not have full confidence, and its administration becomes more difficult. The council does represent public opinion and further does a good deal to create it. The relations between the members and their constituencies in the party supporting the Ministry have been more or less closely preserved by a series of conferences. The work of the council also started on a kind of party system. The dyarchical system, however, has had the best trial in Madras, its difficulties are now known, and it is necessary that all provincial subjects should be brought under the control of the council with the reservation that in the cases of law and order and finance residuary powers to meet emergencies should be given to the Governor. A special member should also be appointed as Deputy Governor to administer central subjects.

Mr. Ramarayaningar says there is no doubt that the reformed councils are an improvement over their predecessors as they have the people behind them and are capable of doing a great deal effectively either for good or for bad. In spite of several defects in the constitution the Madras Government

farred well, and this was much to the credit of the Governor. The constitution has become complicated and difficult to work. The three years which has elapsed has given the experience expected from the ten years period, and, knowing that the transitional stage is attended with serious risks, it is no use keeping to that stage. The political consciousness of the masses has been roused, and they are prepared to run risks to gain political advantages. A return to the pre-reform position is impossible. The only course open is to go forward. All subjects must be transferred to the control of the council with the retention of residuary powers in the Governor in the cases of finance and law and order. Madras has worked the reforms fairly satisfactorily and must have its reward. It is no exaggeration to say that in every Transferred Department, Madras has been able to advance rapidly, and the advance would have been more marked, if the contribution under the Meston Award had been foregone.

The two Indian Members of the Bombay Government dissented in some respects from the views of the local government, and the Ministers have endorsed the views of the Indian Members of Council. They say it cannot be contended that even in 1929 full responsibility cannot be contemplated because in the meantime more subjects have not been transferred. When the reforms were introduced the country was divided into two main camps; one was composed of the non-co-operators, who regard the reforms as a sham, and the other, while not fully satisfied, were nevertheless prepared to work them as far as possible. The Act has not been put into practice in the spirit in which it was drafted or worked in the way in which it was intended. It can hardly be said that there has been actual and full control of the Transferred Departments by the Ministers and the council. The forming of parties under a system of dyarchy, whereby the Minister is placed under the dual control of the council and of the Governor, is impracticable. The entry of the Swarajist party prevented the formation of a Ministerial party. In the present circumstances there can be only two parties, the government party, consisting of Executive Members, the Ministers and official members, which is the party in power, and the opposition, part of which supports government when it suits its purpose to do so. No palliatives will be of any effect, and the creation of an authority to control the government in the shape of a responsible elected council can only be achieved by the grant of full responsibility in the provinces. A Royal Commission will be necessary to decide—

- (i) the relations of the provincial and central governments;
- (ii) the provision required for the protection from party politics of all the services by means of a Public Service Commission; and
- (iii) the provision required for the due security of provincial finances.

Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. A. K. Faal-ul Huq forwarded separate notes with the report of the Bengal Government. Sir Abdur Rahim states that any step of a retrograde or reactionary tendency would be in opposition to unanimous Indian opinion and gravely intensify political difficulties. Indian public opinion, as voiced by many of its influential and responsible exponents, is for the immediate grant of an entirely autonomous and responsible Government.

in the provinces and the introduction of a considerable measure of responsibility in the central government. He admits frankly that before supporting this demand he would wait until a genuine experiment has been made in responsible government for the life of two or more councils in the transferred subjects. No such experiment has yet been made, and he desires to see how far the electorate and their representatives are able to realise their responsibility when thrown on their own resources. He points out that we have also to be completely satisfied as to how far the communal groupings in India, the existence of which cannot be ignored or minimised, are, or are not, consistent with political responsibility. Critics of dyarchy who say that it is unworkable mean different things. The Swarajists apparently mean that it has not achieved the millennium. Other theorists argue that the form of government which the people were used to from time immemorial until 1921 indicates that government by a representative assembly can only lead to inefficiency and perhaps anarchy. The first council in Bengal worked creditably. The Ministers, however, latterly came in for a great deal of criticism for supporting the official view on some important administrative questions in the police and the jail departments. Even the members of the council who always found themselves in opposition to government never thought of obstruction by the wholesale rejection of the budget. The impression which prevailed among them was that the Ministers retained their office through the goodwill of the Governor, and not that the Governor would be constitutionally bound to dismiss them if they lost the confidence of the council. The entry of the Swarajist party caused the working of the council to assume a different aspect. The sole object of this party was to obstruct the government with a view to force the British Parliament to grant immediate Swaraj. The fate of this party is difficult to foretell, but we must reckon upon the possibility of there always being a party impatient of the pace by which the British Parliament may regulate the development of responsible government in India. He therefore makes detailed proposals for the establishment of a stricter form of dyarchy and says that he thinks that not even the Swarajists with all their enticing shibboleths and numerous trickeries can for long persuade the council not to make the best use of the opportunity given to it of becoming genuinely responsible for the administration of the transferred subjects. If even then the council is unable to rise to its responsibility, government can well hold with a clear conscience that the country is not yet ripe for responsible government and would be justified in seeking some other method of advance.

Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul Huq, on the other hand, is not prepared to support the suggestion that dyarchy should be worked in the form suggested by Sir Abdur Rahim. He suggests that representative institutions have been thrust upon India, although, as known in the West, they are utterly unsuitable to Indian conditions. Oriental ideas of Kingship are fundamentally different from those that prevail in the West; political conditions in India debar the possibility of any harmonious working of representative institutions; and the political atmosphere, arising from the incessant communal strifes and other causes, makes the growth of self-governing institutions an impossibility. Representative institutions in their proper form cannot be expected to flourish in India.

It has been a great mistake to force upon India a constitution unsuited to Indian conditions, and it would be a serious blunder to extend its operation unless conditions materially change. He strongly deprecates as a fatal blunder any advance by way of the transfer of more subjects. That would increase political agitation in India and encourage lawlessness and defiance of authority. The constitution should be worked for the full term of its probation.

The Indian Member of Council in the United Provinces forwarded a separate note and so did the Ministers. The Indian Member says that the system of dyarchy was in practice put to a different test by different provincial administrations. In some provinces the system of joint deliberation by the two parts of government was started but could not achieve success because of the inherent defects in the very scheme of dualism. The provinces in which the system of separation was followed fared no better, because two different systems in one government are not practical. The Ministers were required to defend the decisions of the entire government and to feel responsibility for conforming to the wishes of their constituents, and this placed them in a very precarious position. The Members of the Executive Council cannot do without the council, and some of their responsibilities are so unpleasant that no such Member can claim to enjoy the council's confidence. It must be decided whether government should shut their eyes to the present position or take up the question of removing at once any flagrant defects in the constitution. He is convinced that the Government of India Act must be amended ultimately. He suggests dyarchy should go and the government should consist of Ministers only, of whom one or two should be nominated from among the members of the Civil Service. The powers of certification and veto should be retained. Otherwise, the only safeguard he recommends is the constitution of a second chamber.

The United Provinces Ministers think that the time has come for a step forward and the handing over of a large degree of responsibility to Ministers responsible to the legislature. They refer to the difficulty of the Ministers in connection with the Reserved Departments. They say, if they vote with Government, they will be voting against their own party and may alienate the sympathy of its members. They know the uphill task it has sometimes been to persuade non-officials to agree to some proposals on the reserved side. As safeguards to provincial autonomy they suggest that the landlords should be given increased representation in the landlord constituencies or that there should be a second chamber. If it is considered impossible to amend the Act on the lines which they recommend, they would eliminate the evil of dyarchy by transferring as many more subjects as possible.

In the Punjab separate notes were forwarded by the Indian Member of Council and by the Ministers. They suggest the transfer of more subjects, but the general considerations, which we are now summarising, are on the whole absent from their notes.

The Burma Ministers also annex a separate note to the Burma Government's letter. The note contains but few general observations. We observe, however, that they definitely recommend, on the ground that Burma is not

India, the transfer of all central subjects, except Imperial defence and foreign relations, to the Ministers and also the transfer of all provincial reserved subjects.

The Indian Member of the Executive Council and the two Ministers of Bihar and Orissá also forward separate notes. Mr. Sinha states that the inherent defects of dyarchy are patent. The system is too complex and complicated and is unwarranted by political experience. Educated Indians contend that they understand benevolent despotism but cannot appreciate the dyarchic hybrid. Professor Lowell points out that "the foundation of government is faith, not reason." If this be true of European states it can be predicated with even greater certainty of Asiatic countries and their governments. It may be that the full political paraphernalia of a constitutional governor and a responsible minister must wait the revision of the constitution in 1929. He accordingly agrees with the Honourable Ministers that all departments of the provincial government, other than those relating to the political and the judicial departments, should be transferred. He desires this change not with the object of pacifying or placating the avowed opponents of the present system. For, in Bihar and Orissa, these opponents are a mere handful compared with the less vociferous "sturdy, loyal people." Dyarchy has failed to evoke that faith which is the foundation of government. His recommendations for transfers are intended to avoid too rapid changes and to avert the chances of prospective insecurity. He defers to the views of his Government, however, that the transfer of all these subjects would be found so unworkable as to produce a deadlock in a year's time, and he therefore comes to the conclusion that the present constitution should be superseded by complete provincial autonomy which alone seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

The Bihar and Orissa Ministers say that the anomalous character of the present system is patent. The splitting of the component parts of the administration, apart from its difficulty, has raised a grave suspicion in the minds of the people that the British Parliament has no trust or confidence in the people in the administration of all provincial subjects. The remedy for the inherent defects in the constitution lies in changing the whole constitution. Nothing short of complete provincial autonomy will satisfy the people, but, if this is outside the scope of the enquiry, fresh rules should be made for the reclassification of subjects, and, if a much larger number be transferred, the majority of the people will be satisfied.

The Indian Member of Council in the Central Provinces also forwards a note of dissent. He classifies the heads to be considered under seven heads in all. The first three relate to the electorate. As regards this he admits that it is small and the electors mainly illiterate, but the latter fact does not necessarily connote want of interest in, or appreciation of, political issues. He believes that the electors grasped the view at the last general election that the Swarajists were fighting a battle in their interests, and, considering how recent has been the awakening of political consciousness, he thinks this appreciation of the candidates believed to be working in their interests by the

electors is a fact of great value. The remaining four heads are more important. They relate to the members of the council. They were distrustful in the first council of government motives and policy on the reserved side, but the position would have been better if they had been given responsibility for all subjects, in which case the extremist section would not have followed a policy of obstruction. The absence of a party system was natural; the concentration of effort was for a continuous battle against government; and the first elections being what they were neither the electorate nor the representatives felt any necessity of holding to account or being accountable. One thing is clear, dyarchy neither had nor can have a fair trial. Full provincial autonomy might be attended by some risks but it would be a right step for deciding whether parliamentary forms can be properly worked in the interests of the people at large. Even now safeguards can be introduced by the retention of larger powers to the Governors. All provincial subjects should be now transferred.

Of the two Ministers in Assam Mr. F. C. Datta thinks that in the present temper of the people nothing short of full responsible government in the provinces or at least a sure prospect of its early attainment will placate them. If this line of advance is not within the scope of the enquiry the preamble to the Government of India Act should be altered so as to declare that India will get responsible government within a definite period subject to such reservations as may be found absolutely essential. If Parliament is unwilling to commit itself to this, the only alternative is to revert to a Council form of Government with such modifications as may be necessary to conform to the declaration of 1917. The position of Ministers is unenviable. All the fury of the new party is directed against them. Whether dyarchy is to be retained or abolished is a question which has to be decided for all the provinces together. A reversion to the Council form of government would be a pretext for inveighing against Parliament, but this will not make the position worse, and deadlocks will be avoided.

Syed Muhammad Saadulla says that the position of Ministers under the constitution is one of great delicacy and difficulty. They are under two cross-fires and must please both the Governor and the council. So long as the constitution remains a dual one, it will encounter vigorous criticism. Any advance in the present constitution should be on the lines that there should be only one government, that is, the Governor and Ministers alone. It could be provided, however, that one of the Ministers should be a government officer to be elected or selected from the officials in the council. To work the present system Ministers should be given more authority and more power. To the Indian mind the word Minister connotes patronage and autocratic power. The Ministers should therefore be empowered to make all appointments in the subordinate services and the provincial service should be filled on his recommendation by the Governor, irrespective of the choice of the Head of the Department. This will visualise his power to the public at large. In India as everywhere else money marks the man, and the Ministers must therefore be given the same pay and status as the other Members of Government.



## APPENDIX IV.

### Summary of the conclusions of the Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The majority section recommends that by practice the Secretary of State's control should be relaxed on matters affecting purely Indian interests. The minority does not build up much hope on such a convention. The majority recommend that (1) high officials mentioned in sub-section (1) of section 110 of the Government of India Act should be exempt from the jurisdiction of all Courts, and not merely as at present from the original jurisdiction of High Courts; (2) that Courts should be barred from premature interference with Presidents of the Legislatures; (3) that the Presidents, Deputy Presidents and Council Secretaries should not be required to vacate their seats on accepting their office; (4) that the powers of the Governor General in Council to secure by declaration that the development of a particular industry shall be a Central subject should be modified so as to relax the existing restriction and allow the power to be exercised with the concurrence of the local Government or Governments concerned; (5) that the existing disqualification for Membership of the Legislatures because of conviction by a Criminal Court should be modified by increasing the period of sentence constituting such disqualification from six months to a year, and, subject to provisions to secure uniform action, by enabling its removal to take effect through the orders of the local Government, instead of only by pardon; (6) members of all legislatures should be exempted from serving as jurors or as assessors and from arrest and imprisonment for civil cases during the legislative session and for a period of a week before or after the session; (7) that the corrupt influencing of votes within any legislature by bribery, intimidation and the like should be made a penal offence.

The minority express no objection to the above recommendations.

The majority recommend the constitution of two Standing Committees of the Indian Legislature on Bills affecting Hindu and Muhammedan law respectively; the minority hold that the question has not been fully examined; and that existing safeguards are sufficient against hasty legislation.

The majority recommend that women should be allowed election or nomination as members of a Legislature provided the Legislature concerned passes a resolution approving of such a step. The minority favours the removal of all restriction of rules against women being enfranchised and elected to Legislatures. The majority recommend that there should be the power of nominating both official and non-official experts on Bills; and that there should be special representation for factory labour in the Assembly, if possible by election.

Dealing with the provincial Governments the majority, with the general concurrence of the minority recommend (1) that joint deliberation between the two halves of the Executive on important questions should be definitely enjoined by a rule in the Devolution Rules; (2) that the Devolution Rules and the Instrument of Instructions should be modified to lay down joint responsibility of the Ministry. This purpose the minority suggest should be achieved by amending the Act. (3) The Ministers' salaries should be fixed by Statute at a minimum of three-fifths of the salary of an Executive Councillor; otherwise the salary may be varied by an Act of the local Legislature. The majority point out in this connection that it was never intended that there should be no Ministers. They recommend that motions for nominal reduction of salary during voting on demands, and motions of no confidence should be allowed to enable responsibility of the Ministers to Council being enforced. (4) The control of the Governor over the Ministers should be more expressly indicated by amending the Instrument of Instructions so that, subject to the power of interference to prevent unfair discrimination between classes and interests and to protect minorities and to safeguard his own responsibility for reserved subjects and members of the Services, the Governor should not dissent from the opinion of his Ministers. (5) Council Secretaries should get a reasonable salary to be fixed by the Legislature. Their appointment should be recommended by the Minister to the Governor and they should vacate their office with the Ministers. (6) The word "may" in clause (ii) of rule (2) of the transferred subjects Temporary Administration Rules should be changed to "shall." (7) The rules of executive business should be changed enabling a Member or a Minister to recommend to the Governor that the subject be considered before a joint Cabinet or before the side of the Government concerned; that a Secretary or other officer with a right of direct access to the Governor should inform the Minister of every case in which he differs from him and in which he proposes to refer to the Governor. In this respect the minority section object to the right of direct access to the Governor being enjoyed by the Secretary or other permanent official in the case of transferred departments.

The majority recommend the transfer of Forests, unless the local Governments can make out a convincing case against the proposal; the transfer of Fisheries and Excise in Assam; the transfer of Boilers, Gas and Housing of Labour; provided that Boilers and the Housing of Labour remain subject to Central legislation. They further recommend the transfer of Land Acquisition, of Provincial Law Reports, and Provincial Government Presses should be considered. As regards Stores and Stationery, they suggest the removal of the power of the Secretary of State for framing rules in respect of imported Stores and Stationery. It is stated in the minority Report that on the assumption that the principle of dyarchy must be maintained, Mr. Jinnah proposed to transfer all subjects except Law and Order, subject to such adjustments and further definition of Central and Provincial subjects as might be determined. With this opinion Dr. Paranjpai agreed. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer also agreed with the limitation, but he was not prepared to endorse

the suggestion for the adjustment and definition for the Central Provincial subjects without further examination of details. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru did not object to the transfer of any subject, but consistently with the views he holds on the practical difficulties of working dyarchy, he was not prepared to recommend the transfer of any subject.

The majority recommended the re-arrangement on a more logical basis of the list of subjects annexed to the Devolution Rules. They recommended that the existing stringency of control over provincial legislation should be modified. They recommend that the provision making University legislation and the Calcutta University subjects of Indian Legislation should be deleted. They also desire that it should be made clear that the Governor may return a Bill passed by one Legislative Council for reconsideration by a new Council in whole or in part; and that the Legislative Council Rules should be amended to secure that motions may not be moved for the omission of the whole grant when demand is made for a grant.

The majority recommend that the six months' residential qualification should not be required for European seats; while the minority are opposed altogether to the retention of the residential qualification. The majority further recommend the representation of the Depressed classes and Factory Labour in local Councils, if possible by election but oppose any widening of the general franchise. On the other hand, the minority favour a lowering of the franchise which would give the Depressed and Working classes opportunity of entering the Legislatures through the general electorate.

The majority recommend the revision of the Meston settlement as soon as a favourable opportunity occurs; while the minority consider that a revision had better take place along with the general revision of the Constitution. The majority recommend (1) that the Finance Member should not be in charge of any of the main spending departments, (2) that Ministers should be allowed to have Financial Advisers; (3) that the Devolution Rules should definitely provide that any revenues that may become available during the course of the year should be distributed between the reserved and the transferred departments; (4) that members and Ministers should be given enhanced powers of re-appropriation; (5) that provincial balances, if feasible should be separated from Central balances and audit from accounts; (6) that the existing provision regarding borrowing power should be extended to include, for example expenditure on the financing of industries by private persons.

The majority Report recommends that any action necessary for the protection of the Public Services in the exercise of their functions, of the enjoyments of their rights and privileges should be taken; that control of the Services in the transferred field should be vested in a Public Service Commission; that the rules for recruitment should provide with due regard to efficiency, that all communities should receive representation in the Public Services, if it can be obtained from among persons who have passed the prescribed efficiency bar. The minority recommend that the control of the Public Services Commission be vested in the Government of India. The minority oppose in principle the official block in the Councils; consider the

abolition of communal representation at present impossible; oppose the nomination of members except for specific minorities; urge the formulation of a definite scheme of Indianisation of the Army; and propose the limitation of the certification powers of the Governor General by the omission of the words "or interests" from section 67 B.

## APPENDIX V.

### Statement by His Excellency the Governor General of the reasons which moved him to promulgate the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924.

1. It is a matter of common knowledge that a revolutionary conspiracy existed during the years 1912-1917, which has left the most poignant memories of the misery and terror it created throughout Bengal. All other methods of dealing with this conspiracy having been tried without avail, it was not suppressed until its leaders were confined under the provisions of Regulation III of 1918, and many of its subordinate members dealt with under the Defence of India Act. After the Royal Proclamation of 1919, most of these persons were released. Many forsook their connection with revolutionary crime and have not since returned to it. To the remainder, who have since showed themselves to be irreconcilable, the amnesty was, after the institution of the reformed system of Government, gradually extended, in the hope that under a new political era they would recognise the duties and the advantages of good citizenship. This hope has not been realised. The majority of these still retained their faith in the efficacy of violence and assassination as political weapons. They speedily returned to their old methods and reorganised their old associations, taking care only to avoid the mistakes to which they attributed their previous failure. During the years 1920 to 1922 they carried on their activities under the cloak of the political movements then in progress, recruiting their followers and perfecting their organisation with a view to future action when opportunity offered.

2. Towards the end of 1922 the leaders of these conspiracies, believing that their objects would not be attained by the methods of the non-co-operation movement, decided to revert to methods of violence. The two main terrorist organisations had now been reconstituted; new members in large numbers were recruited; arms and ammunition, partly of a kind which cannot be obtained in India, and must therefore have been smuggled from abroad, were collected; a new and highly dangerous type of bomb was manufactured; and projects of assassination against certain police officers and other persons were devised. The movements of these officers and their residences were watched and those who watched, being themselves placed under observation, were traced to places known to be haunts of the conspirators.

3. During the year 1923, a series of outrages was perpetrated, including a dacoity with double murder at Kona near Howrah and the looting of the Ultadingi Post Office in May, a robbery with murder in July, the Sankaritolla murder and others which I need not specify. In January of the present year

Mr. Day was murdered in Calcutta and an attempt was made to murder Mr. Bruce in April, in both cases as it appears, in mistake for a prominent and distinguished police official. In March a bomb factory was discovered, and other activities directed to the manufacture of bombs and the illicit collection of arms were detected. It is known that other crimes were planned and that projects of assassination continued and still continue to be devised. I say nothing of other deplorable events which are now under judicial investigation. Evidence has been placed before me which shows to my satisfaction that the movement is deep-seated and dangerous. It is impossible for obvious reasons to divulge much of the information available to Government but it confirms in every respect the view I have been forced to accept.

4. Though the situation during 1923 was grave, I was reluctant to invoke the powers conferred upon me by the Government of India Act, until I was fully persuaded that all other means for dealing with the emergency had been exhausted. My Government accordingly authorised the confinement of certain leaders of the criminal associations under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. The movement was temporarily checked, but new leaders were found and operations were resumed, as is apparent from the dark record of crime in the present year. I have therefore come to the conclusion, after the fullest consultation with the local Government, that it is necessary to arm the Government of Bengal with special powers to deal with preparations for crime, with the object of protecting not only the officers of Government, whose lives are threatened, but equally private citizens, who have frequently been the innocent sufferers from such outrages, and the misguided youths who are its tools and often themselves its victims. I am convinced that preparations and plans for criminal outrages are now so dangerously developed that it is necessary to provide immediate safeguards by an Ordinance. Permanent measures to remedy the situation will in due course be presented by the local Government.

5. The Ordinance is directed solely to these ends and will in no way touch or affect the interests or liberties of any citizens, whether engaged in private or public affairs, so long as they do not connect themselves with violent criminal methods. The fundamental duty of Government is to preserve public security on which political advance and all the functions of a civilised social organism depend. And, as it is manifest that sound and permanent political progress cannot be accelerated by violence or threat of violence, so also I deem it my duty and the duty of my Government to see that no violence or threat of violence shall operate to retard it. I and my Government will therefore proceed as we are doing along the line of political development laid down in the declared policy of Parliament reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government. Acting with these objects and these intentions, I believe myself and my Government to be entitled to the support and co-operation of all those who have truly at heart the peace, the prosperity and the political future of India.

READING,

Viceroy and Governor General.

## APPENDIX VI.

### GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

#### POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

### Resolution No. 10850-P.—The 25th October 1924.

The Governor in Council desires to take the earliest opportunity of explaining, as far as is possible at the present stage, the reasons which have led him to ask the Governor-General to promulgate an Ordinance to supplement the ordinary criminal law in Bengal.

It is a matter of common knowledge that a revolutionary conspiracy existed during the years 1908 to 1917. The revolutionaries themselves no longer attempt to conceal the fact and have described the movement in books and in articles in the public Press. The object of that conspiracy was to overturn by violent means the Government established by law in India. The leaders sought to achieve this object by the spread of revolutionary ideas and the collection of arms, with a view to rising in rebellion when the time was ripe. The means adopted were the preaching of race hatred and of revolution as a religious duty and the organization of disciplined secret societies. Funds for this purpose were obtained by robberies with violence, and immunity for the criminals was sought by intimidation. Everyone who hampered the movement or contributed to the punishment of the criminals was threatened with assassination, many Government officials were actually murdered and a reign of terror was gradually established in Bengal. All ordinary methods of dealing with crime failed to check the movement; the leaders have freely boasted, in the books they have since written, of the powerlessness of Government to deal with their conspiracy by means of the ordinary law and Bengal was only rescued in the end from the tyranny of this band of murderers by the use of Regulation III of 1918 and the powers which the Government obtained under the Defence of India Act. The conspiracy was effectively crushed by these means and, if the powers had been retained by Government, it could never have been revived.

After the Royal Proclamation of 1919, all persons who were still interned were released. Many of those who were dealt with under the Defence of India Act subsequently abandoned the idea of violent revolution. The amnesty was gradually extended to the comparatively small group of irreconcilables, the leaders of the movement, who had been detained in jail. It was hoped that the opportunities for political advance offered by the Reforms would change their attitude towards Government, but these hopes have not been realised. These men still believe that none but violent means can accomplish their object, and they are convinced that the fact that any concession was made at all was solely due to fear caused by their terrorist movement. As soon as they were released they began to reorganise their societies and to work secretly on the old lines, though they took advantage of the experience which they had gained to avoid the mistakes to which they attributed their previous

failure. Two facts may be noticed at this point. The first is that the revival of the terrorist conspiracy was encouraged by the belief that Government could no longer deal with it effectively. The second is that though from the very nature of the conspiracy with which they are confronted, the Government are unable to take the public as fully into their confidence as they would wish regarding its existence and its intentions, since secret organisations which employ the weapons of assassination and terrorism have necessarily to be dealt with by secret methods, yet they have throughout had information, which has been tested and proved reliable, of the movements and activities of the leaders of the terrorist party and are now satisfied that it would be highly dangerous to allow the movement to remain unchecked any longer.

The terrorist leaders who had constantly preached violence as the only road to independence naturally had no faith in non-violent non-co-operation. They realised, however, that the policy of non-violence had been generally accepted and during the years 1920 and 1921 they were content to stand by and watch events, whilst using any form of organisation in order to extend their influence with a view to future action. Later, endeavours were made to organise *acrams* on lines similar to those which played so important a part in former movements. Leading members of the two main organisations have been very active in propaganda work and in recruiting new members, particularly from the student class. Every cause of unrest was exploited and every centre of agitation utilised for the dissemination of terrorism and the capture of new recruits. Recent events at Tarakeswar, which attracted from all parts of Bengal impressionable youths in a high state of excitement, afford the latest example of how an agitation wholly unconnected with the terrorist movement was utilised by the leaders of that movement to swell their numbers.

The conspirators are also known to have manufactured a new and highly dangerous type of bomb and to have secured considerable quantities of arms and ammunition. These weapons have been used in some of the outrages which have occurred during the past two years, and it is significant that the ammunition used on several occasions was of a foreign make which cannot be obtained lawfully in India.

The events of the last two years may be dealt with in greater detail. In May 1923 one section of the terrorist party, which had recently been conspiring to assassinate police officers, especially Mr. Tegart, who had recently returned to India as Commissioner of Police, embarked upon a campaign of dacoity and murder, partly in order to secure funds but partly also in order to accustom their men to violent action and to terrorise any who might be inclined to oppose them. They first committed a dacoity with double murder at Kona near Howrah; in the same month the Ultadingi post office was looted. The same gang committed the robbery with murder at Garpar Road on the 30th July in which firearms were again used. The murder of the Sankaritola postmaster followed. The investigations into this case resulted in full corroboration of the information already in the possession of Government and proved conclusively that these outrages were all the work of a particular group of the party.



Seven members of this group were put on trial in the Alipore Conspiracy case, but many of the facts in the possession of Government could not be placed before the Court and they were eventually acquitted. Some of the accused who had not previously admitted their guilt stated subsequently that they had taken part in these outrages and that the immediate object of the conspiracy was the assassination of police officers—a conspiracy which was continued even whilst they were in jail as under-trial prisoners.

The situation after these outrages had been committed was serious. The lives of the officers of Government were in imminent danger and it was clear that, unless immediate action was taken, terrorism and crime would spread and Bengal would be again exposed to the dangers and horrors of the previous outbreak of violent revolutionary crime. Several of the chief leaders were accordingly incarcerated under Regulation III of 1818. This action came as a surprise and checked the movement for the time being, but not for long. New leaders were found and operations were resumed. In December a robbery of Rs. 17,000, the property of the Assam-Bengal Railway, was committed at Chittagong by four *bhadralok* youths armed with revolvers. Subsequent police investigations showed that certain *bhadralok* youths were hiding in suspicious circumstances in a house in a village at some distance from Chittagong. The search of this house ten days after the robbery led to the discovery of a number of weapons and ammunition which included cartridges of the foreign type mentioned above. The attempt to arrest the occupants of the house led to a running fight between them and a body of police and villagers and to the arrest of two youths with firearms in their possession. An attempt was made to decoy from his house one of the chief witnesses in the robbery case with the obvious intention of murdering him; and on the next evening a Sub-Inspector who had arrested one of the accused in this case and knew the other members of the gang by sight was shot at Chittagong.

It has been mentioned above that the assassination of certain police officers had long been contemplated by the terrorist party and that some of the persons who were acquitted in the Alipore conspiracy case stated that this was the immediate object of the conspiracy. In the early part of 1923 persons were found to be watching the movements of these officers and their residences. These watchers were themselves placed under observation and traced to places which were known to be haunts of the conspirators.

In January 1924 Mr. Day was murdered in Calcutta by Gopi Mohan Saha in mistake for Mr. Tegart, and in April Mr. Bruce was fired at in Harrison Road in circumstances which suggest that this was a similar case of mistaken identity. The ammunition used in the murder of Mr. Day and in the Chittagong murder was also of the foreign type already referred to.

In March a bomb factory was discovered in Calcutta fully equipped with explosives and implements for loading and fitting bomb-shells, of which a number, both loaded and unloaded, were found. This discovery showed not only the existence of an efficient organisation but also a high degree of scientific knowledge, since the bombs used marked a distinct advance on anything which had previously come to light, being modelled on the Mills bomb and loaded with ammonium picrate. Police investigation into this case led to the discovery of

one of the Mauser pistols stolen from Messrs. Rodda & Co. in 1914 and also a revolver and ammunition. About the same time a young *bhadralok* was severely injured whilst handling explosives at Faridpur. In May three youths were seen to reconnoitre a building occupied by police officers in circumstances which pointed strongly to an intention to throw a bomb. In July a well-known member of the party was arrested in the streets of Calcutta with a fully loaded revolver in his possession, for which offence he was convicted by the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

At the end of July the public were startled by the appearance of the "Red Bengal" leaflets, the first issue of which announced the initiation of a campaign of assassination of police officers, and warned the public that any one interfering would meet the same fate. The second issue, which appeared shortly afterwards, impressed on the political leaders of Bengal the necessity for the existence of an active violence party and indicated that this party had come to stay. Government are now in a position definitely to state that these leaflets were printed in Calcutta and were issued by a certain section of this party of violence. Terrorist literature of this type, so familiar in the campaign of 1914-18, exercises a most baneful effect on the minds of the student community, while the publication and wide distribution to carefully selected persons simultaneously throughout the province is indicative by itself of the existence of a widespread organisation behind it. Among a large number of persons to whom the leaflets were sent were a Magistrate who held the identification parade in the Alipore conspiracy case, a witness in the case against Gopi Mohan Saha, and the Judge who tried and the Standing Counsel who prosecuted in the bomb case.

On the night of the 22nd of August a bomb of the same type as those referred to above was hurled into a *khaddar* shop at 25, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta. The bomb exploded and killed on the spot one man in the shop and severely wounded another. The third occupant of the shop, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, who was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 in connection with the revolutionary campaign of 1914-18, jumped out of the shop in pursuit of an individual who, he stated, actually threw the bomb. This man, Basanta Kumar Dhenki, was captured. Another arrest was also made on the spot at the time of a youth named Santi Lal Chakrabarti. They were both placed on their trial at the last High Court Sessions. Santi Lal was unanimously acquitted by the verdict of the jury and was discharged. Basanta Kumar Dhenki, who was found not guilty by a divided verdict of 7 to 2 and 8 to 1 on two different charges, was remanded in custody for re-trial by the presiding Judge, who disagreed with the verdict of the jury. Santi Lal was released from the Sessions Court on the 29th of September. His dead body was found shockingly mutilated between Dum Dum and Belgharia on the early morning of the 3rd October.

The above is a very brief outline of the outward manifestation of the existence of a violent conspiracy as disclosed by overt acts which are already public property, but apart from these specific cases, Government are in possession of information, which has come from various sources and from different parts of the province, which shows that during the course of the current year

the conspirators have, in addition, attempted to assassinate police officers, high Government officials, and members of their own organisations whom they suspect of giving information to the authorities. No less than five such attempts are known to have been made during and subsequent to July last. The fact that the intended victims escaped death at the hands of miscreants, who set forth armed with bombs and pistols to murder them, can only be attributed to Providence. In some cases the assassins suspected police vigilance, in others they were thwarted by the unexpected movements of their intended victims. It is impossible, in view of the confidential nature of this information, to make public precise details of these particular plots, but the information regarding them is being continually confirmed by subsequent events and from other sources.

A brief reference may here be made to the campaign in the Press and on public platforms, which has proved so effective an agency in assisting the party to perfect their organisation and increase their numbers. This campaign started in 1922 and has grown in intensity. The eulogy of old revolutionaries, the idealising of youths who committed murders and other crimes, and the publication of their biographies, have all been resorted to with the obvious intention of inciting the youth of Bengal to follow their example. Articles still appear daily in the Indian Press fomenting racial hatred and verging as near to incitements to violence as the law admits.

As the foregoing facts show, the situation has become increasingly serious during the past two years. In June last the terrorist campaign was given a great impetus by the resolution of the Bengal Provincial Conference which expressed admiration for the spirit of self-sacrifice exhibited by Gopi Mohan Saha. The effects of the resolution were electrical; it is by far the most potent recruiting instrument which has ever been placed in the hands of the organisers of violent crime and has been a continual incitement to the youth of Bengal to take to violent ways.

At present then there is in Bengal a large criminal association secretly organised and equipped for a campaign, the immediate object of which is to paralyse Government by the assassination of their officers. The existence of this association is now admitted in all quarters and its magnitude was strikingly emphasised by Mr. C. R. Das in a recent interview with the Press. It is daily increasing in strength and, as in the years before 1915, ordinary measures have failed to check it. The situation has become so serious that the Governor in Council is forced to ask that he may be armed with the extraordinary powers which will alone enable him to deal with it effectively. He has therefore decided to summon the Legislative Council without delay to consider measures of legislation which will be placed before it to that end. This legislation will follow the lines of the Defence of India Act and Rules which proved effective in crushing the conspiracy of 1914-18 which had the same aims, the same methods, and largely the same leaders as the conspiracy of to-day. It was the unanimous opinion of all who examined the question that it is impossible to deal with terrorist crime under the ordinary law or through the ordinary Courts, and that the powers given by the Defence of India Act and Rules

proved an effective weapon, whilst no other powers have ever been suggested as really effective. Regulation III of 1818 is not well adapted to deal with the situation; it can be used to deal with irreconcilable leaders, but is unnecessarily harsh for dealing with the rank and file of the conspiracy, among whom are men who may become leaders, potential assassins and recruits, who must be dealt with if the movement is to be checked but can be dealt with by the milder method of internment. Had Government possessed those powers earlier, they would have used them against the murderers of the Sankaritola postmaster and Mr. Day, both of whom were known before the murders were committed as recent recruits of the conspiracy, and would thus not only have averted the outrages, but prevented these youths from becoming active criminals. The legislation will further provide for a special procedure for trying persons accused of violent crime. Terrorism of witnesses and juries, failure of juries through fear to return verdicts in accordance with the evidence, the murder of witnesses and persons who have confessed or turned King's evidence, the fear of witnesses to disclose facts within their knowledge—all combine to render justice unobtainable under the existing law. These have already operated in more than one recent case.

The legislation will not give Government any extraordinary powers to deal with sedition, with industrial movements or with communal disturbances, even though they may menace the maintenance of order; cases of this kind will be left to the ordinary Courts. It is aimed solely at the secret criminal conspiracy, which has terrorism as its object or method. The Governor in Council is convinced that the large majority of the members view terrorist conspiracy with the same abhorrence as he himself. The necessity for dealing with this terrorist movement swiftly and effectively, so as to ensure the arrest of the most dangerous conspirators without giving them warning which would enable them to carry on and direct the conspiracy whilst in hiding, has compelled the Governor in Council to ask the Governor-General to promulgate an Ordinance on the lines which the Bill will follow.

The Governor in Council regrets that he has been forced by circumstances to have recourse to these extraordinary measures, which are repugnant to him, but in the situation with which he was confronted he had no alternative. All political parties in India have condemned violence as a means of political advance and Government look to every true well-wisher of his country to support them in every measure necessary to suppress anarchy and terrorism. The evils attendant on the former conspiracy, the misery that was caused uselessly, the contamination of youth that resulted, are fresh in their memory, and Government feel assured that the people of Bengal can regard with nothing but horror the possibility of a recurrence of similar calamities.

By order of the Governor in Council,

A. N. MOBERLY,  
*Chief Secretary*  
 to the Government of Bengal.

*The 25th October 1924.*

## APPENDIX VII.

### Sir Basil Blackett's statement of the Debt position.

I devoted a considerable portion of my last year's speech to an analysis of our Public Debt and a sketch of a programme for systematising our provision for Reduction and Avoidance of Debt. As the subject of our Public Debt was discussed at considerable length in this House on February the 17th, there is no need to-day to repeat at length the statement which I then made to the House. It will, however, be convenient I think to include in this speech some of the more important figures. They show some slight variations from the figures previously given being based in certain cases on later information.

*Statement showing the Debt of India outstanding on the 31st March 1914, the 31st March 1924 and the 31st March 1925.*

(Figures in crores of rupees.)

	31st March 1914.	31st March 1924.	31st March 1925.
<b>In India :</b>			
Loans . . . . .	145-69	358-81	370-18
Treasury Bills in the hands of the public.	..	2-12	..
Treasury Bills in the Paper Currency Reserve.	..	49-65	49-65
<b>Other obligations—</b>			
Post Office Savings Banks . .	23-17	24-79	25-92
Cash Certificates . . . . .	..	8-42	13-02
Provident Funds, etc. . . . .	10-93	39-20	43-16
Total Loans, etc.	145-69	410-58	419-23
Total other obligations . . . .	34-10	72-41	82-10
Total in India . . . . .	179-79	482-99	501-93
<b>In England (at Rs. 15 to the £):</b>			
Loans . . . . .	265-60	386-80	385-33
War Contribution . . . . .	..	25-90	28-0
Capital value of liabilities undergoing redemption by way of terminable railway annuities.	105-90 (=£70,600,893)	90-14 (=£60,095,487)	88-25 (=£58,836,487)
Total in England . . . . .	371-50	485-84	511-78
Total Debt . . . . .	551-29	968-83	1,013-71

The above figures include the debt due by the Provincial Governments to the Government of India amounting to 97.56 crores on the 31st March 1924 and 106.95 crores on the 31st March 1925. The productive debt was 673.59 crores on the 31st March 1924 and will be 725.15 crores on the 31st March 1925. The unproductive debt was 295.24 crores on the 31st March 1924 and will be 288.56 crores on the 31st March 1925. Exclusive of Provincial Governments' debt, which may also be regarded as almost entirely productive, the increase in the productive debt during the current financial year amounts to 42.17 crores. It is almost entirely accounted for by capital expenditure on Railway development and includes not only the new capital expended during the year, but also the amount of £18½ millions of the East Indian Railway Company's debentures taken over by the Government of India on the termination of the Company's contract. This latter figure, while it represents an addition to the direct obligations of the Government, does not of course represent any addition to the indebtedness of India as a whole, being merely a transfer from the Railway Company to the Government of the liability to meet the same interest charge out of the earnings of the same Railway. Unproductive debt decreased during 1924-25 by 6.68 crores, but the real decrease was larger since to the extent of 1½ crores the nominal total of the debt has been increased by the conversion of 7 per cent. Government of India sterling loan into 3 per cent. stock, a conversion which, while doubling the nominal amount, has the effect of reducing the interest charge on the nominal total from 7 per cent. to 3 per cent. and represents an annual saving in interest.

Our internal debt (again excluding Provincial Governments' debts to the Government of India) on the 31st March 1924 was 885.43 crores and on the 31st March 1925 will be 394.98 crores. Our external debt was 485.84 crores on the 31st March 1924 and 511.78 crores on the 31st March 1925. (For the purposes of calculation of our external debt I convert sterling at Rs. 15 to the £ in order to facilitate comparison with previous years. I may, however, add that at the present rate of exchange of 18d. the external debt amounts only to 454.92 crores). The increase in our external debt is, however, purely nominal and the explanation of it is the same as that already given in another connection, namely, that the later figure includes 27.75 crores or £18½ millions of East Indian Railway Company's debentures which are not really an increase in the debt of India at all, while a further 1½ crores represent the increase due to conversion of the 7 per cent. loan into 3 per cent. stock. Apart from these nominal changes, we have reduced our external debt during 1924-25 by nearly £2½ millions.

The method which I outlined last year for the regularisation of the provision for the reduction or avoidance of debt has been adopted substantially in the form then proposed in the scheme recently announced by the Government of India. The scheme is fully explained in the Government of India Resolution dated the 9th December 1924. Under that scheme, for a period of five years in the first instance, the annual provision for reduc-

Provision for Reduction or Avoidance of Debt.

tion or avoidance of debt to be charged against annual revenues is fixed at 4 crores a year plus  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the excess of the debt outstanding at the end of each year over that outstanding on the 31st March 1923. The provision required under this arrangement for 1925-26 is 4.78 crores, the increase being due partly to the considerable addition to our Permanent Debt as a Government involved in the taking over of £18½ millions of the debenture stock of the East Indian Railway. When it is remembered that the gross amount of the debt owed by the Government of India to its various creditors exceeds 1,000 crores of rupees, a provision of 4.78 crores cannot be regarded as other than modest, amounting as it does to less than half of 1 per cent. of the gross amount. This figure of 4.78 crores compares with the provision of 4.52 crores in the original estimates for 1923-24 which was not based on any regular programme but represented the aggregate amount of the specific sinking funds then in operation for specific loans. There is a further item which appears under the same head for 1924-25 and for 1925-26, namely, the equivalent of the amount of Customs duty on capital stores imported for State-managed Railway lines. Such Customs duty represents an addition to our revenue arrived at by an addition to our Capital expenditure and as explained in my Budget speech last year we have earmarked it as a special contribution from Revenue to Capital.

In view of the debate which took place on this subject a fortnight ago I need not enlarge again on the importance of a regular and systematised provision being made in our annual Budget for reduction or avoidance of debt. The most extravagant thing a Government with large commitments and a big programme of new borrowing can do is to provide an insufficient sinking fund. Any apparent saving that may be effected in the Budget for one year by a reduction of the amount provided will be more than offset in the next year or two by the additional interest that will have to be paid on new loans including conversions. We have a large volume of short-term bonds maturing during the next decade, and arrangements have to be made for re-borrowing the amounts which fall due. We have also a heavy programme of new capital expenditure which we have to finance mainly out of borrowed funds. It is essential that we should maintain our credit both internally and externally unimpaired, if we are to carry through successfully the business of renewing maturing debt and raising the new capital which we require. Our provision for reduction or avoidance of debt assists us in this task in two ways, for it not only reduces the amount that we have to borrow, but it also gives confidence to our creditors and to those whom we may want to induce to become our creditors in the security which we have to offer them, and thereby serves to keep down the rate of interest on our new borrowings. Nor must the value of such a provision as an emergency reserve be overlooked. I have received evidence from many quarters to the effect that the regularisation of our provision for reduction or avoidance of debt has greatly strengthened the confidence of investors both inside and outside India in the soundness of India's financial position and methods, and in the desirability of her Government loans as investments for their savings.

*Provincial Loans Fund.*

Before I pass to the figures for the year 1925-26, let me mention one further innovation in our Public Debt policy which, though not at the moment ripe for introduction, is so far advanced that I have every hope of its introduction as from the beginning of the new financial year. I refer to the proposal for the establishment of a Provincial Loans Fund which has already been twice discussed at the conferences of Finance Members held in Delhi in November 1923 and November 1924. The purpose of this proposal is to systematise the arrangements by which advances are made by the Central Government to Provincial Governments. A central Fund is to be established financed for the present out of Central Government moneys, out of which all advances granted by the Government of India to Provincial Governments will be made—the charges for interest and the terms on which the advances granted for various purposes are to be repaid being fixed for all Provinces alike at such rates as will keep the Fund solvent. Hitherto advances have been made direct to the Provincial Governments out of the balances of the Central Government and the terms and conditions including the rate of interest and the period of amortisation have been dealt with piecemeal and special orders have been passed by the Government of India on each occasion as it arose.

There is, I am sure, much to be gained by the recognition of definite principles regulating such borrowings. The arrangements proposed are now under the final consideration of Local Governments all of whom have accepted the proposals in principle. They are of a simple character in themselves, but besides emphasising general principles, the scheme contains within itself the germs of development, and I look forward to the day when the Fund may be administered by an Indian body corresponding to the National Debt Commissioners or the Public Works Loan Commissioners in England, and the money required for advances from the Fund raised in the open market by the controlling body on the security of the assets of the Fund. It is too early yet to say when such a development, though it may already be foreseen, will materialise. I am confident, however, that considerable benefits will accrue to the finances of India when the day comes on which the advances made by the Central Government to the Provincial Governments will be excluded from the Public Debt of the Government of India in the same way as advances made on the guarantee of the British Treasury to public bodies in the United Kingdom are excluded from the British Public Debt. Not only these advances to the Provincial Governments but also the Railway debt of the Government of India may ultimately be separated from the ordinary debt, and raised, subject perhaps to a Government of India guarantee, not on the general credit of the revenues of India but on the security of the assets of the Provincial Loans Fund and of the Railway undertakings of the State respectively. The true facts regarding the Public Debt of India would be less obscure than they are to-day, and the facilities for raising new capital would be widened, if so large a portion of the money required for capital development of all kinds in India had not to be raised by a single borrower, namely, the Government of India, on the sole security of the revenues of India.



## APPENDIX VIII.

### Speech of the Railway Member introducing the Railway Budget for 1925-26.

#### PROCEDURE.

This is an important occasion for we are inaugurating to-day the new budget procedure which the separation of our railway finance from general finance has rendered possible. Under the convention to which the House agreed last September, the Railway contribution to the general revenues of the country is in great part a known figure. That is why I am to-day introducing the Railway Budget in advance of the General budget. I can do so without giving away any of those secrets which my Hon'ble Colleague on my right guards so jealously. And in the matter of procedure alone, I hope that the House will agree with me that we get solid advantages from the new procedure. In the first place, I would beg the House to observe that the budget itself is not a mere departmental compilation. The Railway Finance Committee, a Committee elected by this House and containing only one official member, has examined the budget in detail and has approved generally of it. I take the opportunity of thanking them for their labours. As the House will see from the printed proceedings of the Committee which are being circulated we worked them very hard, and Mr. Sim, their Chairman, tells me that he derived the greatest benefit from their advice and criticism. This year I am afraid that we had to rush them a little. We could not help ourselves, for we ourselves had to work very hard in order to get the budget in its new form ready in time, but in future years I hope we may be able to spread the budget work over a longer period. Again, Sir, another advantage that we derive from the new procedure is that we are able to give the House more time to consider the Railway Budget. A separate day is being given for general discussion of the Budget, and the House will have four days next week to consider the Railway demands for Grants. This allowance may strike the House as insufficient for a budget which deals with an expenditure amounting to some 90 crores of rupees. But at any rate, it is an improvement on the procedure last year, when six days were set aside for all the demands of the Government of India including railways. And finally, Sir, we have attempted to place the budget before the Assembly in a form which not only gives more information about our Railway finances, but which will facilitate discussion. Last year there were merely two Railway votes—one for capital and one for revenue. This year we have split the budget into 15 votes. Two of them relate to strategic lines. The other thirteen relate to commercial lines. In addition to the general budget memorandum, we are circulating separate notes on each demand, and we are also circulating separate statements regarding each and every railway that comes into the budget. These statements give for each Railway the revised estimate :

1924-25 and the budget estimate for 1925-26. And to each statement an explanatory memorandum is attached. It discusses how the Railway has done this year, what its prospects for next year are, what its programme for development and betterment is, and what expenditure we propose from the Depreciation Fund. We hope, that by putting the budget up in this form we shall enable the House to keep an intelligent watch not only on the development of the Indian Railway system as a whole, but on each Railway, and I hope also that the amount of information we are giving to the House will clear away the last vestige of that suspicion which, I think, lurked in the minds of some Hon'ble Members last September that the object of the separation of Railway finance was to weaken the control of the Assembly over our budget.

Before I leave the question of procedure, I should like to add two remarks. The first is this. We do not regard the form in which we are putting up the budget this year as the last word on the subject of the best way of presenting the Railway budget to the House. As I have already explained, we were working against time, and we had to devise our own form. But we are quite open to suggestions for improvement, and if any suggestions are made either in the House or by the Railway Finance Committee, they will be most carefully considered before the time of the next budget. My other remark is in the nature of an appeal. We are circulating with the budget papers a statement which shows exactly what activities of the Railway Department each vote covers. We have done that, Sir, in order to let Hon'ble Members who wish to bring up any particular subject for discussion know under what vote that subject can most appropriately be discussed. I hope that Hon'ble Members will carefully study the statement in order that our debates may proceed in an orderly and useful manner, and may I also express the hope that when Hon'ble Members put down motions for reductions, they will add a few words to explain exactly what point they wish to raise. I ask them to do this in their own interests as well as in the interests of the Government. For if we know beforehand exactly what subject each motion is intended to bring up, we shall come better prepared to give the information which the Hon'ble Member wants.

I come now to the budget estimates. They are explained in the budget memorandum and I propose only to deal with the more important figures. My idea is indeed to make to the House more or less the sort of speech which the Chairman of a Board of Directors would make to the shareholders of a Company. For I think that it might fairly be said that this is the position at which eventually we hope to arrive.

#### REVISED ESTIMATE FOR 1924-25.

##### *Revenue.*

I take first the revised revenue estimate for the current year. It is still only an estimate of course, but it is the best estimate we could make in the light of the latest figures available when we prepared the budget. I will

begin by giving the figures in barest outline. We place our revised estimate of gross receipts, that is gross traffic receipts plus our share of the profits of subsidized Companies plus miscellaneous receipts at 98.01 crores. The figures of course are for commercial lines only. Our revised estimate of our total charges, that is, working expenses plus surplus profits paid to Indian States and Railway Companies plus interest charges plus miscellaneous charges, amounts to 86.77 crores. We hope therefore that the gain from commercial lines during the current year will amount to 11.25 crores.

*Comments on Revised Estimate.*

Before I proceed to deal with the effect of these figures upon our contribution to general revenues in the current year, I should like to make one or two comments on these figures. Our gross receipts, if we realise them, will be nearly 5 crores better than the gross receipts of last year and more than 2½ crores better than our budget estimate. But I have little to say about them. For the most part, the betterment is due to causes beyond our control, namely, good crops and improving trade. Had it not been for the disastrous floods both in North and in South India, our gross receipts would have been better still. Our expenditure figures are more interesting. If we exclude interest charges, surplus profits due to Indian States and Railway Companies and miscellaneous charges, we expect our working expenses in the current year to be 62 crores against 59.18 crores last year. But the figure 62 crores requires some explanation. To begin with, it has been decreased by a windfall of 1½ crores. This sum represents a refund to revenue of customs duties paid on stores imported during recent years by Company Railways which according to a recent Privy Council decision they ought not to have paid. If we disregard this windfall, our working expenses this year will amount to 63.25 crores or 4 crores more than last year. But the figures are still misleading. Last year we had no depreciation fund and we charged to revenue only our actual expenditure on renewals and replacements. In the current year, we charge to revenue our gross appropriations to the Depreciation Fund, namely, 10 crores and not merely our estimated actual expenditure from the fund, namely, 805 lakhs. In order to compare our working expenses this year with those of last, we should deduct 195 lakhs from the figure 63.25 crores I have just given the House. If we compare the figures in this way, it means that this year we have spent 61.30 crores in order to earn 98 crores. Last year we spent 59.16 crores in order to earn 93.18 crores. In other words, though we have earned nearly 5 crores more, we have spent only 214 lakhs more. It is true that the rise in exchange has helped us to the extent of some 25 lakhs, but even so, the figures are, I think, very satisfactory and reflect great credit on the Railway Board and on the Railway Administrations. The House will remember that the Inchcape Committee set before us the standard that we should aim at earning 5½ per cent. on our capital at charge. If our revised estimates prove correct, we shall have earned on commercial lines on the capital invested by Govern-

ment 5.45 per cent.

*Contribution for 1924-25.*

According to the convention agreed to by the Assembly last September, Central Revenues are entitled to receive from the Railways a contribution equal to 1 per cent. of the capital at charge in the penultimate year plus  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the surplus profits in that year. The Assembly also stipulated that if after payment of the contribution so fixed the amount available for transfer to Railway Reserves should exceed 3 crores  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the excess over 3 crores should be paid to general revenues. I proceed now to inform the House how much we expect to contribute this year to general revenues. The House will remember that it was especially arranged that the contribution for the current year should be based not on the figures of 1922-23 (a year in which the profit from Railways was very small) but on those of 1923-24, and that what I may call the fixed contribution for 1924-25 should be repeated in 1925-26. This fixed contribution calculated at 1 per cent. of the capital at charge in 1923-24 plus  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the surplus profit of that year amounts to 630 lakhs odd. That represents what I may call our fixed contribution for 1924-25 and 1925-26 to general revenues. General revenues have, however, to meet the loss on strategic lines and that loss is taken for purposes of convenience as an offset against the amount due from commercial lines to general revenues. In 1923-24 this loss amounted to 121 lakhs. Therefore the net contribution payable to general revenues in 1924-25 and 1925-26 is 509 $\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs. But though for convenience sake we pay a net contribution of 509 $\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs, I would beg the House to observe that they are taking from us under the convention 630 lakhs. Now I mentioned just now that we anticipated that our gain from commercial lines during the current year would be 1,125 lakhs. But the estimated loss this year on strategic lines is 151 lakhs. The net gain therefore is 974 lakhs. From this amount we deduct the net contribution of 509 $\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs and this leaves a balance of 465 lakhs. This is the amount for disposal. The excess over 3 crores is 165 lakhs. One-third of this or 55 lakhs has to be paid to general revenues and 410 lakhs go to our Railway reserves. The general taxpayer therefore gets a net payment from Railways of 564 lakhs or more than a crore more than Sir Basil Blackett budgeted for, and we get 410 lakhs into our reserve fund. But I would again emphasise that what the general taxpayer is really taking from commercial lines is not 564 lakhs but 635 lakhs.

**BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR 1925-26.***Revenue.*

I pass on to the budget estimate for 1925-26, and as in the case of the revised estimate for this year, I will first give a summary of the revenue figures. We are budgeting for gross receipts of 101 crores and for a gross expenditure of 91 crores. If the estimates prove correct, there will be a gain from commercial lines of 10 crores of rupees.

*Receipts.*

Of course we cannot foresee what the year 1925-26 has in store for us. As I have said, Railway results are peculiarly dependent on the nature of the season and the state of trade, and no one can forecast whether or not next year's monsoon will be a good one or not. But for the moment the outlook is promising. It looks as if we might have a bumper wheat crop this year, and we may also hope to carry in the early months of 1925-26 a larger proportion of the cotton crop than usual. At any rate, this year's crop is reported to be bigger than that of last year, and so far less of it has come down to the Ports. Given, therefore, a normal monsoon and a fair state of trade, we hope that we shall top our figures of this year good though they were, and we are budgeting for gross receipts of 101 crores or three crores in excess of those of this year.

*Expenditure.*

As regards expenditure, I neglect for the moment such charges as interest charges and surplus profits paid to Indian States and Railway Companies and confine myself to working expenses proper. I have just explained that if we take no account of the windfall of customs duty, our working expenses this year are expected to amount to 63.25 crores. Next year we are budgeting for a figure of 65.79 crores or 2½ crores more. One reason for this excess is that we hope to make a beginning with a very important improvement, namely, the provision of automatic couplers, and we are providing 70 lakhs for that purpose. I may say that automatic couplers should result not only in great economy but also in a diminution of accidents among our staff. We are also setting aside 50 lakhs for speeding up repairs to rolling stock, and we are allotting 50 lakhs to meet the cost of the measures we are now taking to get rid of surplus and unserviceable stores. I should also mention that 26 lakhs have been provided in the budget for the cost of extending to officers of Company Railways the Lee Commission concessions with effect from 1st April last. We have thought it prudent to make this provision in the budget, but I must make it plain that it has not yet been decided whether these benefits should be conferred on the officers of Company Railways in whole or in part. It is a question which still has to be considered by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. If allowance be made for these additions to our expenditure, it will be seen that we hope to keep the direct cost of operation, if anything below this year's figures. Our interest charges, owing to the new capital charges we are incurring are likely to be some 82 lakhs higher in 1925-26, and as I have said, we are budgeting in all for total charges amounting to 91 crores of rupees.

*Contribution for 1925-26.*

I have explained how we have calculated the contribution for 1924-25, and I will not go into the details regarding the contribution for 1925-26. It is sufficient to say that we expect our net contribution for 1925-26 to be

524 lakhs or 40 lakhs less than the contribution for the current year. The reduction is accounted for by the increase in the net receipt of the current year of 125 lakhs due to the refund to revenue of customs duty. This figure, however, is the net contribution. The gross contribution from commercial lines will amount to 645 lakhs, and we expect to pay into our Railway Reserves 328 lakhs of rupees.

#### *Railway Reserves.*

If therefore our figures prove correct, we shall have in Railway Reserves at the end of 1925-26 a sum of 738 lakhs of rupees. Now under the terms of the convention these Railway Reserves are to be used (1) to secure the payment of the annual contribution to general revenues, (2) to provide if necessary for arrears of depreciation and for writing down and writing off capital and (3) to strengthen the financial position of Railways in order that the services rendered to the public may be improved and rates reduced. The House will no doubt want to know whether we propose to make any use of our reserves in 1925-26. The answer is no. In the first place, our anticipation that at the end of this year we shall be able to place 410 lakhs to Railway Reserves is only an anticipation. Until the actuals of the year are known, we shall not know exactly what sum we have at our disposal in the reserve fund. Still less can we say for certain whether we shall realise our hope that at the end of 1925-26 we shall be able to place another 328 lakhs to reserve. Our estimates for next year are based on a normal monsoon and a fair state of trade. If our hopes in this respect are falsified and if the monsoon is a bad one, we may be able to place nothing to reserves. In any case, we have to bear in mind that in 1926-27 we have to pay a contribution, based on the current year's working, of approximately 735 lakhs from commercial lines. This means that if in that year we make no profits, the whole of our estimated reserves will be absorbed in paying the contribution for that one year. The risk of exchange again has to be borne in mind. A drop in the exchange value of the rupee to 1s. 4d. would increase our revenue charges by 1½ crores, and all things considered we are satisfied that the prudent course is to make no proposals this year for the utilisation of our reserve funds. After all, a reserve of 410 lakhs is less than 1 per cent. of our capital at charge, and it represents only a little more than 4 per cent. of our gross earnings in the current year.

#### *Capital Budget, 1924-25.*

So far I have dealt only with our revenue budget. I propose now to say a few words about our capital budget. For the current year the Legislative Assembly approved last March of a capital expenditure of 30 crores during the current year. Approximately 25 crores were for rehabilitation and improvement of existing lines and 5 crores were for new construction. The actual amount which it is expected to spend during the current year is only 12.85 crores resulting in a lapse of 17.15 crores. I am prepared to admit at once

that the figures are disappointing, but they are not quite so disappointing as they look. I have referred already to our windfall in the shape of a refund of customs duty. That windfall amounts in all to 280 lakhs. 125 lakhs goes to revenue. 155 lakhs goes towards reduction of the total capital at charge. We anticipate also that there will be a reduction in the capital locked up in stores amounting to 4 crores. That is to say, our total capital expenditure in the current year is likely to be 18.4 crores, or much the same as last year. Even so, the figures indicate a very considerable short spending, but as the causes of this short spending have been analysed at some length in the Administration Report for last year, I shall not weary the House by travelling over the ground again. I will merely say that we hope to effect a considerable improvement in this matter. Indeed as I shall show when I come to the capital budget for 1925-26, we are counting on this improvement manifesting itself next year.

#### *Capital budget for 1925-26.*

Agents have informed us that next year they will be able to spend on works approved by the Railway Board 32 crores of rupees. We attach great importance to the earliest possible completion of approved works. The sooner they are completed, the sooner they will begin to pay us a return on our investment. But in view of what I have just said, the House will not be surprised when I say that we regard the estimate of the Agents as optimistic and that we have some doubts whether they will be able to spend the full amount asked for. Instead of cutting down the demand, however, we have shown a probable saving of over 9 crores and we are asking the House to vote 6½ crores for new construction and 16.20 crores for open line works.

#### *Open Line Works.*

Of the amount asked for 23.7 crores are required for Open Line Works and rolling stock, involving, I may mention, a consequent provision of more than 11 crores from expenditure from the Depreciation Fund. The main purposes to which this money is being devoted are explained in the Budget Memorandum, but the House will, I think, be interested, if I mention just a few of them. We are providing in terms of 4-wheelers for 3,857 new goods wagons and for 822 new coaching vehicles, 755 of these latter being lower class vehicles. Apart from these additions and betterments to lower class carriages, which will cost us nearly 1½ crores, we are spending some 30 lakhs on amenities for 3rd class passengers in the shape of waiting sheds, refreshment rooms, booking facilities, water-supply arrangements and the like. Hon'ble Members will no doubt have read recently in the Press of the reopening of the electrified Harbour Branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. That constitutes what I am sure will prove to be a landmark in Indian Railway history, for it is the first electric railway in India. We are providing 103 lakhs for the electrification of the Great Indian Peninsula suburban line and 77 lakhs for the electrification of the

Bombay, Baroda and Central India suburban line into Bombay. 18 important station yards are being remodelled in order to improve our Traffic service and to reduce delays to wagons in transit at a cost of nearly 3 crores. More than 3 crores are being spent in remodelling workshops, notably at Charbagh on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, at Trichinopoly on the South India Railway, Dohad on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and at Perambur on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. 58 lakhs are being spent on doubling certain sections of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. 38 lakhs have been provided for the doubling of the Grand Chord on the East Indian Railway and 34 lakhs for quadrupling the Bandra-Borivli and Bandra-Grant Road sections of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway and the Bassein bridges on the same Railway are being rebuilt.

#### *New construction.*

Eight and half crores of rupees are required for new construction. A full list of the lines which are under construction or the construction of which we hope to begin next year will be found in Demand No. 7. There are 40 of them with an aggregate mileage of 2,138 miles, and a reference to that Demand will show that we are embarking on a programme of new construction which will eventually cost more than 44 crores of rupees. It is a large sum of money, but the financial prospects of the various projects have been carefully examined, and we believe that these lines will pay us handsomely. I am confident that the House will thoroughly approve of a bold policy of remunerative railway development. My own conviction is that the best way in which the Government can foster the expansion of Indian trade and Indian industries and thereby increase the wealth and prosperity of India is by extending her railway system. I do not think it can be denied that we are behind hand in this matter. In this great continent with its 318 million inhabitants we have only 38,000 miles of railway. Contrast England with its 50,000 miles and the United States of America with its 250,000 miles. If you look at a map of India, you see great gaps in which there are no railways. The Raipur-Parvatipur Railway—a railway I may mention in passing the construction of which is dependent on the opening of a harbour at Visagapatam—will fill in one of these gaps. It will open up a great tract of 125,000 square miles which at present is entirely without railway communication. Incidentally it will provide the east of the Central Provinces with an outlet to the sea. The central coalfields railway will fill in another gap. Madras has always complained that she has been starved of railway development, and in the south of the Presidency we hope to take up four projects covering some 300 miles of railway, namely, the Villupuram-Trichinopoly, Virudunagar-Tenkasi, Dindigul-Pollachi and Trichinopoly-Karaikudi lines. It is the same with Burma and we have several lines either under construction or in the programme for that country. I may mention that the Chief Commissioner and Mr. Sim paid a prolonged visit to Burma last December, and discussed railway development in Burma with Sir Harcourt



Butler and his Government. That is part of our policy now. The Railway Board by frequent tours tries to keep in closest possible touch with Local Governments in regard to railway matters.

*New policy in regard to Branch and Feeder Railways.*

What I have just said about our proposals for new construction leads on to a reference to the new policy which we have formulated, in consultation with the Central Advisory Council, in regard to Branch and Feeder Lines. The House is no doubt aware that 30 years ago when the Government of India themselves were in difficulties for money for new capital expenditure, a system was originated of financing the construction of Branch and Feeder lines through Branch Line Companies guaranteed by Government. For the encouragement of such Companies, Branch Line terms were drawn up and were kept on tap. These were the terms on which Government were prepared to give to private Companies for money required for the construction of Branch or Feeder lines. This system undoubtedly enabled lines to be built which otherwise would not have been built, but in other respects it came in for severe criticism from the Acworth Committee, which indeed thought that the aim should be rather to reduce the number of existing private Companies than to create new ones. We have recently had the whole subject under our consideration. The existing Branch Line terms are quite out of date. If they are to serve the purpose for which they were originally intended, we should have to revise them on much more liberal lines, and with the approval of the Central Advisory Council we do not propose to undertake that revision. We think that the more economical and better course is for us to construct ourselves remunerative new lines. I do not think that the House need fear that this policy will lead to a slowing down of new construction. In the Railway Board we have new projects under constant examination, and indeed the capital expenditure on the new projects included in Demand No. 7 is four times as great as all the capital raised in the last 30 years by Branch Line Companies. Nor do we propose to neglect projects which, though they cannot be classed as remunerative, may be required by Local Governments for administrative or other reasons. We are quite prepared to consider any such project, provided that the Local Government is prepared to guarantee it from provincial revenues.

Local Governments thoroughly approve of this new policy, and we are already constructing two lines on this basis, the Shoranur-Nilambur line in Madras and the Moulmein-Ye line in Burma. Other projects are under examination.

*Compensation claims.*

Before I leave the Budget proper, there are one or two special points to which I wish to draw attention. One is that of compensation claims. In 1922-23 the amount paid in compensation claims reached the enormous figure of 121 lakhs, a figure which very naturally attracted unfavourable comment:

from the Inchcape Committee. In 1923-24 we succeeded in reducing payments under this head to 78 lakhs. This year we hope that there will be a further fall to 67 lakhs and in 1926-27 we are providing only 47 lakhs. This substantial reduction has been effected by unremitting work on the part of the Railway Administrations and the Railway Board. Improvements in office procedure have enabled claims to be disposed of more expeditiously; watch and ward staffs have been strengthened; and generally better arrangements have been made to cope with what is a very serious evil.

#### *Coal contracts.*

The other matter to which I wish to refer is our coal bill. Last year by negotiations in Calcutta the Railway Board managed to secure a revision of the coal contracts which pressed so hardly upon us. We have also been devoting special attention to economy in fuel consumption, and the result is that in spite of the very much larger traffic carried in the current year than in 1923-24, we expect our total coal bill to be less by 18 lakhs. In 1925-26, in spite again of the further increase of traffic for which we are providing, we hope for a further reduction of 19 lakhs in our expenditure on coal.

#### *Indianisation.*

Before I sit down there are one or two other matters to which, I think, the House will wish me to refer in spite of the fact that they are not directly concerned with finance. One of course is the question of Indianisation. Three statements have been included in the Budget Memorandum, giving the number of Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans in the gazetted ranks of Indian Railways, and similar statistics for subordinate posts carrying a pay rising to Rs. 250 per mensem and over. These statements show that in the 12 months ending October 1924 the number of Indians in superior appointments rose from 280 to 310 and the number of Indian upper subordinates from 1,821 to 1,929. On State Railways other than the East Indian Railway, which we have only just taken over, Indians already fill about 30 per cent. of gazetted posts, and though I suppose the Railway Department has the reputation of being the most stiff-necked Department of all in this matter, I doubt whether there are many departments which can show equal results. But what I am concerned with is the future rather than the past. We have accepted the recommendation of the Lee Report that 75 per cent. of recruits for Superior Departments in the Railway Service should be recruited in India, and what I wish to say is that the provisional proposals of the Railway Board in regard to recruitment and training which have been formulated in order to carry the above recommendation into practical effect are now ready, and I hope to discuss them with the Central Advisory Council before the present session ends. Hon'ble Members are apt to complain that few Indians have risen to high posts in the Railways and none to the Railway Board. That is true. But they must remember that it is only in recent years that Indians have joined

the gazetted ranks of railway offices in any number, and time must be allowed for them to find their way to the top. The question of subordinate posts is much more difficult. In one sense, of course, it is not a racial question at all. It is rather a communal question. To a very large extent the Subordinate Railway Service is already Indianised in that the posts are largely held by Anglo-Indians. Leaving this point aside, the difficulty is this. When railways were first started in India and for many years afterwards, Indians did not come forward for work of this kind, and railways got more and more into the habit of relying on the European of the country and the Anglo-Indian. It is work for which the Anglo-Indian appears to be specially fitted. Possibly he has acquired a sort of hereditary aptitude for it. At any rate, he has made good, the railway authorities are accustomed to him and like to employ him in subordinate railway appointments. Now there is a change. Indians wish also to be employed in these appointments, and they complain that they are up against vested interests and that subordinate railway employ is, so to speak, the close preserve of the Anglo-Indian. The complaint, I think, is specially directed towards the subordinate Traffic Department and indeed it is a noticeable fact that at all important stations almost every railway official in a position of authority that one sees is a European or an Anglo-Indian. Now all I can say on this problem is this. It is impossible to make any immediate drastic change. I am not prepared to say that Anglo-Indians or Europeans who are working well should lose their jobs or their promotion in order to make way for Indians. But what I do say is that the Indian should have his chance. If the Indian of the requisite education is prepared to go through the drudgery, the hard work and the irregular hours, which are a pre-requisite to promotion to the better posts in the subordinate traffic service, then he should get the chance of doing so, and, if he proves himself fit for promotion, he then should get his promotion. That I consider is the only possible policy, and it is with this policy in view that we are starting a training school on the 1st March at Chandausi. One of the functions of this school will be to train subordinates particularly for the Transportation Department.

#### *Stores Purchase Policy.*

Another important question to which the House attaches great importance is the extent to which railway materials are obtained in India. In the report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for 1923-24 the matter is discussed at length and the purchases of materials are analysed in detail under each head. From the detailed explanations there given, it will be seen that orders have been placed in India wherever possible, and that it has only been in cases where it was found impossible to obtain materials in India at a reasonable price that orders have gone abroad. In the supply of rails, for example, orders were placed in this country which were greater than the Tata Iron and Steel Company were able to comply with. In the current year two important developments in this matter have taken place. Owing to the adoption

by the Assembly of the recommendations of the Tariff Board for the grant of bounties to the wagon building industry, we have been able to place orders for the supply of wagons up to the full capacity of the firms in India engaged in the industry. It has also been decided, with the concurrence of the Central Advisory Council, to obtain the services of a timber expert from the Forest Department in order to enable the railways to make full use of the supply of Indian timbers, not only for sleepers but for other purposes such as body work in coaching stock. I think we can confidently challenge any one to show that orders have gone abroad which could reasonably have been placed in India.

#### *Passenger fares.*

Another question in which the House I know takes a great interest is that of passenger fares, and I believe that there is a certain soreness that whereas some reductions have been made in upper class fares, third class fares have remained untouched. I should just like to explain the railway point of view. We apply the practical railway criterion, 'Can the traffic bear the rate?' Now I would ask the House to apply this maxim to the problem as I shall put it before them. The following are the relevant statistics in regard to 1st class passengers:—

Year.	Number (thousands).	Earnings (lakhs).
1921-22	1,163	138
1922-23	918	139
1923-24	817	129

It will be seen that we lost not only in passengers but in earnings. That is why some railways judged it necessary to reduce 1st class fares.

Take again 2nd class passengers. Here are the figures.

Year.	Number (thousands).	Earnings (lakhs).
1921-22	6,549	228
1922-23	5,134	211
1923-24	4,538	195

Here again there was a progressive decline both in passengers and earnings, and again a number of railways found it necessary to reduce fares.

Third class statistics tell a different story.

Year.	Number (millions).	Earnings (lakhs).
1921-22	491	2,841
1922-23	503	3,220
1923-24	513	3,291

It will be seen that there was a progressive increase both in passengers and earnings. The annual rate of increase perhaps is slower than it was before the war, and it might be argued that a reduction in fares would pay us by the increase of passengers it would bring us. But in the first place we should be taking risks. If there were no increase of passenger traffic, even a reduction of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a pie per mile in 3rd class fares would cost us  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores a year. Secondly, even assuming that there were a large increase in passenger traffic, it is certain that we should not have sufficient coaching stock to carry the increased traffic. I have already said that we are providing in the budget in terms of four-wheelers for 755 new third class carriages. The provision we have made is limited by the capacity of our workshops, and we propose to consider whether we cannot adopt other measures which will enable us to put more coaching stock on the lines. That, I think, is all I can usefully say on the subject at present. It is a question which we have under constant examination.

#### *Conclusion.*

I am afraid that I have already wearied the House and I will bring my speech to a close. The year which is now ending has been marked by many important events. Two of these indeed are of outstanding importance, namely, the taking over the East Indian Railway and the separation of Railway finance from General finance. But the real importance of the year in my opinion lies in the evidence it affords of a real advance towards live, efficient, business management of the Indian Railways. Some one said the other day in the Central Advisory Council that there was a new spirit abroad in the Railway Board. I believe that remark to be true, and if it is true, the credit rests with two men, Mr. Hindley and Mr. Sim. But, Sir, it is not only in the Railway Board that that new spirit is abroad, and we, who are ultimately responsible to the House for the management of the Indian Railway system, know how much we are indebted, for loyal co-operation and unremitting work, to Railway Agents and Railway officers and men throughout India.

## APPENDIX IX.

### Summary of Recommendations of the Lee Commission.

#### APPOINTMENT AND CONTROL OF THE SERVICES.

##### (a) Services employed in reserved fields.

- (i) The All-India Services employed in reserved fields of administration should continue to be appointed and controlled by the Secretary of State for India in Council

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13

##### (b) Services employed in transferred fields.

- (ii) For the purposes of Local Governments, no further recruitment should be made to the All-India Services as such, operating in transferred fields. The personnel required for these branches of administration should, in future, be recruited by Local Governments (For the Medical Services see v, vi, vii below) . . . . . 14—15, 17
- (iii) Local Governments should have power to make rules to regulate not only the Public Services which will take the place of the present All-India Services operating in transferred fields, but also the existing Provincial Services. The Secretary of State should make the necessary delegation of powers under Section 93 B of the Government of India Act accordingly. As a corollary, Local Legislatures should pass Public Service Acts regulating these Services . . . . . 16

##### (c) Central Services.

- (iv) Appointments to certain of these Services as specified in paragraph 19 should be made by the Secretary of State. The Government of India should appoint to the remainder . . . . .

13—19

#### RE-ORGANISATION OF MEDICAL SERVICES.

- (v) A new Civil Medical Service should be constituted in each Province and recruited by competitive examinations held both in England and in India, the medical needs of

PARAS.

both the British and Indian Armies in India being met, in future, by the "R. A. M. C. (India)." Every officer of the new Provincial Civil Medical Services should be liable for service with the R. A. M. C. (India) in the event of general mobilisation

20-23c

- (vi) To meet the medical needs of British Officers in the Civil Services and their families, a minimum number of British officers should be maintained in the Civil Medical Service herein proposed. These minima should be prescribed for each Province by the Secretary of State, on whom, in the last resort, should rest the responsibility for their maintenance. Of this British element, one half or the number required for the military reserve whichever is the larger, should be reserved for British officers to be seconded from the R. A. M. C. (India). In default of the remainder being forthcoming by competitive examination for the Civil Medical Service, the deficiency should be made up by increased seconding from the R. A. M. C. (India) or, if necessary, by special additional recruitment for that purpose

23 d, e, f,

- (vii) Subject to the existing rights of present members of the Indian Medical Service, all scientific chairs in Government Colleges and Hospitals, should, in future, be thrown open to all candidates; the clinical chairs being reserved for members of the Civil Medical Services, however recruited, so long as fit candidates are available

23g

#### THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

- (viii) The Public Service Commission contemplated by the Government of India Act should be constituted without further delay. It should be an All-India body and consist of five Commissioners of the highest public standing, detached so far as practicable from political associations and possessing, in the case of two of their number at least, high judicial or legal qualifications

24-26

- (ix) The functions of the Commission should fall, at the outset, into two categories, (a) recruitment, (b) certain functions of a quasi-judicial character in connection with the disciplinary control and protection of the Services

27

- (x) As regards (a), it should be charged with the duty of recruitment for the All-India Services, as the agent of the Secretary of State, so far as it is carried out in

India, and of recruitment for the Central Services (and, if a Local Government should so desire, for the Provincial Services) as the agent of the Secretary of State, the Government of India or Local Government as the case may be. The Commission should also be the final authority for determining, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the Government of India or Local Governments, as the case may be, the standards of qualification and the methods of examination for the Civil Services so far as recruitment in India is concerned

27

- (xi) As regards (b), appeals to the Governor-General in Council by an aggrieved officer against such orders of Local Governments as are declared by the Governor-General in Council to be appealable should be referred to the Commission, which should report its findings to the Governor-General in Council and its recommendations as to action, without prejudice to the right of appeal of the aggrieved officer to the Secretary of State provided the Commission certify his case as a fit one for such appeal. Appeals from the Government of India which now lie to the Secretary of State should, in the first instance, be referred to the Commission in the same manner as in the case of appeals to the Government of India, and the Commission should submit its report to the Secretary of State. When a breach of the legal covenant (see recommendation liii) between an officer and the appointing authority is alleged, the Commission should certify whether *prima facie* it is a fit case for adjudication in a Civil Court. If such certified case is sustained by the Court, the whole costs should be defrayed by the Government concerned

27—28

- (xii) Apart from the determination of standards of qualification and methods of examination the Commission would not ordinarily be concerned with Provincial Services. Its knowledge and experience would merely be placed at the disposal of Local Governments if desired. The Chairmen of Provincial Selection Boards would constitute the link between the Commission and the Local Governments

28, 29—30

#### INDIANISATION.

##### *Indian Civil Service.*

- (xiii) A proportion of 50 per cent. Europeans and 50 per cent. Indians in the cadre should be attained within



about 15 years from the time that the new rate of recruitment recommended comes into force. It has been calculated, on certain assumptions regarding abnormal retirements, that recruitment on the basis of 40 per cent. Indians directly recruited, and 20 per cent. Indians promoted from the Provincial Service, will produce that result . . . . .

35-36

*Indian Police Service.*

- (xiv) Out of every 100 recruits, 50 should be Europeans directly recruited, 30 should be Indians directly recruited, and the remaining 20 should be Indians obtained by promotion from the Provincial Services. On certain assumptions regarding abnormal retirements, the corresponding cadre of 50-50 should be attained in about 25 years from the time that the new rate of recruitment comes into force. In any year in which the full quota of 30 per cent. directly recruited Indians is not obtained by open competition, the balance should be made good by additional promotion, preferably of young officers of not more than five years' service who have been directly recruited as Deputy Superintendents of Police . . . . .

37-38

*Indian Forest Service.*

- (xv) Recruitment should be in the ratio of 75 per cent. Indians and 25 per cent. Europeans in those Provinces in which Forest administration is reserved . . . . .

39

*Indian Service of Engineers.*

- (xvi) Recruitment for that portion of the cadre working entirely in the Irrigation Branch in Provinces in which it has been separated from the cadre working in the Buildings and Roads Branch should be in the ratio of 40 per cent. Europeans, 40 per cent. directly recruited Indians and 20 per cent. Indians promoted from the Provincial Service. In those Provinces in which no division of the cadre has been made there should be no change in the existing ratio of recruitment for the combined cadre . . . . .

40

*Central Services.*

- (xvii) (a) *Political Department.*—Twenty-five per cent. of the total number of officers recruited annually should be Indians, who should be obtained, as at present, from the Indian Civil Service, the Provincial Civil Service and the Indian Army . . . . . 42a
- (b) *Imperial Customs Service.*—Recruitment should remain on the present basis, i.e., not less than half the vacancies are to be filled by appointment in India of statutory natives of India . . . . . 42b
- (c) *Superior Telegraph and Wireless Branch.*—Recruitment should be 25 per cent. in England and 75 per cent. in India . . . . . 42c
- (d) *State Railway Engineers: Superior Revenue Establishment, State Railways.*—The extension of the existing training facilities in India for these Services should be pushed forward in order that recruitment in India may be advanced so soon as practicable up to 75 per cent. of the total number of vacancies in the Railway Departments as a whole, the remaining 25 per cent. being recruited in England . . . . . 42d
- (e) Recruitment for the remaining Central Services should be at the discretion of the Government of India . . . . . 42e
- (f) In services dealt with in (b), (c) and (d), recruitment should be by open competition . . . . . 42f

## THE PAY OF THE SERVICES.

*All-India Services.*

- (xviii) Apart from the Indian Police Service and the Indian Service of Engineers, it is not proposed to increase the basic pay of the Services. In the Indian Police Service the basic pay of the inferior scale should be raised by Rs. 25 a month. The basic pay of the superior scale which begins at the 6th year of service should be increased by Rs. 50 a month up to the 10th year of service, then by Rs. 75 a month to the 13th year of service, then by Rs. 100 a month for the ensuing four years, then by Rs. 75, Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 a month for the 18th, 19th and 20th year of service, thereafter remaining as at present . . . . . 51—52

The technical pay of the Indian Service of Engineers should be reckoned as part of the basic pay . . . . . 59

- (xix) For Services other than the Indian Police Service and the Women's Branch of the Indian Educational Service, the rise in overseas pay from Rs. 150 where it occurs, should be to Rs. 250 instead of Rs. 200 as at present; while from the 12th year of service onwards the rate of overseas pay should be raised from Rs. 250 to Rs. 300. In the Indian Police Service, recruits for which are about three years younger than in the other Services, the rupee rates of overseas pay should be Rs. 100 in the first three years, Rs. 125 in the fourth, Rs. 150 in the next four years, Rs. 250 in the next six years, and Rs. 300 in the 15th year and thereafter to the end of the time-scale . . . . . 53
- (xx) In all Services, including the Indian Police Service but not the Women's Branch of the Indian Educational Service, from the 5th year of service onwards, every officer of non-Asiatic domicile should be entitled to remit his total overseas pay through the High Commissioner at 2s. to the rupee or two draw it in London in sterling at that rate. Indian members of the Services who are already entitled to overseas pay should draw the increase proposed, but should only be entitled to the remittance privilege if they can satisfy the High Commissioner that they have wives or children in Europe . . . . . 54
- (xxi) Officers promoted to the selection grade in the Indian Police Service, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, and to the senior and junior selection grades in the Indian Educational Service should draw the maximum overseas pay and receive the sterling advantage described in (xix) and (xx) respectively . . . . . 54
- (xxii) The pay of officers holding lower administrative posts, i.e., Deputy Inspectors General of Police, Superintending Engineers and Conservators of Forests, should be fixed at Rs. 2,150 instead of the present incremental pay of Rs. 1,750—100—2,150 . . . . . 55
- (xxiii) With regard to other administrative posts above the time-scale, the divergent views of the English and Indian Members respectively are set out in Appendix IV . . . . . 55
- (xxiv) The Women's Educational Service have a claim to some improvement in their emoluments, but not necessarily to the same extent as that recommended for the All-India Services generally. The Government of India should give special consideration to this case and make the necessary recommendation to the Secretary of State . . . . . 56

*Central Services.*

- (xxv) In principle, the concessions proposed for members of the All-India Services should *mutatis mutandis* be granted to all European officers in the Central Services appointed by the Secretary of State and to those European officers who, though appointed by the Government of India, were so appointed on the basis of a non-Asiatic domicile . . . . . 57

*Miscellaneous Services.*

- (xxvi) Officers appointed in future to the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service should not receive "judicial pay." It should not, however, be withdrawn from existing recipients . . . . . 58
- (xxvii) The "technical" pay of the Superior Telegraph Branch should be reckoned as part of the basic pay . . . . . 59
- (xxviii) Military officers serving in the Political Department should receive the same pay as officers of the Indian Service in that Department . . . . . 60
- (xxix) Public Works Department specialist officers appointed by the Secretary of State and holding permanent appointments should receive the same concessions as officers of the Indian Service of Engineers. In the case of those specialists appointed by the Secretary of State and serving under contract, if their contract contains a clear implication that permanent employment is contemplated subject to approved service, such contract should be revised to give an improvement comparable with that proposed for the Indian Service of Engineers. The cases of specialist officers appointed by Local Governments should be treated generally on the above lines. The same general principles apply also to specialist officers in other departments such as forest specialists, agricultural engineers and officers holding various miscellaneous appointments . . . . . 61

*PASSAGES.*

- (xxx) An Officer of non-Asiatic domicile in the Superior Civil Services should receive four return passages during his service (of the standard of P. & O. First Class B) and, if married, his wife should be entitled to as many return passages as may be to his credit. One single passage should be granted to each child . . . . . 62—63

- (xxxix) Officers already in the service, who have served less than 7 years, should be entitled to four return passages for themselves and their wives, those with over 7 years and less than 14 years should be entitled to three, those with over 14 years' and less than 21 years' service should be entitled to two, and officers with 21 years' service and over to one. The scheme should be extended to Indian officers in the Indian Civil Service who were recruited by the Secretary of State and who receive overseas pay but should not extend to their families . . . 63
- (xxxixii) The family of an officer who dies in service should be repatriated at Government expense even though he has exhausted the full number of passages admissible . . . 63
- (xxxixiii) An addition of Rs. 50 or such amount as may from time to time be deemed sufficient by Government for the purpose of financing the above concessions, should be credited monthly to the pay of all British members of the Superior Civil Services entitled to passage concessions (probably Rs. 25 a month will suffice for Indian members). This sum should be deducted at the source and transferred to a special "Passage Fund" in which the contributions thus made by every officer should accumulate and on which an officer requiring funds for the payment of passages should be allowed to draw. Any surplus in this fund will revert to Government. The monthly additions credited to pay under this proposal should not count towards pension, or leave or furlough allowance . . . . . 64-65

#### PENSIONS.

##### *Indian Civil Service.*

- (xxxixiv) Having regard to the fact that in 1919 officers were relieved of the necessity of contributing 4 per cent. of their salary towards their pensions, no increase is recommended in the ordinary pension of this Service, nor is it possible to reopen the question of extending the recent concessions made regarding the refund of past contributions . . . . . 67
- (xxxixv) Members of the Indian Civil Service, who attain to the rank of Members of Council, should be given an increased pension at the rate of £50 per annum for each year of service, as such, up to a maximum pension of £1,250. Those who serve as Governors of Provinces should similarly be given £100 for each year of service, as such, up to a maximum pension of £1,500 per annum . . . . . 68

- (xxxvi) No change should be made in the existing scale of invalid annuities so far as the Indian Civil Service is concerned . . . . . 60

*Uncovenanted Services.*

- (xxxvii) The present pension of Rs. 5,000 per annum, earned after 25 years' service (equivalent at the privilege rate of 1s. 9d. to the rupee to £437 10s.), rising by Rs. 200 per annum to Rs. 6,000 after 30 years' service (equivalent to £525 per annum), should be increased to Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 7,000 respectively, i.e., to £525 and £612 10s. per annum respectively. The maximum pensions; taking account of additional pensions earned by service in higher appointments, will then become Rs. 8,500 (lower grade) and Rs. 9,500 (upper grade), equivalent at 1s. 9d. to £743 15s. and £831 5s. per annum respectively . . . . . 70
- (xxxviii) The limit of 10 years before which an invalid annuity can be earned in the Uncovenanted Services should be reduced to seven, and the existing maxima raised, as shown on page 41 . . . . . 72

**PROPORTIONATE PENSIONS.**

- (xxxix) No addition to proportionate pension should be given as compensation for loss of career on voluntary retirement . . . . . 74u
- (xl) The privilege of retiring on proportionate pension should be extended to officers recruited in 1919 who, through no fault of their own, did not arrive in India before 1st January, 1920 . . . . . 74ii
- (xli) No change should be made in the existing rule laying down that war service of officers prior to their appointment does not count as service for the purposes of proportionate pension . . . . . 74iii
- (xlii) The privilege of retirement on proportionate pension should not be extended to members of the Central Services . . . . . 74iv
- (xliii) A rule should be made and a clause inserted in the contracts (see paragraph 74) of all future British recruits to the All-India Services, to the effect that if and when the field of service for which they have been recruited is transferred, it shall be open to them either:—  
 (a) To retain their All-India status;

- (b) To waive their contracts with the Secretary of State and to enter into new contracts with the Local Governments concerned; or
- (c) To retire on proportionate pension, the option to remain open for one year from the date of transfer . . . . . 74v
- (xiv) Existing members of the All-India Services now operating in reserved fields, who do not make use of their privilege of retiring on proportionate pension before action has been taken on the report of the Statutory Commission of 1929, and officers who joined the service since 1st January, 1920, should be allowed the option in (xliii), if and when the field in which their service operates is transferred . . . . . 74v
- (xlv) The existing rule should be maintained under which officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ of less than 17 years' service, may not retire on proportionate pension unless the military authorities are unable or unwilling to absorb them in military employ . . . . . 74vi

## EXTRAORDINARY PENSIONS.

- (xlvi) A new rule should be made to cover the case of officers killed or injured whilst not actually in the execution of their duty, but for reasons connected with their official position or actions . . . . . 75

## PROVIDENT FUNDS.

- (xlvii) The advisability of substituting provident funds for pensions for future recruits should be carefully considered. If the change is feasible, and acceptable to the Services, it should be made without delay. The application of such a scheme to present members of the Services should also receive expert examination . . . . . 76

## FAMILY PENSION FUNDS.

- (xlviii) Family Pension Funds, on the lines of that already existing for the Indian Civil Service, should be introduced for the other All-India Services as soon as practicable . . . . . 77
- (xlix) An independent actuarial investigation into the position of the Indian Civil Service Family Pension Fund should be undertaken as soon as possible. A Board

- consisting of a retired member of the Service, a representative of the India Office and an independent actuary should be constituted to administer the Fund, subject to the final control and supervision of the Secretary of State . . . . . 78
- (4) The existing Indian Civil Service Family Pension Fund should be closed as soon as practicable and a new fund opened, divided into Indian and European branches . . . . . 78

## SAFEGUARDS.

*"Existing and Accruing Rights."*

- (ii) The Secretary of State should refer claims from a member or the members of a Service for compensation for the abolition of a higher appointment for consideration and report by the Public Service Commission. The Indian Commissioners would limit the references to the Public Service Commission to cases other than those necessitated by retrenchment or curtailment of work . . . . . 81-82

*Commutation of Pension.*

- (iii) All officers should be allowed to commute up to one half of their pension, and the rates on which commutation value is based should be revised year by year, if necessary, on the basis of the rate of interest payable on loans raised by Government in that year . . . . . 84

*Legal Covenant.*

- (iii) Mutually binding legal covenants, enforceable in a Civil Court, should be entered into between all future recruits and the authority appointing them. To secure the position of existing members of the Services a similar contract should be entered into, and so framed as to cover the remaining liabilities of their service. The contract should include clauses securing pay, leave rules, passages, remittance privileges, pension rules, etc., and the right to compensation in the event of dismissal without due notice or any breach of conditions of contract; as well as the right to retire on proportionate pension in certain circumstances . . . . . 85



*Votability of Government Contributions to Provident Funds.*

- (liv) The Governor-General should consider whether he might not construe such contributions as "pension" within the meaning of the Government of India Act in accordance with section 67 A (4) thereof and all Governors should consider the same point in accordance with section 72 D (3)

87

*Position of Specialist Officers.*

- (lv) A specialist officer on a contract for a definite period whose services have been dispensed with before the end of his term for reasons other than unsatisfactory performance of his duties, for example, on grounds of economy, has a claim to special compensation. The amount of compensation should be fixed by the Government responsible, in consultation with the Public Service Commission

8

*Officers of All-India Services not appointed by the Secretary of State.*

- (lvi) Officers, including ex-Army officers in the Indian Police Service, not appointed by the Secretary of State but with his approval, should be reappointed by him from the date of their original appointment, so as to secure for them the same privileges as are enjoyed by other officers of the same Service

8

**HOUSE RENT.***Houses supplied by Government.*

- (lvii) In assessing rent, interest should be calculated on the cost of construction, but nothing should be included in respect of the cost (if any) of the site. The capital cost of electrical and sanitary fittings should be included in the capital cost of the building.

On the capital cost so calculated the rent of the house should be assessed at not more than 6 per cent. The rent so calculated should be the annual rent payable by the tenant provided that he should not have to pay more than 10 per cent. of his monthly emoluments for the period of his occupation of the house. The cost of any restoration or special repairs should

not be added to the capital cost of the building but any alterations which add to the accommodation and are made at the tenant's request, should be added to the capital cost and the rent raised in proportion .

90—92

**Private Houses.**

- (viii) Where it is necessary to give relief to an officer on account of excessive rent charged by private landlords, the relief should be included in a compensatory local allowance and be calculated in a compensatory local allowance and be calculated to cover, on an average at least, the excess over 10 per cent. of his emoluments which such officer has to pay for accommodation reasonably sufficient for his status and proportionate to his pay

92

**MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.**

- (lix) The principle that attendance by medical officers of their own race should be available for members of the Services and their families should be accepted. It is recommended that:—

(a) Districts of a Province should be grouped and a British medical officer posted to one station in each group within easy reach of each district .

93a

(b) In stations where there is no British medical officer travelling allowance for the officer and his family should be granted to the nearest station where there is such an officer. Alternatively, if more convenient, the travelling expenses of the medical officer should be paid by Government to enable him to visit the patient

93b

(c) In serious cases it should be open to the doctor first consulted to give a certificate authorising the patient to travel to the nearest station where adequate treatment can be given and the certificate should qualify the patient for travelling allowance

93c

(d) The services of military medical officers where no other medical officers are available should be at the disposal of civilian officers and their families upon payment of normal fees

93d

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(e) Officers if treated in hospital should not be liable for medical, surgical or nursing charges. Normal fees should be chargeable for their wives and families . . . . .	93e
Free medical attendance for the wives and families of officers should not be provided . . . . .	94

#### LEAVE RULES.

(lx) The existing leave rules are sufficiently liberal and require no alteration . . . . .	95
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#### BURMA.

(lxi) All recommendations in this Report (including those relating to Indianisation and Provincialisation) apply to Burma. The Secretary of State, in consultation with the Government of India and the Local Government, should make any necessary adjustment in regard to the distribution of future recruits to the All-India Services as between Burma and other Provinces . . . . .	96-98
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#### DATE AT WHICH THIS REPORT SHOULD COME INTO EFFECT.

(lxii) The recommendations in this Report should take effect from the commencement of the financial year 1924-25 . . . . .	99
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#### RECRUITMENT.

(lxiii) (a) In the interests of recruitment it is important that every officer should have a reasonable measure of security. Uncertainty arising from the possibility of the abolition of posts is dealt with in (li) above . . . . .	102
(b) As regards the risk that the officer may find the conditions of his service uncongenial, the recommendation in (xliiii) provides a regular means of withdrawal without great financial injury . . . . .	103
(c) Efforts should be made to stimulate recruitment by well-considered propaganda. With this in view the India Office should establish some permanent liaison with the British Universities . . . . .	103
(d) A full and candid explanation of the present position in India, and of the conditions of service under the reformed system, with precise details as to pay, pensions and other privileges, and the measures of protection and security provided, should be made available for prospective recruits . . . . .	103

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- (e) The age limit for candidates for the Indian Civil Service examination in England should remain as it is fixed for the present year, that is, a candidate must have attained the age of 21 and not have attained the age of 24 on the 1st day of August . . . . . 104a
- (f) The present probationary period of one year should also be retained . . . . . 104b
- (g) The existing system of open competitive examination for the selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service should be continued . . . . . 104c
- (h) Officers should be recruited for the All-India Services, as at present, on the basis of a permanent career and not on short-term contracts . . . . . 105
- (lxiv) The main proposals in the Report are vitally interdependent and, in view of the urgency of the case, it is recommended that they should be considered as a whole and acted upon with as little delay as possible . . . . . 109

## APPENDIX X.

### Resolution of the Legislative Assembly upon the separation of Railway Finance from General Finance.

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in order to relieve the general budget from the violent fluctuations caused by the incorporation therein of the railway estimates and to enable railways to carry out a continuous railway policy based on the necessity of making a definite return to general revenues, on the money expended by the State on railways:

- (1) The railway finances shall be separated from the general finances of the country and the general revenues shall receive a definite annual contribution from railways which shall be the first charge on the net receipts of railways.
- (2) The contribution shall be based on the capital at charge and working results of commercial lines, and shall be a sum equal to one per cent. on the capital at charge of commercial lines (excluding capital contributed by companies and Indian States) at the end of the penultimate financial year plus one-fifth of any surplus profits remaining after payment of this fixed return, subject to the condition that, if in any year railway revenues are insufficient to provide the percentage of one per cent. on the capital at charge, surplus profits in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have accrued for purposes of division until such deficiency has been made good.

The interest on the capital at charge of, and the loss in working, strategic lines shall be borne by general revenues and shall consequently be deducted from the contribution so calculated in order to arrive at the net amount payable from railway to general revenues each year.

- (3) Any surplus remaining after this payment to general revenues shall be transferred to a railway reserve, provided that if the amount available for transfer to the railway reserve exceeds in any year three crores of rupees only two-thirds of the excess over three crores shall be transferred to the railway reserve and the remaining one-third shall accrue to general revenues.
- (4) The railway reserve shall be used to secure the payment of the annual contribution to general revenues: to provide, if necessary, for arrears of depreciation and for writing down and writing off capital: and to strengthen the financial position of railways in

in order that the services rendered to the public may be improved and rates may be reduced.

(5) The railway administration shall be entitled, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Government of India, to borrow temporarily from capital or from the reserves for the purpose of meeting expenditure for which there is no provision or insufficient provision in the revenue budget subject to the obligation to make repayment of such borrowings out of the revenue budgets of subsequent years.

(6) A Standing Finance Committee for Railways shall be constituted consisting of one nominated official member of the Legislative Assembly who should be Chairman and eleven members elected by the Legislative Assembly from their body. The members of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways shall be *ex-officio* members of the Central Advisory Council, which shall consist, in addition, of not more than one further nominated official member, six non-official members selected from a panel of eight elected by the Council of State from their body and six non-official members selected from a panel of eight elected by the Legislative Assembly from their body.

The Railway Department shall place the estimates of railway expenditure before the Standing Finance Committee for Railways on some date prior to the date for the discussion of the demand for grants for railways and shall, as far as possible, instead of the expenditure programme revenue show the expenditure under a depreciation fund created as per the new rules for charge to capital and revenue.

(7) The railway budget shall be presented to the Legislative Assembly if possible in advance of the general budget and separate days shall be allotted for its discussion, and the Member in charge of railways shall then make a general statement on railway accounts and working. The expenditure proposed in the railway budget, including expenditure from the depreciation fund and the railway reserve, shall be placed before the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants. The form the budget shall take after separation, the detail it shall give and the number of demands for grants into which the total vote shall be divided shall be considered by the Railway Board in consultation with the proposed Standing Finance Committee for Railways with a view to the introduction of improvements in time for the next budget, if possible.

(8) These arrangements shall be subject to periodic revision but shall be provisionally tried for at least three years.

(9) In view of the fact that the Assembly adheres to the Resolution passed in February 1923 in favour of State management of Indian Railways, these arrangements shall hold good only so long as the

East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and existing State-managed Railways remain under State management. But if in spite of the Assembly's Resolution above referred to Government should enter on any negotiations for the transfer of any of the above Railways to Company management, such negotiations shall not be concluded until facilities have been given for a discussion of the whole matter in the Assembly. If any contract for the transfer of any of the above Railways to Company management is concluded against the advice of the Assembly, the Assembly will be at liberty to terminate the arrangements in this Resolution.

Apart from the above convention this Assembly further recommends :

- (i) that the Railway services should be rapidly Indianised, and further that Indians should be appointed as Members of the Railway Board as early as possible, and
- (ii) that the purchase of stores for the State Railways should be undertaken through the organisation of the Stores Purchase Department of the Government of India."

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